7th May, 1985, increasing the export duty leviable on black pepper to Rs. 3 per kilogram from the date of issue of the Notification laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 7th May, 1985."

The Resolution was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SAN-TOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now. Shri Veerendra Patıl.

THE MONOPOLIES AND RESTRIC-TIVE TRADE PRACTICES (AMEND-MENT) BILL, 1985

THE MINISTER OF CHEMICALS AND FERTILIZERS AND INDUSTRY AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL): Sir, I beg to move.

"That the Bill further to amend the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (Amendment) Bill, 1985 provides for the upward revision of the value of assets from Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 100 crores in section 20(a) of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969. The amendment proposed in the Bill is most timely and appropriate. The nation is standing on the threshold of technological revolution which the 21st century is likely to us**h**er in. We must, therefore, take stock of the economic development achieved so far and prepare ourselves to seize challenging opportunities the future.

Although the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, which is in operation for the last over 14 years, has succeeded in containing the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, the view is almost universally shared, especially by the new entrepreneur that the present limit of Rs. 20 crores for bringing an undertaking within the pur-

view of the regulatory measures in Chapter III of the MRTP Act gives an unfair advantage to the monopoly houses with larger assets if the new entrepreneur is treated at par with such monopoly houses with larger assets against whom he wants to offer competition. It has been argued with that competition considerable force would be encouraged and concentra. monopoly tion in the hands of the houses curbed if independent entrepreneurs with reasonably large investments are permitted without the restriction of the MRTP Act to enter the field hitherto monopolised by these houses.

When the original MRTP Act was passed in 1969, the asset limit of Rs. 20 crores was introduced in section 20(a) of that Act rather tentatively and the then Minister of Company Affairs had stated in Parliament that it was merely as a working arrangement. Ever since the MRTP Act came into force. Government have been receiving representations from different sources that the asset limit of Rs. 20 crores to bring an undertaking within the purview of the MRTP Act is rather unrealistic and should be revised upwards. As the economy grows, the resources of the nation increase and as the wealth of the nation expands. the monetary limit has to undergo upward revision relative to the growth of the economy. Such a revision is inherent in the very dynamism of the economy. To retain the asset limit of Rs. 20 crores in section 20 (a) of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act as an index of the concentration of economic power for all time to come would obviously seem to suggest as if there had been no economic development since the Act had come force. In view of this, and particularly taking into account the increase in the prices and the growth in the industrial base, Government feels that it is only reasonable that the value of assets for the purpose of applicability of the regulatory provisions and registerability of undertakings in terms of clause (a) of section 20 of the Act

[Shri Veerendra Patil]

should be raised to the level of Rs. 100 crores. The proposed Bill reflects this intention of the Government.

Sir, I move that the House be pleased to take this Bill into consideration and pass the same.

The question was proposed.

*SHRIMATI ILA BHATTACHARYA (Tripura): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir the Hon. Minister has moved a Bill to amand Restrictive end the Monopolies Trade Practices Act, 1969, which seeks to raise the ceiling of asset from Rs. 20 crores to 100 crores for the monopoly companies. The Hon, Finance Minister gave indication of introducing Bill in his Budget speech. He said, "In order to reflect the considerable crease in the cost and the economic size of the projects that has taken place since the asset limit for MRTP Companies was fixed in 1969, this limit is being revised to Rs. 100 crores."

In support of the amending Bill the Hon. Minister has referred to price rise these days. Besides, he said, the size of the economic projects had become very big these days. Therefore, MRTP Companies should be given more opportunities to invest their capital.

I would request the Hon. Minister to remember the logic behind the enactment of MRTP Act in 1969. The objective of that enactment was prevent concentration of wealth into the hands of monopolists so that they may not be able to remove the medium-scale and small-scale industries from the market. That legislation wanted that monopolists should control the market. That legislation wanted that small industries should not be devoured by big industries as small fishes are devoured by big fishes,

The MRTP Act was enacted in 1969 on the basis of a policy as laid down in the Constitution of India. Article 30 of the Constitution says: "the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the ${\it com}$ mon good. Secondly, the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth means of production to the common detriment." If this was the objective of the MRTP Act of 1969, how is it that the present amending Bill been moved today in the House? I do not think that the price-rise is the only cause. The motive of the Government is to reward the industrialists with this concession. The Government is always ready to safeguard the inter. ests of the capitalists. Of course, our country, the concentration wealth into few hands started long In 1946, a census of industries was taken. According to the Report of that census, we had 34 Managing Agency Firms at that time. Each firm had an asset more than Rs. one crore. Of these firms, four had an asset of Rs. 5 crores and three had an asset of Rs. 10 crores.

After independence, in 1948, Indian National Congress declared, "Economic structure which will vield maximum production without the operation of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of their scale of operations serves the country as a whole or cover more than one province should be run on the basis of public ownership in respect of existing undertakings process of transfer from private to public ownership should commence after a period of five years."

Since the above declaration we have passed many years. But the process of transfer from private to public ownership has not yet started. We find in independent India that the assets

^{*}English translation of the original speech delivered in Bengali.

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of Manopoly Houses are increasing day by day. So, after independence, there was a tendency among Monopoly Houses to corner the wealth of the nation. Having seen this tendency. before the enactment of MRTP in 1969, the Government appointed Mahalanobis Committee, Hazari Committee. Monopoly Inquiry Commission and Dutta Committee to enquire into the growing assets of Monopoly capitalists in the country.

above-said reports of the In the Committees and Inquiry Commission, it was stated how the Monopoly Housses are increasing their assets day by day and how they are setting up new industries. But after the enactment of 1969, the number MRTP Act in licensed industries on behalf of Monopoly Houses declined gradually. If I submit an information to this effect, the position will be very clear. According to the Report of Monopoly Enquiry Commission of 1965, Tata had 53 registered Companies. But according to Dutta Committee Report of 1967, the number of registered industries Tata House increased to 70. But after the enactment of MRTP Act, the number of registered industries for Tata House declined as necessity was not felt to include industries having assets upto Rs. 20 crores in Government records. Similarly in 1965, Birla House had 151 registered companies. But in 1967, their registered Companies rose to 203. After the enactment of MRTP Act, their registered Companies came down to 70. In the same fashion the number of registered Companies belonging to Bangur, Goenka, Singhania, Mafatlal, Sarabhai, Scindia Sriram and Surajmal and Nagarmal increased from 1965 to 1967. But, after the enactment of MRTP Act, the number of registered Companies belonging these industrialists declined. So the MRTP Act has actually benefited these industrialists. Now they not required to submit accounts their growing assets to the Government. So, the Government have checked the growing concentration of wealth into few hands long ago. It is now clear that big capitalists kept many of their companies beyond the scope of the MRTP Act by taking advantage of loopholes in it.

It is to be noted how the assets of Monopoly Houses have been increasing since the enactment of MRTP Act in 1969. The assets that the Monopoly Houses had in 1971—77 increased much in 1980-83. In 1980-83, the assets of Birla House had increased from Rs. 1421 crores to Rs. 2900 crores. Similarly, the assets to Tata House had also increased from Rs. 1500 crores to 2700 crores. It shows that the Government does not have powers to curb mounting assets of Monopoly Houses in spite of having any number of legislations like MRTP Act of 1969. We can thus say that the assets of the big industrial houses have been increasing by 30 per cent annually.

Out of 101 companies, 49 companies have assets more than Rs. 100 crores. It is now clear that the present amending Bill had fixed a ceiling of Rs. 100 crores in order to enable 52 companies to turn their black money into white money.

There are provisions in the MRTP Act, 1969, to curb the concentration of wealth into the hands of few Monopolists. It is laid down in Sections 21, 22 and 23 of the MRTP Act, 1969, that if a company wants to expand its existing industries, or to set up new companies, or to amalgamate one company with the other, it will have to take prior approval of the Govern-But the big Monopoly Houses have now become so powerful they do not care to take prior approval of the Government. We have seen in the Government Reports that Hindustan Lever did not take care totake prior approval of the Government for setting up new industries. It that big business houses have respect for the Government of India.

The Government of India appointed Inter-Ministerial Advisory Groups to [Shrimati Ila Bhattacharya]

advise the Government on the affairs Advisory These of big companies. various cases prepared Committees about big business houses and sent them to the Government **50** Monopolies Enquiry Commission may enquire into these cases to find growing assets. the causes of their But it has been found that the Government of India did not feel it necessary to send 90 per cent cases to the Monopoly Enquiry Commission So the Monopoly Enquiry Commission has become a show-piece.

has advanced The Hon. Minister this argument that the ceiling should be raised to Rs. 100 crores in order to meet the price_rise. Increased ceiling will enable the industrialists to invest more capital in new industries. It is necessary for the welfare of the country. But I would like to say to the Hon. Minister that due to of people price-rise crores country are forced to live below the poverty line. They are now unable to carry the burden of life. Taxes have been imposed in the current budget on essential commodities like petrokerosene. Biri leum products. papers. These commodities are used by crores of common people. Why the Government does not propose to reduce taxes on these essential commodities? Why the Government does not propose to nationalise the private and capital in the country? foreign hope, the Hon. Minister will express his views on this matter. Nationalisation of private capital must come. This type of Bill will come in future because it is the economic policy of the Government of India to safeguard the interests of big busi-The main intention of ness houses. the Ruling Party is to remain in power perpetually. So the Government goes on flattering the big business houses. At the time of elections, of rupees were paid to the crores Ruling Party by big business houses. With that money the country

flooded with posters so that the eyes of the common people may be dazelled with them. It is. therefore, natural that the Government will reward the big business houses this concession. By raising the ceiling to Rs. 100 crores, the Governenabled the big ment has loot the common people houses to more and more.

With the passage of this Bill, the rich will become richer and the poor will become poorer. The assets the big business houses will further grow. So, I cannot support this amending Bill. I oppose it.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Chimanbhai Mehta.

CHIMANBHAI SHRI MEHTA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, just new I was hearing, the speech from the Opposition bench, and I thought that there is a considerable confusion with regard to the objective of this amendment. According to the speaker from the opposition, we trying to please the monopolies. fact, if you go through the amendment carefully, you will find that opposite is the case for the simple reason that what is raised is the limit from Rs 20 crores to Rs. 100 crores to define a monopoly. She has also mentioned about the strength of Tatas and Birlas going up everyday. My poser These are the big companies having assets of more than Rs. 2000 As the position stands today, they are being treated at par those who have assets over 20 crores. Now, is this fair competition? A person or a group or a company which owns more than Rs. 20 crores gets the same treatment as a company or group which has Rs. 2000 crores. This is the essence of the amendment that they should not be treated on par. is for this purpose that the limit 20 crores is being raised to 100 crores. All those who are above 100 crores will be treated on par. This is main thing. This amendment tries to

protect the middle level capitalists against the big level capitalists. Whether it is proper to do it or not is debatable question. But the charge that we are trying to please monopoly houses does not stand when you understand it. That was the main point I wanted to make.

The M.R.T.P.

They also say that now there is a deviation from the socialist path. Does it mean that we were following socialist path prior to this amendment? should analyse when they speak about They should analyse when they speak about it because they are confused perception. Development of capitalism is one thing and development of monopoly capitalism is another thing. These two things, are quite separate. system we have adopted in which the public sector must attain the manding heights means that there is a scope for the development of capitalism and also of monopoly capitalism. lism. It has been accepted in the Industrial Policy Resolution also.

Now, as a socialists, we must try to prevent the concentration of wealth in a few groups. Let us look at overall picture. What are the assets or capital of the public sector? Probably Rs. 35000 crores. That are the assets of the monopoly houses which come under the MRTP Act today? Rs. 26000 crores, What your amendment does is to take out those companies whose assets in total amount to Rs. 500 crores out of the orbit of this MRTP Act. If you understand it, you will know that only those companies with assets of Rs. 500 crores are going out of the orbit this Act.

So, I fail to understand why make such a cry that we are giving up socialism, we are developing capitalism. This should not have been the criticism. I have one criticism to offer here. The hon. Minister has rightly said, and I agree with him, that the prices that were there when MRTP Act, was enacted in 1969 were not static. They have gone much high and, therefore, the limit of Rs.

20 crores should also go up commensurately. It may come to around R. 70 crores. But, as the Act is not just for today and it is also meant for the future, we have kept the limit at Rs. 100 crores.

Now, one legitimate question come up here. Are we treating all the issues in a similar way? I have to offer criticism here. A few days back said that when we talk about taxation, there should be liberal exemption to small-scale sector. I am looking from the point of view of the small scale industries. There is the smallsector manufacturing 10 hp diesel oil engines. There the excise limit was puto Rs. 30 lakhs. Production over Rs. 30 lakhs worth goods would attract excise. Now that limit is reduced to Rs. 20 lakhs. That means, small scale units are hurt more because the excise is there even small turn-over.

AN HON, MEMRER: Now they are excluded.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: don't think so. In the same way, I referred to the dyestuff industry. eligibility limit for attracting excise has remaned the same. All these limits were imposed in 1975. Naturally, the prices have gone up. So, those small units should be given the benefit higher prices.

But we have taken care largely et the middle level capitalist sector. This is my feeling. Therefore, against this, I would like to protect the middle level sector against the big monopoly level sector, I would like to protect the small scale sector against middle level. Basically, I am for a socialist economy. About the public sector also. would like to say that the public sector is now at the commanding heights, and it should go still higher, and # is going in that direction and nothing is going to stop it. But the public sector units are not running property. does not mean that the private sector has a right to attack the public sector because the private capitalists are not [Shri Chimanbhai Mehta]

only working with a profit motive but there are many maipractices in their functioning also. Therefore, have no business to attack they public But from the socialist point sector. of view, I would say that our public sector is not running as a public sector, but sometimes it is running like a bureaucratic sector. Although has been an investment of Rs. 35,000 crores, in spite of price hike in every field, the profit is just Rs. 1,000 crores. And several units are losing. That is a question that we have to think over. Therefore, I would say here that we are not able to properly manage our public sector. Don't think that I am speaking in favour of the private sec-I have already condemned it. But are we not going to give help to the middle level capitalist who wants to make some expansion, who may be in need of a little more credit and whose deposit and credit may be different when compared to the monopoly houses? That is what is being sought to be done through this legislation. So, my emphasis would be that to strengthen the public sector. the bureaucratisation that is grown over the years should be fought.

Nowadays, I find that Chairman and the Managing Director of a Public undertakings company is the same person mostly a bureaucrat technocrat. I think a person who is a Chairman must have a socialist conviction; he cannot be just bureaucrat nor a technocrat. However efficient he may be, without the socialist conviction he cannot build up confidence among the workers. His team cannot be built up because a person who is a socialist is essentially a democrat also and then the public sector will get a new kind of life or a new orientation; of course, that is very required. But let us not be on the defensive. Sometimes we become defensive that public sector is not able to make up or give a concession to this kind of practice. That argument should not come in future. That is my understanding.

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SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Do you remember that Bagaram Tulpule was made the Chairman of Durgapur Steel Ltd.? What is the problem? Would you come out with that? was not a bureaucrat.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: am not aware of it. I know that some people feel that in the name of putting in non-officials, perhaps a Congress member may be made the Chairman. Well, that is not my idea at all. Therefore, some time a criticism comes that in the name of putting a nonofficial, we are trying or we want to put a man from our party. That is not the idea. He may be from other group also. But there are public sector undertakings where the Chairmen are non-officials who have delivered goods; they have done much better. So, there is no question of a comparison that a person who is not a bureaucrat or a technocrat will ruin the public undertaking. I don't entertain that philosophy.

It is a fact that during the last several years, monopolies have also strengthened. I do agree that the Birlas have almost doubled, from Rs. 1400 crores to Rs. 2900 crores. In the same way, the Tatas also have doubled from Rs. 1300 crores to Rs. 2700 crores. I am really concerned with that. should try to see that public sector expands more and the grips and the role of the monopolies could be gradually reduced and then we can definitely assert, as we have done in our AICC resolution, that we are moving towards socialist path. I am only concerned about that. A criticism is made that we are partially deviating from our path. we are not leaving the monopolies; we are actually fighting against it. But this is not properly understood. Giving concession to private capitahanding over lists does not mean everything to capitalists. In countries also where the great thinkers will be the leaders, and they will

be implementing the work; they also will be making adjustments about it. Several socialist countries invite foreign capital; they have a collaboraration with them. So one has to keep in mind whether the Government or the State is ever going to surrender to big monopoly houses or the Indian people are going to surrender to big monopoly houses. It is not the case, With these observations, I support the Bill.

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to oppose this Bill. This Bill is consequential to the Budget proposals. In the Budget proposals, it was mentioned that the ceiling of the MRTP Act will be raised from Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 100 crores.

Sir, by the Budget proposals, the Government have clearly deviated from their professed goal of socialism and preferred to follow the capitalistic path of development fully. I am not going to discuss the Budget proposals. But I would only like to refer to the fact that the Budget proposals for the year 1985-86, have clearly shown that the Government is fully prepared to follow the capitalistic path of development.

This Bill is an example of this deviation and it has frustrated the objective of the original MRTP Act. MRTP Act has a genesis. The genesis is that it was enacted to prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, to the detriment of common interest. It was in 1969 that the MRTP Act was enacted and the MRTP Commission was constitu-The purpose was to see that the ted. ownership and control of the material resources of the community was not concentrated in the hands of a very Sir, before the MRTP Act was few. enacted, there were four committees appointed namely, the Mahalanobis Committee, Hazari Committee, Dutta Committee and the Monopoly Enquiry Committee. All these commit-

tees in their study reports said that all the developmental activities in the country were in favour of a very few at the top and the wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a very few. As a result of these study reports, Government enacted the MRTP Act constituted the MRTP Commission, in spite of this MRTP Act which been in operation, no step whatsoever has been taken by the Government to there is no see that concentration of wealth in the hands of a very few. It is surprising that the Government did not refer any matter to the Com-The MRTP Commission remission. mains a toothless organisation. It has no infrastructure, it has toring capacity and it say on any matter. A_S a result. the MRTP Commission, although it has been existing for the last fifteen years, has been able to do nothing in checking the concentration of wealth in the hands of a very few. We have seen that due to this concentration of wealth in the hands of a very few, there has been inequality in income and growing poverty among the masses. We are gradually deviating from our cherished goal of socialims and the establishment of an eglitarian society. We are gradually going in the opposite direction. this amending Bill, we have given the scope for the strengthening of monopoly houses. As a result of this amending Bili, about 49 companies will go out of the purview of MRTP Act because their assets below Rs. 100 crores. They will be free to do anything. Therefore, we are again going towards concentration of wealth. It has been said that in the interest of increasing productivity we It has also been exhave done so. pected that if there is more production, it will ultimately help the society it will ultimattly help the people who are at the lower level. This theory has already been exploded. Only by mere growth of economy, only by merely increasing production, the condition of the people living at the lower strata cannot be improved. This "trickling down" theory has already been falsi|Shri Biswa Goswami]

fied. The economic development the few will not help those masses who are living below the povery line. So it is futile to except that if India's production increases, if there is growth of economy, then our problem of un employment, our problem of poverty will be solved. It is wrong to so. And we are basing an our activities on this false notion that we should produce more, our productivity should be increased. As I have already said, unless there is provision for an equitable distribution of whatever is produced, inequality will not decrease; on the contrary inequality will increase. Therefore, the policy which the present Government is following, instead country to the 21st of leading the century, will lead us backward because the economic philosophy which the present Government is following is the 19th century economic policy. This economic policy has been discarwill not lead the ded. This policy towards progress country prosperity. This policy has been oursued in some countries and we have seen what results those countries have derived by following this policy. This Bill, therefore, will not only rage monopolies, it will not only encourage the stranglehold of monopolies over the economy of our country but it will lead to more and more concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people.

The present Government has forgotton everything that happened during the freedom struggle itself. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. we pledged ourselves for the establishment of an egalitarian society. The 'Quit India' Resolution of said that the freedom of the country would belong to the tillers of the field and the workers of the factories. Not only that, in the Preamble of the Constitution we have pledged ourselves for establishment of a democratic, socialist, and secular country. But in practice we are day by day going on giving concessions to the monopolies; we are going on giving

them more and more concessions so that they can have a stranglehold over the economy. Sir, I do not say that the original MRTP Act and MRTP Commission have been sucessful in fulfilling its objectives; have not, because we have seen, spite of the MRTP Act being in existence, between 1980 and 1983, the top ten corporate groups increased their assets by more than 100 per cent. The value of assets of Birla group of companies went up from Rs. 1421 crores to Rs. 2900 crores and the assets of Tata Group went up from Rs. 1,500 during the to over Rs. 2,700 crores period of three years. So, the original MRTP Act and the MRTP Commission also failed to serve the objective for which the MRTP Act was enacted. have the Government What should done? The Government should have come forward to adopt measures so the original objective of the MRTP Act is fulfilled, so that the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few is reduced, so that wealth is distributed, so that the small-scale industries grow, so that the mediumsize industries grow, so that the economic benefits go to the poorer sections of the people and the masses are benefited. But, instead of doing that, they have brought forward this amending Bill. By this amending Bill, as I have already said, 49 companies will be liberated from MRTP Act. So, Sir, as I have already said, the whole budget philosophy of the present Government is for increasing productivity and not to decrease inequality. They are not concerned whether there is inequality of They are only concerned with not. increasing productivity.

We have already seen that income has been generated, there has been production and, side by side, we have also seen that there is inequality. After the passage of this Bill the inequality will further increase. The poorer sections will again become paupers, there will be more unemyloyment there will be more poverty, there will be more social tensions and there will be clashes

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because unless and until the economic problems of the people are solved, many issues will raise their heads. The communal forces, regional forces and forces will raise their ugly heads and there will be social tensions throughout the country. By passing the Anti-Terrorists Act and by opting more stringent measures alone you cannot stop terrorism. Unless and until the main problem—the economic problem-of the country is solved, if the poverty of the people removed, there will be chaos everywhere, there will be more and more clashes, there will be social tensions, there will be more and more exploitation, there will be poverty and unemployment and the number of people below the poverty line will increase and it will result in a very bad situation in the country. fore, Sir, this Bill is not going to help in solving the conomic problem of the country nor in the industrialization of the country.

After all, how do you industrialize a country like India? Do you think that the country will be industrialized by giving these 49 companies scope to expand according to their own wish-What goods will they produce? Will they produce goods essential for the consumption of the common people? And will there be market for them? Will they depend entirely on the international market or will they get market from people who are paupers and have no purchasing power? If there is no market, then how can you industrialize, how can you go on industrializing without looking into the real problems of the people, without solving their problems, without making the people capable or purchasing the things so that they can come forward for purchasing the goods which are going to be produced these companies? Gandhiji said that in a country like India the salvation lies in the development of cottage and small-scale industries. But you given the go-by to that theory. You have forgotton the old Gandhi

get another Gandhi cause you have country the So. Sir, we have forgotten our own, pledge for socialism, we have forgotten our conviction about Gandhism. That is why this Bill has been brought forward. I strongly oppose this Bill because this Bill will lead it improve the where; neither will conditions of the common people nor will it help in industrialising country.

words, Sir, I oppose With these the Bill.

RAMESHWAR THAKUR SHRI (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to second the Monopolies and Restrictive (Amendment) Bill, Trade Practices 1985. The Amendment seeks to raise the limit of the assets from Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 100 crores under section 20(a) of the MRTP Act. 1969. have to see the entire Amendment in the proper perspective of the economic development in our country.

Some hon. Members from the other side in this House as well as in the other House have offered, within the Houses and in the Press, deliberate Budlget proposals criticisms on the which contained this amendment of raising the limit in the overall context of the economic growth and competition in the economy. If we see the basic aspects of the situation, after the Independence our country made sustained efforts to improve economic development in the country, and this was done under the Directive Principles of the State Policy. The Directive Principles refer to the need for momting a conscious effort to see that the economic power is decentralised Under article 39(c) of the Constitution it directs:

"that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment:"

This is the basic direction towards which we have to address ourselves.

हमने ग्रडाप्ट की थी उससे डवियेशन नहीं किया है, हम यह कह रहे हैं।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : दो प्रधान मंत्रियों के बीच में तीसरे प्रधान मंत्री भी रहे है।

श्री **रामेश्वर ठाकर**ः मैं नामों की गिनती नहीं कर रहा हूं। मैं पालिसी की बात कर रहो हूं। पब्लिक सैक्टर की बात मैंने ग्राकड़ों से बताई, फर्स्ट प्लान से छठे प्लान तक ।

About public sectors it has been out of the context. mentioned 1951, there were only 5 public sector undertakings with a total investment 29 crores. When the MRTP came into being is 1968-69, we were having 85 public sector undertakings with an investment of Rs. 3,902 crores. Now what is the position? had about 209 public sector undertakings with an investment of Rs. 30.03 crores during 1982-83. The present position of investment is Rs. 35,000 crores. That shows that the public sector undertakings have attained commanding heights. As a professional man, however, I can say that we have achieved better results, better efficiency and economy from public sector undertakings.

About 79.5 per cent of the public sector undertakings are engaged in producing goods; 17 per cent are gaged in services and 4 per cent in the constructional activity. The basic investment in the production of steel in public sector undertaking constitutes 17.1 per cent; chemical and fertilisers 12.7 per cent; coal 10.9 per cent and petroleum 10.1 per cent. The basic industries like steel, chemicals and fertilizers, coal and petroleum are in the core sector to which public sector undertakings are serving. Therefore, when my friends on that side remarked that we have deviated from that goal. is rather unfortunate. They have ont substantiated it with facts and figures. We have not deviated from the goal of the public sector undertakings. They have also said that

Sir, the development, as we found, has been two-fold. We adopted the Industrial Policy Resolution 1948, which clearly accepted the policy of mixed economy. Then we adopted a planned economy. If we see the economic position since the First Plan to the Sixth Plan, very clear, welldefined, objectives have been there in regard to the basic goals directed by our Constitution. And if we see really what we have achieved from the First Plan to the Sixth Plan, then, we will clearly be able to apprecite the development in the public and the private sector and social justice that we have been able to achieve during these three-and-a-half decades of planning in India. The First Plan has had investment only of the order of Rs. 2,356 crores. It was of the order of Rs. 1,41,377 crores so far as the Sixth Plan is concerned, and the public sector outlay was of the order of Rs. 71,000 crores. What we are going to have so far as the Seventh Five-Year Plan is concerned, this is going to be a Plan of Rs. 3,20,000 crores, in which the public sector investment would be of the order of Rs. 1,80,000 crores. This shows

our Government has done in 5. P.M. respect of public sector undertakings. It has been alleged that we have left 'socialism'. If we see the concept of socialism right from the Avadi Congress to the latest Congress held in Delhi, it has been made abundantly clear that the goal set by the first Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and by subsequent Prime Ministers, particularly Mrs. Indira Gandhi and now the young Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, is being followed.

श्री कलाश पति मिश्र (विहार) : दो प्रधान मंत्रियों के बीच में लाल बहादुर शास्त्री हुए थे। उनको ग्राप भूल गए ?

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : ग्रापको कोई तकलीफ करने की जरूरत नहीं। जो पालिसी ¥37

going to benefit this MRTP Act is the top houses is also not correct. The Honourable Minister has very clearly stated the three objectives and I do not want to repeat the same and take much time of the House. So far as the MRTP Act is concerned, its working has been reviewed. From time to time the Commission's reports have been submitted to Parliament. The achievements and fai-Commission's lures have been stated clearly. main thing is that in 1969 this limit of Rs. 20 crores was fixed. Since then the economic development has been much faster. Even in the public sector, the investment has increased from Rs. 3,000 crores to Rs. 35,000 crores. We have a much higher commanding position in the public sector now. So the limit of Rs. 20 crores which was fixed in 1969 does not hold good far as the present situation is concern-So far as the dominance part is concerned, yes, we should not agree to any relaxation. I would support this policy of the Government as well as of the party, I would say, that so far as the dominance part is concerned, there should not be any relaxation. So far as section 20(b) is concerned, there is no relaxation regarding the dominance part. No relaxation is contemplated for such companies as mentioned in section 20(b). In fact, would suggest that that the provision should be strictly followed and strictly implemented. The implementation should be further strengthened so far as that part is concerned. But so far as this part is concerned, this is the reality of the situation and we have to accept it. As the hon. Minister has said, the prices have gone up. 1969 what were the prices of steel and cement? In 1969 we had steel as Rs. 800 to Rs. 900 per tonne and cement at Rs. 8 per bag. Similarly the prices of other things have gone up so much. Therefore, if the limit is raised now, it does not mean in any way any kind of deviation. This is, just a realistic step, as the situation demands. Now in the growth process, we have a large number of bigger companies.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri Chimanbhai Mehta) in the Chair].

companies In 1982-83 we had 247 which had an investment of more than Rs. 100 crores. But 20 big houses were the dominant houses. We had Tatas, Birlas and others and these were the houses which were controlling 50 per cent. Out of more than Rs. 11,000 crores of investment, they were having more than Rs. 5,500 cro-What does it mean? It means that these 20 houses are the dominant companies. And none of these houses is having less than Rs. 250 crores of assets. There is no concession to them now. So far as these houses are concerned, this amendment is not relevant because they are not benefited in any way because they are already having assets from Rs. 260 crores to Rs. 2900 crores. Therefore, these are not the houses which are going to be benefited. Now we have about 1,423 companies, according to the data available for 1983, which were registered under the MRTP Act, and now about 491 will be out of the purview because of this amendment. But 932 houses will still be having more than Rs. 100 crores of assets and will still be under the MRTP Act. As my colleague said, this will give a certain degree of flexibility, certain degree of competition within the country to those mediumsized groups and companies, who have done well and who have the potentiality to do better if they are taken out $o_{
m f}$ the purview and are given the opportunity to grow faster. They are not the top ones; they are not those 20 houses. Even after this amendment, about 1000 companies will still there and only 400 to 500 companies which are medium-sized will be taken out so that they work better and increase production and compete the rest of these companies. Therefore, it is not advisable to criticise this Bill on the basis of facts which are not correct and relevant. Otherwise, if it is made a political issue one can understand. But the facts and figures do not sustain this position that has been stated.

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

The M.R.T.P.

The other point is when we talking of a vast economic growth and a very large-sized plan going from Rs. 2,300 crores in the First Plan to Rs. Seventh Plan 3,20,000 crores in the with large investments in the public sector as also in the private sector. It is increasing not only in India but throughout the world. There must be a certain degree of flexibility. So far as the dominance part is concerned, it is in the spirit of the constitution, in the spirit of the MRTP Act, in the spirit of the reports of the committees like Dr. Hazari Committee, the Dutt Sub-Committee and other committees whose reports formed the basis of this Act, which should be maintained. In fact, it should be strictly followed. It should be honoured. And that alone will serve the purpose. I am sure the Government's policy in this regard is a progressive policy. It will certainly help the growth and development of the economy to the expected level and it needs such flexibility and opportunity for competition and they will be able to do full justice in the years to come. I am sure this is not going to affect the spirit of dominance. So far as the amendments to MRTP is concerned, I am sure Government's action in this regard will be welcome in the proper perspective.

श्री केलाश पति मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बिल का विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा हूं । ऐसा लगता है कि भारत सरकार एक ऐसे स्थान पर ग्रा कर खडी हो गई है जहां पर तीन रास्ते दिखाई दे रहे हैं। यह सरकार निराहे पर खड़ी दिखाई दे रही है। एक रास्ता तो वह है कि जहां पर देश के मुट्ठी भर प्जीपित देश की सम्पत्ति को एकत्र किए हुए हैं ग्रीर देश की सम्पत्ति को भ्रपने हाथों में केन्द्रित करते चले जा रहे हैं। दूसरा रास्ता यह दिखाई दे रहा है कि यह सरकार सार्वजनिक संस्थाग्रों की विफलता पर खड़ी है, पब्लिक सेक्टर की विफलता के रास्ते पर खड़ी है। तीसरा रास्ता यह दिखाई वे रहा है कि देश की ग्राबादी का 50 प्रतिशत भाग कंगाली की रेखा से नीचे

खड़ा है। बिहार जैसे कुछ राज्य तो ऐसे हैं जहां पर इस प्रकार के लोगों की संख्या 76 प्रतिशत जो कंगाली की रेखा से, गरीबी की रेखा से, नीचे रहते है। प्रश्न यह ह कि जो लोग इस देश में गरीबी की रेखा से नींचे हैं उनके जीवन में कैसे उजाला ग्राए, कैसे उनका जीवन उजागर हो ? इस सरकार से वह किस प्रकार ग्राशा करे, उन्हें यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है। सबसे ज्यादा उनकी ग्रांखों में ग्रंधियारी छाई हुई है। सरकार यह विधेयक लाई है और इसके पक्ष में जो तर्क दिए जा रहे है, वे वड़े मजेदार हैं। कम से कम मेरी समझ मे नही आता है कि दुनिया का कौन-सा ग्रर्थशास्त्री यह बताने के लिए तैयार होगा कि जब 20 करोड़ रु० की सीमा थी तो इन्टरपेन्योर में कोई कम्पटीशन नहीं था। 20 करोड़ की सीमा को बढ़ाकर 100 करोड कर दिया जाता है तो उससे इन्टरपेन्योर में कम्पीर्टाशन खड़ा होगा । यह सरकार एक प्रकार से एक वहन ही खनर-नाक खेल खेल रही है। एक खतरनाक खेल खेलकर देश को एक खतरनाक स्थिति में ला रही है। स्राप जानते है कि थोड़े दिन पहले हमने बजट पास किया है। ऋापको यह जानकर ग्राक्चर्य होगा कि इस सरकार 🛶 का विदेशी ग्रौर स्वदेशी कर्जा इस देश के सिर पर 31 मार्च तक 72 हजार करोड़ की सीमा पर पहुंच गया है ग्रौर यहीं कर्जा एक साल के बाद 85 हजार करोड़ तक पहुंच जाएगा। ऐसी स्थिति में देश किस ग्रोर बढ़ रहा है, इस पर विचार करने की जरूरत है। स्रभी माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे कि हमारे देश मे छोटे उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन दिया 🤜 जाएगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि म्रापने इस साल एक सरक्लर निकाला है। एस० एस० म्राई० यूनिट के कुछ प्रतिनिधि मुझसे मिलने स्राये । एक्सपोर्ट हाउसेज में उनके नाम की सूची आ जाने के बाद उनको भी दुनिया में एक्सपोर्ट करने की मुविधा हो जाती है । छोटे छोटे उद्योग जो गारमेन्टस बनाते हैं, पहले एक्सपोर्ट हाउसेज की सूची में ग्राने के लिये नियम था कि यदि तीन साल की एवरेज 50 लाख टर्न स्रोवर होगी तो वे एक्सपोर्ट सुची

में ग्रा जाते हैं । ग्रापने ग्रचानक, पहले से कोई सचना नहीं दी ग्रौर 50 लाख टर्न ग्रोवर की सीमा बढाकर 75 लाख कर दी, तो मैं जानना चाहता हं कि यह 75 लाख की सीमा ग्रापन क्यों की? ग्राप एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० मे 20 करोड मे 100 करोड़ की सीमा बढ़ाने के लिये तैयार हैं । लेकिन देश की गरीब जनता किस उद्योग में लगी रहेगी । जो किसी छोटे उद्योग में लगे है या किसी मंझीले उद्योग में लगे है ग्रौर ये लोग ग्रगर ग्रपना हाथ स्रलग हटा देंगें तो उनका क्या होगा। मैं विहार से ब्राता हूं । हमारे बहुत से मित्र यहा बैठे हुए है । विहार के ग्रन्दर एक फैक्टरी रोहताश मिल है। 20 कर्मचारी उस मिल के ग्रन्दर काम करते थे। तीन मालो से फैक्टरी के ग्रन्दर ताला लगा हुन्रा है । 20 हजार ऐसे कर्मचारी थे जो कारखाने के ग्रन्दर काम कर रहे थे । उस कारखाने में सीमेट पैदा होता था, उस कारखाने में डालडा होता था. उस कारखाने में कागज पैदा होता था। वहां पर कागज के काम के लिये ग्रौर पत्थर तोड़ने के लिये कम से कम 6 हजार ऐसे गरीव स्रादिवासी थे जो काम कर रहे **थे** । लेकिन तीन साल से वे भी बेकार हैं ग्रौर भुखों मर रहे हैं। 6 हजार ग्रादिवासी भूखों मर रहे हैं, 20 हजार कर्मचारी वहां भुखों मर रहे है ग्रौर सरकार में इतनी हिम्मत नही है कि वह कोई ऐसा एवट लाये जिससे वह कारखाना फिर से खड़ा हो जाने ग्रौर 20 हजार कर्मचारी ग्रपने काम पर वापस ग्राये । तीन साल से यह सरकार क्या कर रही है ? श्राप मोनोपोली हाउसेज से वान कर रहे है, उनके साथ सांठगाठ कर रहे है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदयः, हमारे कुछ मिवों ने कहा है कि केवल तीन साल की अवधि के अन्दर बिरला करीव 14 सौ करोड़ से उछलकर 29 सौ करोड पर पहुंचा है, टाटा करीव 15 सौ करोड से उछलकर 25 सौ करोड़ पर जा पहुंचा है।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश): 27 सौ करोड :

श्री केलाशपित मिश्र : 27 मौ करोड पर जा पहुंचा है । मै स्रापसे जानना चाहता हं कि स्रापने देश की गरीव जनता के लिये क्या किया है जो कि गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे पड़ी दिखाई दे रही है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने कहा था कि यहां एक खतरनाक खेल चल रहा है। सरकार समझ नहीं पा रही है। सरकार ग्रसहाय बन गई है। लगता है कि कोई ताकत उसको पीछे से धक्का दे रही है, अगर वह आगे जाना चाहती है तो वह ताकत उसको पीछे खींच कर ले आती है। कुछ मुटठी भर पजीपति इस सरकार का गला ग्रपने हाथ से दवाये जा रहे हैं। स्रापने 20 करोड की सीमा को वढाकर 100 करोड कर दिया । ग्राप ग्रभी चर्चा कर रहे थे, एम० ग्रार० टी०पी० इंक्वायरी कमीशन की । क्या इसमे कोई क्या इसमें कोई ताक है ? यह एक ऐसी सस्था है जिसमें कोई जान नहीं है । संस्था दन्तविहीन वन गई, जांच हो रही है। मैं पिछले 15 सालों की रिपोर्ट देख रहा था । इसमे 404 इंक्वायरी केसेज थे लेकिन सरकार ने स्रभी तक केवल 2 के ऊपर निर्णय लिया बाकी 402 केसेज के ऊपर कोई कार्यान्वयन नहीं हुन्ना । स्राप इस विल को पास करके जो कानुन वनाने वाले है इसमें ग्राप पुजीपतियों के हाथ की कठदतली बनकर खडे रहेंगे। परला की ग्रसेट तीन साल में 29 सौँ करोड रुपये की खड़ी हो गई । यह असेट देश के पजीपतियों की केवल देश में ही नहीं लगी हुई है । ग्राप इस बात का ध्यान रखे कि 30 प्रतिशत विरला ग्रप की पंजी विदेशों लगी है । वह विदेशी पूंजी बन गई है। किसी की 30 प्रतिशत पंजी, किसी की 40 प्रतिशत पूजी, किसी की 20 प्रतिशत पुंजी, ग्राज विदेशों में जाकर काम कर रही है । एस०एस०ग्राई० युनिट की चर्चा भी हई, मुझे देखकर ग्राश्चर्य लगता है, मै भूल गया श्रांकडे बताना, पिछले साल एस०एस०ग्राई० युनिटस ने जो छोटे-छोटे गारमेटस का निर्यात किया, उससे 700 करोड रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा देश मे ग्राई थी । लेकिन कुछ पीछे के दरवाजे से बडे़्र

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श्रिकेटाशपति मिश्री

वडे उद्योगपित ही कोई न कोई छोटे उद्योग का बहाना बनाकर उसमें प्रवेश किये हैं। लेकिन उनके द्वारा प्राप्त केवल 100 करोड रुपये की विदेशी पूजी स्राई है। 6 सौ करोड़ रु० का छोटे उद्योगपितयों द्वारा इस साल का लक्ष्य था, एक हजार करोड़ का रहा। स्राप उनका गला घोट रहे हैं केवल मुट्टी भर वडे मोनोपली हाउसेज को ऊपर बढ़ाने के लिए। ग्रभी थोडे दिन पहले ग्रापने कंपनीज डोनेशन एक्ट पास किया । किसके लिए किया ^२ किसके दवाव में ग्रापने उसे पास किया ? श्रभी एक माननीय सदस्य हवाला दे रहे थे कि सरकारी क्षेत्र में, सरकारी हाथ में काम करने के लिए देश के म्रन्दर 35 हजार करोड़ रुपया है ग्रौर प्राइवेट सैक्टर में मात्र 26 हजार करोड रुपये की चर्चा की, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि एक बात पर ग्राप जान-बुझ कर पर्दा डाल रहे हैं। कालेधन का भ्रापने जरा हिसाब लगाया है। सरकार के हाथ में जितना धन है, सरकार के द्वारा खर्च होने वाला धन. व्हाइट मनी के नाते से प्राइवेट मैक्टर में जो धन काम कर रहा है ग्रौर पर्दे के पीछे जो कालाधन छिपा हुम्रा है, उसका उल्लेख कहां है ? मैं कहना चाहता हुं कि हिन्द्स्तान के ग्रन्दर 50 हजार करोड़ रुपये का कालाधन सिर्फ इस समय काम कर रहा है ? यह विषधर नाग, विषधर सांप किस प्रकार से इस देश को लपेट रहा है ? नई सरकार को लगता है कि वह ग्रौर बुरी तरह धंसती चनी जा रही है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, थोडा सा और बोलने दीजिए । लोक सभा का चुनाव श्राया । बड़ी श्राणा बंधी थी, देश में एक शब्द के लिए बड़ी जोर से चर्चा चल पड़ी थी, जहां जाइये एक नारा था, ''क्जोन इमेज'' ग्रौर व्यक्ति का नाम भी हो गया था. मेरी ममझ में नही ग्रा रहा है, ग्राजकल दिल्ली के स्कलों में देखते हैं, बच्चे मजाक कर रहे हैं कि मिस्टर क्लीन, मिस्टर क्लीन नहीं रहे वे ग्रब "मिस्टर कंप्यूटर" हो रहे है। मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्रा रहा है कि ग्राप कौन सा रास्ता पकड कर जा रहे हैं।

20 करोड़ से 100 करोड़ की सीमा, मुट्ठी भर उद्योग पनियो को छूट, यह भारत के भखें व्यक्ति का पेट नहीं भर सकता। हरेक व्यक्ति के हाथ में जब तक काम नही भ्रायेगा तब तक पेट नहीं भर सकते। इसके लिये उल्पादन बढायें, लेकिन उत्पादन के साथ-साथ हर हाथ का ग्रगर सबध नहीं जोडने ग्रौर समचित वितरण की व्यवस्था नही होती तब तक केवल उत्पादन बढ़ाने से भारत के भाग्य में परिवर्तन नही ला सकता । भ्राज नहीं तो कल किसी की ग्लामी के चक्कर मै हम फंस जायेंगें। मैं कहना चाहना हं कि आधिक दासता, आधिक गुलामी में देश गिरता जा रहा है। इन बातों से मैं सरकार को सावधान करना चाहता हं कि ग्राप जरा सोच-समझकर कदम बढायें ग्रौर देश को देखिये नही तो म्रातडियों में भ्रगर भ्राग जलती रही, देश की जवानी दिग्भ्रमित होती रही, देश के नौजवानों के हाथ में अगर काम नहीं रहा, ग्रौर केवल मुठ्ठी भर उद्योगपति देश के साथ खेलते रहे, उनके चंगल में ग्रगर पूरी सरकार चलो गई तो कौन सी इस देश में ग्राग लगेगी, मैं कह नहीं सकता ? ग्रापको सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की विफलता को रोकने की स्रावश्यकता है । पूजीयतियों के हाथ में देश की सपत्ति को संग्रहित होने से वचाने की ग्रावण्यकता है, सभी हाथों को काम कैसे मिले, छोटे उद्योगों की प्रतियोगिता देश का हर नागरिक उद्यमी बने, ग्राज इसकी स्नावण्यकता दिखाई दे रही है। इन सब दृष्टिकोणों से जब मैं विचार करता हूं तो यह बिल सब प्रकार से निर्रथक, दुखदायी, दिशा भ्रमित करने वाला तथा पूजीपतियो की मदद करने वाला लगता है, इसलिए मैं इस बिल का विरोध कर रहा हं। धन्यवाद।

श्री कल्पनाथ रायः ग्रादरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० ग्रमेंडमेंट बिल का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुग्रा हूं। लेकिन मुझे सरकार से कुछ निवेदन करने हैं कि जब 1969 में यह एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० एक्ट वना, तो वह हिन्दुस्तान में एक ऐसा दौर था, जबकि बैंकों का

राष्टीयकरण किया गया, राजाग्रों के प्रिवीपर्स को समाप्त किया गया ग्रौर उसी दौरान श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में यह एक्ट बना था। म्राज उमी एम० ग्रार० टी० पी एक्ट को म्रमेण्ड करने के लिए सरकार यह विल लाई है। इसका तो मैं समर्थन करता हूं। लेकिन मेरे मन में कुछ ऐसी शकाएं हैं, जिसका मैं सरकार से जवाब चाहता हुं ।

The M.R.T.P.

पहली चीज तो यह है कि वह जो 20 करोड़ से सीमा बढ़ाकर 100करोड़ कर दी गई है, तो क्या यह जो 49 कंपनियां हैं, इन लोगों को स्माल सेक्टर एरिए में भी इन्क्रोच करने का अधिकार श्राप देंगे? स्माल सेक्टर मे उनके द्वारा काम करने से स्माल सेक्टर का भविष्य भी ग्रंधकार में हो जाएगा। दूसरा निवेदन हमें यह करना है कि जिन कंपनियों को 100 करोड़ की इजाजत दी गई है, तो इन कंपनियों को ऋण न दिया जाए, न तो फाइ-नेन्सियल इंस्टीट्यशन्स से ऋण दिया जाए ग्रीर न ही जो राष्ट्रीयकृत वैक है, इन बैंकों से इन पुजीपतियौ को दिया जाए । तब तो इससे हमे कुछ लाभ मिलेगा। अगर 100 करोड़ की पूजी की सीमा बढ़ा दी ग्रौर इनको फाइ-नेन्सियणल इंस्टीट्युशन्स से या बैकों से उसी तरह से पैसा लेने की इजाजत मिली, तो इससे मोनोपोली की प्रवित स्रधिक मजबूत होगी।

श्रादरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय. मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हुं कि एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० एक्ट बनाने का उद्देश्य यह था कि गरीबी ग्रौर ग्रमीरी के बीच की खाई कम हो ग्रौर जिस देश में 35 करोड लोग गरीवी की रेखा के नीचे रहते है, वहां कुछ मटठी-भर लोगों को इस एम० श्रार० टी॰ पी॰ भ्रमेंडमेंट बिल के द्वारा इतनी ग्रधिक सुविधाएं प्रदान कराएंगे, तो क्या यह उचित है? इस पर भी विचार करें।

ग्रादरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब मैं श्रापके सामने यह निवेदन कर रह हं, तो मे श्रापक सामने संविधान के डायरेक्टिव प्रिसिपल ग्राफ दी कंस्टी-ट्यूशन को पढ़ना चाहता हूं -"

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing-

- (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common
- (c) that the operation of economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment:
- (d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;"

संविधान के इस डायरेक्टिव प्रिसिपल त्राफ दी कंस्टीट्यूणन में यह लिखा हुन्ना है कि अमीरी और गरीबी के बीच की खाई कम होगी। तो मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि इस एम० स्नार० टी० पी० स्रमेंडमेंट विल के माध्यम से क्या देश में ग्रमीरी ग्रौर गरीवी के बीच की खाई कम होगी या बढ़ेगी? I want this clarification from the Government.

म्रादरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एम० म्रार० टी० पी० एक्ट वर्ष 1969 म्रीर 1970 के मध्य बना था, जब देश में श्रीमती इदिरा गांधी जी ने समाजवाद की दिशा में वड़े कड़े कदम उठाए थे।

बैकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण उस दिशा में एक महत्वर्ग कदम था, राजास्रों के प्रिवी पर्य की समाप्ति महत्वपूर्ण कदम था।पूरा देश समाजवाद दिशा में बढ़ रहा था। उस दौरान हम ने एम० ग्रार० टी० पी एक्ट

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

बनाया। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूं कि '69 से 85, के बीच एम० ग्रारं० टी० पी० कमीशन ने हिन्दुस्तान के कितने पुंजीपतियों के वेल्थ की जांच की ? उनका पैसा बढ़ा तो उन के खिलाफ क्या कार्य-वाही की ? इन 15-16 वर्षों के दौरान एम० प्रार० टी० पी० कमीशन भ्रन्तर्गत कितने पूजीपतियों के कार्य की जांच की गयी, किन-किन के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की गयी। 16-16 वर्षों में हिन्दुस्तान के मोनोपोली हाउसेज की दौलत कितनी बढ़ी? ग्रभी हमारे मित्र कह रहे थे कि 1400 करोड का मोनो-पाली हाउस 2900 करोड़ का हो गया, 1500 का टाटा 2700 करोड़ का हो गया। एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० '69 में बना ग्रौर 15 वर्ष के दौरान ग्रगर हिन्द्स्तान के मोनोपोली हाउसेज श्राफ बेल्थ बढा तो उस के संबंध में उस ने क्या किया? क्या उस ने डायरेक्टिव प्रिसिपिल्स ग्राफ दि कांस्टीट्युशन को लागु करने की दिशा में प्रयत्न किया?

इससे ग्रागे बढ़ कर हम ने हिन्द्स्तान के संविधान में 76 में 42वां संशोधन किया जिस के माध्यम से हम ने हिन्द्स्तान की जनता के सामने कहा ---

"We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens. Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship. Equality of status and of opportunity. . ."

हमने हिन्द्स्तान के संविधान की प्रिएम्बिल में इस वात की कसम खाई है कि हम समाजवादी गणराज्य की स्थापना करेंगे। फिर हम ने एम० भ्रार० पी० एक्ट के माध्यम से 99 करोड़ की पूंजी रखने वाले पूंजीपतियों को पूरी छूट दी है कि जहां चाहे पैसा लगाएं जहां चाहें इंडस्टी लगाएं। प्राइवेट सेक्टर स्माल सेक्टर का गला घोट दे इतनी

सुविधाएं मुट्ठी भर लोगों को देने का क्या प्रयोजन है। '48 का इंडस्ट्री पोलिसी रिजोल्युशन क्या कहता है:

"The aim of the 1948 Industrial Policy was that the 'State must play a progressively active role in the development of industries'. It also conceded that the mechanism and the resources of the state may not permit it to function forthwith in industry as widely as may be desir-Hence the decision to have complete state monopoly only on three industries, namely arms and ammunition, atomic energy and railway transport. Also any future ventures in 6 other industries were to be the exclusive monopoly of the State. These were coal, iron and steel. aircraft manufacture, ship building, manufacture of telephones, telegraph and wireless apparatus, excluding radio receiving sets, and mineral oil. The result of this policy was the acceptance of mixed economy as a model for development of the country. It allowed the establishment of industries in the private sector in a wide field. Gradually, however, more stress was laid by the Government on the attainment of socialistic pattern of society. A Resolution adopted by Lok Sabha in December 1954 declared that the object of the country's economic policy should be socialistic pattern of society. Speaking on the Resolution, Prime Minister Nehru said that 'progressively as the socialist pattern grows, there is bound to be more and more nationalised industry—but what is important is not that there should be an attempt to nationalise everything. but the results of that. That is, what you are aiming at is produc. tion and employment. If by taking any step you actually stop the production process from growing. this does not lead you to that socialistic pattern. although that little step might be called socialistic". It is this pragmatic thinking that has informed the government's industrial policy throughout the post-independence period.

Industrial Policy Resolution 1956-The intervening years from 1948 when the first industrial Policy adopted and 1956 Resolution was when the policy was restated, certain momentous developments had taken place in the country. The Constitution of India had been enacted guaranteeing certain Fundamental Rights and enunciating the Directive Principles of State Policy. Planning had proceeded in an organised basis, and the First Plan was successfully completed. A socialistic pattern of society was accepted as the objective of social and economic policy. Whereas the Preamble to, the Constitution said inter alia about securing social and economic justice, the Directive Principles had called upon the State (1) to secure to all citizens an adequate means of livelihood, (ii) to ensure that the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as best to, subserve the common good, and (iii) to ensure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the comcentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 laid stress on accelerating the speed of industrialization, in particular heavy industries, expansion of public sector and the growth of the cooperative sector. The State was to progressively assume a predominant and drect responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings and for developing transport facilities. State trading was another important area stressed by the Policy Resolution. Industries of basic and strategic importance and those in the nature of public utility services were to be in the public sector. Those industries which requir, ed huge investment, which only the

State could mobilize, also had to be in the public sector."

1948 का पालिसी रेजाल्युशन, 1956 का इंडस्ट्रियल पालिमी रेजोल्यूशन, 1976 श्रमे **इमें** ट कांस्टीट्युशन ग्रौर 1969 का एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० एक्ट ग्रौर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने प्रधान मंत्री का पद ग्रहण करने के बाद जो पहला रेडियो ब्राडकास्ट किया था उस में कहा था :

I reaffirm our adherence to social-Without planism and planning. ning, we could not have reached where we are. Our aim is continuous modernisation, higher productiadvance of social vit_v and rapid justice.

ग्रौर उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्रभी ए ग्राई सी सी में हमने ग्रार्थिक प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किय

The objective of Congress is establishment of socialism.

तो मैं ग्रपने ग्रादरणीय मंत्री महोदय से इस एम ग्रार टी पी एक्ट ग्रमेंडमेंट बिल का समर्थन करते हुये भी कहना चाहुंगा कि जों प्वाइंटस मैंने रेज किया है उन पर वे ग्रपना क्लैरिफिकेशन दे। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि :

MRTP Act within the Is this framework of the Preamble of the Constitution? is this MRTP Amendment Act within the framework of Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 or 1948? Is this MRTP Amendment Act within the framework of policy statements of our Prime Mi nister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi on social ism? Is this MRTP Act within the framework of the Congress election manifesto or within the framewor of this policy statement?

मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं । मैं इस विल का समर्थन करता हूं लेकिन मैं कहना चाहत हूं कि ग्रगर (व्यवधान) यह ऐसी वात नहीं है कि जिस पर किसी को खश होना चाहिए हमारी अपनी नीतियां है, हमारे अपने सिद्धां हैं। इस पार्टी का होने के नाते कोई फर्क नः पड़ता अगर मैं यह बात कहं या जानन

श्रिंग कल्पनाथ राय]

चाहू । लेकिन हमारी पालिसी ऐसी है कि जिस की बिना पर हम ने देश के संविधान में कसम खायी है कि हम समाजवाद की यहां पर स्थापना करेंगे । हम ने ग्रपने चनाव घोपणा पत्र के माध्यम से देश के करोड़ों करोड जनता के सामने कसम खायी है देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करते की । हम ने जवाहर लाल नेहरू ग्रौर लाल वहादूर शास्त्री ग्रौर श्रोमती इन्दिरा गांधी नेतत्व में भारत में एक सशक्त ग्रौर समाजवादी गणराज्य स्थापित करने का संकल्प लिया है । हम ने देश के वर्तमान नेता श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व मे यहां सोशलिज्म स्थापित करने क. कसम खायी है। हम ने स्राल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के रेजोल्युशन में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना का संकल्प लिया हुग्रा है, लेकिन श्रगर इस तरह से देश ने मोनो-पोली हाउसेज को म्राप बढ़ायेंगे*,* म्रौर उन को बढने का मौका मिलेगा ग्रौर पब्लिक सेक्टर को कमाडिंग हाइट्स इकोनानी पर नहीं रखा जायेगा तो पुंजीपर्रि

संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्रोनती मारग्रेट म्नत्वा) : रखा गया है ।

श्रीकल्पाय राय रखागया है जैसे वह स्राप भी जानती हैं स्रौर हम भी जानते है। लेकिन अन्गर उन को इस तरह की छुट मिलेगी तो यह पूजीपित आज हमारे चुनाव घोषणा पत्न को, हमारी स्राजादी की लडाई के ब्रतीत के इतिहास को, हमारे करांची कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव को ग्रौर ग्राजादी की लडाई के दौरान मल्क की जनता के सामने जो स्राजादी के उद्देश्य हम ने रखे थे ग्रौर जिन की पूर्ति के लिये हमारे राजनायक जवाहर लोल नेहरू या विश्वनेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा राजीव ने या वतेमान नेता जिसके लिये प्रयत्नशील को उन पुरा नहीं होने देंगे । ग्राप ने समाज-की दिशा में यदि उचित कदम न उठाये ग्रौर इन मोनोपोली हाउसेज के लिये 20 करोड़ की सीमा को बढ़ा कर 100 करोड कर दियातो ये कभी भें कंप्रोमाइज नहीं कर सकते समाजवाद के साथ । ये कभी भी हमारी स्राजादी की लड़ाई के उद्देश्यों के **ग्रनुकुल ग्राचरण नहीं कर सकते । ये कभ**िभी

समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना का प्रयास नहीं करेगे। इनको ग्रधिक ताकतवर बनायेंगे तो इनका इनकोचमेंट समाजवादी सिद्धान्त पर बढ़ेगा।

श्रीमन्, हम स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज की बात करते है। इसके माध्यम से हम देश के ग्रन्दर लोगों को इंप्लायमेंट देंगे । श्रगर इन पंजीपतियों को दो सौ करोड़ की छट दी गई, इनको फाइनेंशल इंस्टीट्युशंस से, बैंकों से ग्ररबों रुपया लेने की छट दी गई तो ये स्माल सेक्टर को कभीभी जिन्दा नहीं रखेगे, नहीं रहने देंगे श्रौर इनकी मोनो-पली इस तरह से बढेगी कि म्राने वाले जमाने मे हमारी राजनीति को ये प्रभावित करने की कोशिश करेंगे । इसलिये मैं सरकार के श्रमेंडमेंट का समर्थन करते हुये भी इंडस्ट्री मिनिस्टर से चाहूंगा कि वे इसका क्लैरिफिकेशन दें कि हमने स्राजादी की लडाई के इतिहास को सामने रख कर पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने जो समाजवादी नीति श्रपनाई थी यह उसके स्नन्कल है ? (व्यवधान)

श्री सूरेश कलमाडी (महाराष्ट्र) : ग्राप क्या कह रहे है ? (व्यवधान)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय . यह स्रापकी स्रक्ल के बाहर की बात है । इसलिये स्राप समझ नही सकते । स्राप नान-पोलिटिकल स्रादमी है, पार्लियामेट में स्रा गये हैं, जरा समझने की कोशिश कीजिये ।

इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारी दिशा जो है उसे मजबूत करने के लिये कदम उठाइये जिसके लिये विश्व की महान् नेता इदिरा गांधी ने कहा थाः

"I want to make India a developed, strong, powerful and socialist India. But for making India strong and powerful, either dynamise the country or get yourself dynamited."

हिन्दुस्तान शिवतशाली तब होगा जब समाजवादी वनेगा । विना समाजवाद के वह शिवतशाली नही बन सकता है । इसिलये में देश के नेना श्री राजीव गांधी से अनुरोध करूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में समाजवाद को मजबूत करने के लिये मोनोपली हाउसेज के उपर जितना भी प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जा सके लगायें । पहले सरकार घोषणा करे

कि जो सौ करोड़ रूपये की छुट उनको दी है, उसको जो नैशनलाइउड बैंको से **रुपया** दिया जा रहा है, जो फाइनेंशल इंस्टीट्युशंस से पैमा दिया जा रहा है, वह नहीं दिया जायगा ग्रीर पब्लिक सैक्टर को कमांडिंग हाईट ग्राफ इकानामी देते हये भी हम मिक्स्ड इकानामी के ग्राधार पर उन सैक्टरों को प्रायोरिटी देगे जो हमारी कंज्यूमर इंडस्ट्रीज है । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूं । धन्यवाद ।

चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, एम० ग्रार० टी० पी० एक्ट में संशोधन के लिये जो बिल स्राया है, मैं उसके विरोध में बोलने के लिये खड़ा हुग्रा हूं । विरोध मैं इसलिये कर रहा हूं कि यह संविधान के निर्देशक सिद्धांतों के खिलाफ है । विरोध मैं इसलिये कर रहा हूं कि इस कानून के बनने से संपत्ति का केन्द्रीयकरण होगा ग्रौर गरीबों की तादाद ग्राँर भी ज्यादा होगी जिससे इस देश के ग्रौद्योगीकरण में भारी बाधा पहुंचेगी। मैं विरोध इसलिये करता हूं कि इसके जरिए लाखों लघु उद्योगों ग्रौर मध्यम उद्योगों पर भारी भ्राघात लगेगा ग्रौर यह इस देश के विकास के लिये घातक सिद्ध होगा।

श्रीमन्, यह दुख की बात है कि कुछ ही दिन पहले जिस कांग्रेस पार्टी की ए० श्राई० सी० सी० की बैठक मे श्राधिक नीति निर्धारित की गई थी, ठीक उसके विपरीत यह तानाशाही ग्रीर एकाधिकार पक्षी विधेयक यहां ग्राया है । इससे लगता है कि इस पार्टी के मुंह में दो जीभ है। एक जीभ है पुजीवाद के लिये श्रीर दूसरी है समाजवाद के लिये । जब दोनों जीभें एक साथ ग्रा जायें तो कल्पनाथ जी जैसा भाषण हो जाता है ग्रौर कुछ लोग बोखलाने लगते हैं। लेंकिन वात यह है कि इस पार्टी के मंह में दो जीभ है जिनके चलते ऐसा हो रहा है।

मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ तथ्य दिये हैं जिनके चलते यह विधेयक लाया गया है। पहला कारण उन्होंने बताया कि इससे लोगों को 21वीं शताब्दी में जाना है श्रौर 21वी शताब्दी में बिना मोनोपली हाउसेज नहीं जा सकता । इसलिये जाया मोनोपली हाउसेज की सवारी पर चढकर ये 21वी सदी में जायेंगे।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछ्गा ि जहां एकाधिकार पूजी नही है चीम मे, सोविय**त** रूस मे वे लोग 21वी शतार्वा मे जायेंगे या नहीं जायेंगे। वे म्रापसे मार्ग बढ़ कर जायेंगे। मै यह भी स्नापको विश्वास दिलाता है कि हम रहेगे या नहीं रहेंगे, मैं भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हं कि ग्राप जरूर रहें तब श्राप देखेंगे कि वे ग्रापसे ज्यादा तेजी से ग्रागे बढेंगे। श्रापके इस इरादे से भारत शताब्दी में सबसे ग्रधिक दरिद्र, बेरोजगार ग्रीर सबसे निरक्षर देश साबित होगा जैसा कि **ग्रा**पके 37 वर्ष के राज के ग्रन्दर हुमा है यदि मापने यही रास्ता मिख्यतयार कियातो ।

मैं ऋापकी दूसरी दलील पर ऋाता हं। ग्रापने कहा है कि चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ गई, प्राइस राइज हुम्रा है इसीलिए एकाधिकार की सीमा 20 करोड़ से 100 करोड़ कर दिया है। मैं मर्ता महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सच्ची बात है कि 69 से लेकर स्रभी तक पांच गुना ज्यादा प्राइस वढ़ी ह ? यदि श्राप ऐसा कहते हैं तो मैं तथ्यों को ग्रापके सामने रखना चाहता हू। यह पालिटिकल एंड इकोनोमिक वीकली है । उससे मै ग्रापको पढ़कर स्नाता हं:

"A major step towards helping private industry is that of raising the asset limit for the MRTP units from Rs. 20 crore to Rs. 100 crore. This certainly is not the way to make the economy more competitive. Some Inflation-indexing was perhaps necessary, because the limit was fixed in 1969, but even the most oplimistic among the monopoly houses could not have anticipated that the limit would be raised five-fold when the price-inflation since 1969 has been about three-and-a-half times".

[श्रो चत्रानन मिश्र] भ्रापने कम्पीटिशन की बात की ग्रौर विशोषज्ञ कहते हैं कि नही। यह मैं कहना चाहता हू कि ग्राप जितना मुविधा उनको दे रहे हैं उतनी तो उन्होंने कभी मांगी तक नहीं । वह तो 50 र रोड़ तक ही मांग कर रहे हैं। इस विबेयक से जो लघु एवम् मध्यम उद्योग हैं उनको घाटा होगाँ। मैं शासक दल के लोगों से कहूगा कि इस पर विचार करे। वही पत्निका ग्रागे कहती है:--

among the small "The largest units-claiming all the benefits of being small-are often open or disguised subsidiaries of the large enterprises. Even multinationals have now entered the field of small scale industries. The liberalisation of excise exemption on clearances on a graded basis will also mean relatively more benefit to the small units at the top of the scale. The really small ones, owned by the small entrepreneurs, will remain practically where they were. benefit from the large subsidies on exports and fertilisers will also go to the big producers and large farmers".

यह कोई कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का नहीं है। मैं फिर ऋापको दिखाता हं। "द इकोनोमिक टाइम्स" जो यह इंड-स्ट्लियस्ट का मुख्य पत्र हैं। उस में से उद्धरण दे रहा हू । यह 20 मार्च का है। जो लिमिट बढाई जः उसके बारे में लिखना है:

"With this limit, a large number of industrial giants which were virtually stagnating will now be allowed to grow freely till such time as their assets touch the Rs. 100 crore mark. It is expected their growth rate will be phenomenal for these industrial houses will be allowed to freely expand their activity in the low priority industries which are commonly known as non-appendix I items of manufacture by virtue of being out of the MRTP net.

On the other hand, however, relatively smaller companies with their assets being just above Rs. 1 crore and manufacturing specialised items in great demand would continue to stagnate under the MRTP Act by virtue of the fact that their share in the total domestic market is 25 per cent the qualifying limit for the purpose of 'monopoly'."

पुंजीपतियों के ग्रखबार**से मैं ग्रापको** उद्धरण देकर बता रहा हूं । इस विधेय**च** से मध्यम उद्योग ग्रौर दूसरे उद्योग इससे बर्बाद हो जायेंगे। भ्राप कृपया इस कानुन को मत लाइए । ग्रगर ऐसा करेंगे तो इन पर श्राधात पहुचेगा। एम श्रार टी पी एक्ट का ऐसा संशोधन करके लाइए जिससे उसकी परिभाषा ऐसी हो जिससे छोटे मध्यम उद्योगों की जान बच सके। नहीं तो ऐसा मत कीजिए। दूसरी बात मै यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे देश में सम्पत्ति का केन्द्रीकरण ज्यादा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, की 20 परसेंट म्रावादी के पास जितनी कुल सम्पत्ति है उतनी सम्पत्ति बिरला हाउस के पास है या टाटा हाउस केपास है।

इतने दरिद्र लोग इस देश में रहेंगे ग्रौर ग्राप सोचते हैं कि ग्रमेरिका <mark>मे</mark>ं जाकर ग्रपना माल बेचकर ग्राप इस देश का ग्रौद्योगिकरण करेंगे ? **ग्राप** केवल इस प्रकार का स<mark>पना देख रहे</mark> हैं। यह होने वाली बात नही है। इस देश में ही बाजार है। इस देश को **श्रा**पको ऋय शक्ति देनी पडेगी।पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू कोई सपना नहीं देख रहे थे। कि उन्होंने राजकीय क्षेत्र पर उन्होंने बल दिया था। हमारे देश का संविधान बन.ने व.लों ने संविधान नीति निदेशक सिद्धांत हम लोगों के कहने से, कम्युनिस्टों के कहने से नहीं बन.ए गए थे। उन्होंने सोचा था कि इस देश की ऋपार गरीबी को दूर करने का एकमात्र तरीका राजकीय क्षेत्र म्राप इस देश की तुलना दूसरे देशों **से** नहीं कर सकते है। यहां पर हैवियस्ट

कंसट्रेशन सम्पत्ति का है। ग्रमेरिका में दो महीने की ग्रामदनी में एक ग्रादमी कार खरीद सकता है। जापान में ग्रौर फेडरल जर्मनी में तीन महीने की तनख्वाह में कार खरीदी जा सकती हैं। लेकिन हिन्दस्तान में जीवन भर कमाने के बाद भी कार नहीं खरीदी जा सकती है। जहां पर मश्किल हो वहां की त्लना दूसरे देशों से नहीं की जा सकती है।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि पब्लिक सैक्टर को हम कमांडिंग हाइट में लें ग्राए हैं। वे हाइट ग्रौर कमांडिंग हाइट का फर्क नहीं जानते हैं। हाथी को चलाने वाला पिलवान होता है। वह हाथी से छोटा होता है, फिर भी कमाडिंग स्थिति में होता है। स्रापने पब्लिक सैक्टर बनाया, यह ठीक है। क्राज क्रापने 35 हजार करोड़ की पुंजी इस मे लगाई है, लेकिन कमांडिंग पोजीशन में ट.ट.ज हैं. बिरलाज है। सारे बाजार पर उनका नियंत्रण हैं। पब्लिक सैक्टर उनके हिन के लिए काम करता है। डिस्ट्रिब्यूणन उनके हाथ में है, कस्ट्रक्शन उनके हैं।य में हैं, सप्लाई उसके हाथ में है, जिन्हीय संस्थान, बैंक उनके पक्ष मे है। वही ग्राज कमाडिंग पोजीशन में है। पव्लिक सैक्टर को ग्रापने बीमार वना दिया है। बीमार ग्रादमी कैसे कमाडिंग हाइट में हो सकता यह सब भ्रष्टाचार की देन है। यह ग्रापकी नालायकी का सबत है। इतनी पूंजी लगा-कर ग्रापने इसको इस स्थिति में लाकर खड़ा कर दिया है। ग्रब भारत को एक रास्ता चुनना पड़ेगा। मैं स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हुं कि अब यह मौका आया था कि पश्चिक सेक्टर देश की गरीब जनता के लिए कुछ करता । श्रापने पूंजीपतियों को सस्ता कोयला दिया, सस्ता तेल दिया ग्रौर सस्ता ट्रासपोर्ट दिया । पब्लिक सेक्टर ने उन्हें ऐसी मशीनें बनाकार दी। लेकिन देश की अधिकांश जनता भूखों मरती रही है। ग्रब ग्राप पंजीपतियों के हाथों में ही राजकीय क्षेत्र भी हैं ण्डम्रोवर करना चाहते हैं। इस उद्दे⁹य की पूर्ति के लिए स्राप बहराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के निमंत्रण दे रहे हैं । स्राप एम स्रार०:टी०पो० एक्ट को -समाप्त कर देना चाहते हैं । मै श्रापके

समाने एम० ग्रार०टी० पी० कमी शत की रिपोर्ट पेशज करना चाहता हूं। यह वारहवीं एनुम्रल रिपोर्ट है। इसका एक उद्धरण में यहां देना चाहता हूं।

"During the year under report no such reference was made by the Central Government to the Commission."

एक भी केस स्रापने कमिलशन विचार के लिए नहीं दिया । एम०ग्रार०टी०गी० किमशन में एक साल मैं एक भी केस नहीं गया ।

"Nor did the Commission institute any such inquiry suo motu." उसके बाद भो ग्राप इसकी सीमा बढ़ा रहे हैं। इस सबंध में मैं श्रापके सामने एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी भी प्रस्तृत करना चाहता हं। यह रिपोर्ट सच्चर कमेटी के नाम से सनह 1978 में ब्राई थी। मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस रिपोर्ट के पेज 240 मे दी गई रिकमेन्डेशन की तरफ दिलाना चाहता

"20.4 Suggestions for revision of the Rs. 20 crores limit. Suggestions have been received in some of the memoranda for upward revision of the criteria of Rs. 20 crores as value of assets for purposes of applicability of the provisions in Chapter III of the Act. Suggestions have been made that it should be raised to Rs. 50 crores. We have considered this matter but we do not feel that any change in the criteria of Rs. 20 crores assets is necessary at present."

यह सन् 1978-79 की बात है। **स** लिए में माननीय मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि उम रिपोर्ट के बाद, उस एक्सपर्ट कमेटी के बाद कौन-सी रिपोर्ट उनके पास उपलब्ध है जिसके श्राधार पर वे इसको सौ करोड़ करने जा रहे हैं?

[श्री चत्रानन मिश्र]

मैं स्पष्ट रूप से जानना चाहता हूं कि ग्रगर ग्राप मन-मौजी से शासन चलाना चाहते हैं तो यह दूसरी बात है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हुं कि ईमानदारी की बात तो यह है कि एम०ग्रार०टी०पी० एक्ट के रहते भी ऐसे सख्त कदम नहीं उठाये गये जिससे देश में सम्पत्ति का केन्द्र स्करण रोका जा सके। उसमे एक क्लाज थी वो सबसे म्रच्छी क्लाज थी, कर्न्वाटबिलिटी, यानि हमारी वित्तीय संस्थाग्रों से ग्रगर रुपया लें तो उसको एक्विटी शेयर्स में बदल दिया जाय। लेकिन सरकार ने ऐसा नही किया। ग्रापने कर्जा दिया, वित्ताय संस्याग्रों से । वित्तीय संस्थाएं सरकार की सरकार के हैं। कर्जा सबसे ज्यादा मोनो-पली हाउसेज लेते है। वह राष्ट्र का रुपया है। राष्ट्र के रुपये से मुट्टीभर स्रादमी दौलतमंद बन गये है ग्रौर उन्होंने सारे राष्ट्र को कंगाल बना दिया है । ग्रापके पास ला में प्राविजन था स्पेशल करवाने का । लेकिन उसको भी **न**हीं किया ग्रौर मोनोपली हाउसेज लिये कर्न्वाटिबिलटी क्लाज जो था **ग्रा**पने इस्तेमाल नही किया। ग्रापने धिकारी कम्पनियों की वस्तुग्रों के पर रोक लगाने के लिए कुछ नही किया। में स्रापसे कहना चाहता हूं कि उस रिपोर्ट के ग्राधार पर 1970 से लेकर तक टोटल एम०ग्रारत्टी०पी० के 618 ग्रप्लीकैशंस गवर्नमेंट के पास ग्राई। गर्वनमेंट ने सिर्फ, 59 को रेंफर **कमी**शन के पास । कमीशन स्रपनी रिपोर्ट में कहता है कि 90 से 93 प्रतिशत तक गवर्नमेंट ने खुद डिस्पोज ग्राफ कमीशन के पास नहीं भेजे ग्रौर ग्रापने सारे फैसले ग्रपने ग्राप कर लिए। सूप्रीम कोर्ट मे, हमाँरी जो न्याय व्यवस्था है, उस-की जो पद्धति है उसके कारण जो वहां 1974 में केसेज गये थे कोलगेट के, के कैंड़वरः ऐवरी के सारे के सारे केसेज अभी तक पड़े हुए हैं । इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से कहुंगा कि कानून ही देश के स्रदर ऐसे हैं जिनके ग्रंदर कुछ नही किया जा सकता। गवर्नमेंट जो ग्रपने डाइरेक्टर लगाती है, वे स्लीपिंग डाइरेक्टर हैं। वे कूछ काम नही करते हैं। ये ग्रापकी तरफ से जाते

बोर्ड में, वे उसको नही देखते हैं । मैं श्रापसे कहना चाहंगा कि त्रगर सरकार चाहती है कि इस बारे मे सचम्च किया जाय तो कम से कम एक कीजिए, ग्राज जिस तरह से मुल्यों वृद्धि हो रही है उससे शासक ग्रौर विपक्षी दोनों लोग चितित <mark>म्राप भी चिं</mark>तित है। इसलिए एक काम कम से कम सरकार करे ग्रगर सरकार इस बारे में ईमानदारी से सोचर्ता है कि मृल्य वृद्धि को रोका जाय तो जो एक्स-फैक्टरी प्राइस हैं ग्रौर जो सेलज प्राइस है इसके डिफरेन्स को पब्लिश करवाया जाय कि डिफरेन्स क्या है। तब सारा देश देखेगा, सारे देश की जनता देखेगी कि ईमानदारी है । ग्राप जिन पुजीपतियों पर विश्वास करते हैं वे ग्रापको धोखा देते हैं। उन्होने सारे राष्ट्र को बारबार धोखा दिया है ग्रौर यह देश इस दुर्दशा को प्राप्त हुन्रा है । इसके लिये मैं ग्रापसे **ग्रनरोध** करूंगा कि ग्राप इसको कीजिए ।

श्रन्त में मैं श्राप से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो एक्सपर्ट कमेटी ने सूझाव दिये हैं, सम्पत्ति के केन्द्रीयकरण को रोकने के लिये एक्सपर्ट कमेटी के जो सूझाव हैं उनको स्राप स्वीकार कीजिए । साथ ही में शासक पार्टी के मित्रो से कहंगा जो यहां पर हैं कि क्या ग्रापने इतनी जल्दी ए० ग्राई० सी० सी० के ग्राधिक प्रस्ताव को दफना दिया?

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सरकार से **अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि वह इस** बिल को वापस ले ले ग्रौर इसमें तमाम र्चाजों का समावेश कर, इसमें पूरा सुधार करने के बाद इसको ले ग्रायें। कुछ दिनों में कुछ नहीं होने वाला है। ग्राप ग्रगर इसमें सुधार कर पष्ट तो इससे में म्रापके ऊपर विश्वास पैदा होगा । म्राज देश की राजनीतिक परिस्थिति *ने*जी से खराब हो रही है ऐसी हालत में समस्यायें ग्रौर भी जटिल होगी । इसलिये सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता िक वह इस बिल को वापस ले। धन्यवाद ।