

Paokai Haokip, Shri
 Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Patil, Shri S. B.
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.
 Pramanik, Shri J. N.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shaffi
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Raju Shri D. B.
 Ram Dhani Das, Shri
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Ramshekhar Prasad Singh, Shri
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Saha, Dr. S. K.
 Saigal, Shri A. S.

Saleem, Shri M. Yunus
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayan
 Sen, Shri P. G.
 Sethuraman, Shri N.
 Shah, Shri Shantilal
 Shambhu Nath Shri
 Sharma, Shri Madhoram
 Shinkre, Shri
 Sinha, Shri R. K.
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan
 Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari
 Sonar, Dr. A. G.
 Supakar, Shri Sradhakar
 Sursingh, Shri
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Verma, Shri Prem Chand
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra
 Yadab, Shri N. P.
 Yadav, Shri Chandra Jeet

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result* of the division is :

Ayes 53 ; Noes 102.

The motion was negatived.

16.50 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE : APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSION TO GO INTO CHARGES AGAINST BIRLA GROUP OF CONCERNS

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam) : I move :

“Having regard to the seriousness of the charges that have been levelled against the Birla Group of concerns by very responsible persons including Members of Parliament, this House is of opinion that a High Power Commission should be appointed by the Government to go into those charges and recommend appropriate action.”

Sir, I move this resolution with the hope that the entire House will support the same because it has become a serious matter in this country and especially among great many Congress Members themselves. This question has roused them to a great extent. Many allegations have been raised and many have been proved. Many allegations have been raised by the Congress Members themselves. Mr. Chandra Shekhar, a Member of Parliament, and other Congress Members have come out openly.

For the past 22 years, this country was ruled by the Congress, and Mr. Birla, within such a short time, has built up his empire all over this country. Birla's influence in every walk of life is clearly established by various charges levelled by Mr. Chandra Shekhar. Within three years' time, from Rs. 200 crores, Birla's income has risen to Rs. 500 crores.

AN HON. MEMBER : Total assets.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Yes ; the total assets have risen to Rs. 500 crores.

The following member also recorded their Votes for NOES :
 Sarvashri Basumatari and Sitaram Kesri.

That itself has shown how much influence he has gained on the economy of this country. We claim that we are a socialist country and we are trying to have socialism in this country, but what is actually happening is this ; while an ordinary Indian cannot get even a rupee a day, such big monopolies have been built up by the party in power, the Congress.

I want to draw the attention of the House to the various allegations brought forward by Mr. Chandra Shekhar and they were discussed thoroughly in the Upper House. I do not want to go into each and every one of these but certain allegations have been clearly established. The attitude taken by the Government of India, especially by the Finance Ministry and the Minister in charge of company affairs, and the Cabinet itself, are in favour of Birlas and are against the interests of even the public sector. I do not want to go into each and every allegation because I do not think that I will get enough time. Moreover, the papers have already been placed on the Table of the House, and these are with almost all the Members of the House.

I want to draw the attention of the hon. Members to one important fact. Although we claim that we stand for the public sector, what we are actually doing is to nurse and shield the Birlas, and crushing the public sector. I want to draw the attention to that particular item given by Mr. Chandra Shekhar in his booklet, *A Peep into Birla House*. The three memoranda submitted to the Prime Minister have been published, and let me read the extract from that book :

"Hindustan Insecticides itself is a public sector undertaking which is being run efficiently and is making a profit. The country's annual requirements of DDT is about 7,000 tonnes. HIL has so far produced 2,800 tonnes and shortly it will be increasing its production to 4,200 tonnes. This public sector company has submitted a feasibility project for an additional 4,000 tonnes of DDT. While there is considerable scope for HIL itself to expand and meet all our requirements since they are the only people who have the technical know-how, for reasons not easy to understand, a Birla

company—Messrs Century Chemicals,—were given a licence by the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals....."

"disregarding the effect of such action on HIL. It would be interesting to know when the licence was applied for and how quickly it was granted. Applications were not invited from any other company before giving the licence. Even the application of HIL for expansion was not considered. In fact, they were discouraged from expanding. In this connection, the following two enquiries should be made :

(i) How Century Chemicals' licence application happened to come and was approved and granted in great haste ?

(ii) Why HIL was not asked to apply for their application was not considered when they were already in the line and when they are the only people in India who have the necessary technical know-how ?"

Although the Central Government claim to stand for the public sector, by their own action, they have proved that they are only supporting Birlas and the private sector.

There is another item in the Booklet about falsification of accounts by Birlas. It says :

"I say this because I am reminded of the case of Ruby General Insurance Company and New Asiatic Insurance Co. Ltd., both belonging to the group of Birlas. As a result of some complaints and some documentary evidence being supplied to the Government, the Government appointed its own auditors to investigate into the affairs of these two companies. The conclusions arrived at by these Government Auditors are given below :"

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore) : Are you reading from the Government's report ?

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : I am reading from Mr. Chandrasekhar's book.

"New Asiatic Insurance Company.

[Shri Viswanatha Menon]

In concluding our report, we observe that there was a regular conspiracy amongst the staff and officers of the Head Office and Branches of the New Asiatic Insurance Co. Ltd. to falsify the books of accounts systematically and manipulating profits from year to year for the purpose of showing a rosy picture before the shareholders as well as the public. The *moudu operandi* adopted by the company in falsifying the books of accounts in several cases is such that it could not be detected in normal course of checking."

"Ruby Insurance Co.

That the company has wilfully manipulated and falsified the books of accounts from year to year both in Life as well as in General Department, and the Revenue Account and Balance Sheet for these years do not represent a true and correct state of affairs of the company.

In spite of all these conclusions, what happened? Only some junior employees were taken to task and transferred from these companies to other concerns of the Birlas. The Birlas emerged in the eyes of the public as honest and straightforward people but only their employees were blamed for such serious irregularities. I hope history will not repeat itself and instead of prosecuting any poor employee, the real culprit will be caught and brought to book.

In this connection, I must say that the public in general and the Parliament in particular are left with a grievance about the manner in which these two Audit Reports on these Insurance Companies have been dealt with and disposed of by the Government. Since there is no law of limitation in cases of fraud and other crimes, I suggest that these two reports be taken up again and the guilty should be brought to book without further delay."

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : He is reading the whole book. He can lay it on the Table.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Sir, the audit reports of these two insurance

companies were laid on the Table by me and Mr. Homi Daji who was an hon. member of this House. It was never disowned by Government. He is reading from those audit reports quoted in that book.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I think the minister himself has laid all these papers on the Table of the House here (*Interruptions*).

17 hrs.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Sir, I will answer him. Although my Swatantra friend is so much anxious to defend the Birlas I would like to tell him that I know how to make a speech and he need not try to teach me all these things (*Interruption*).

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Monghyr) : You have a right to quote from anything.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : I want to quote certain other items to show that these Birlas are the worst crooks in the world. From falsification of accounts I will go to another more important item (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order, order. I want to make one request to hon. Members. The time is very limited. The Mover of the Motion will therefore get hardly 20 minutes. Let him make his speech without interruptions.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali) : I only wish that he has the guts to complete his sentence outside in public.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : I am going to quote only one more item to show the character of the Birla concerns. The heading is : "Fires at the time of recent raids and searches". It is said here :

"On 15th June, 1967 several textile mills of the Birla Group were raided and searched. At that time there were two big fires in their concerns. One was in Manjushree Mills, Ahmedabad where they are supposed to have burnt and destroyed some cloth which they are manufacturing in the mill without the Textile Commissioner's permission and against regulations and law. The second-fire was in the godown of Saurashtra Chemicals, Bombay. In this godown some records were kept and some more were

taken there only to be destroyed by fire."

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : And the third one was in Faridabad this morning.

AN HON. MEMBER : That is also Birla's ?

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Roh:ak) : That was burnt by Shri Banerjee's *chela*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is not becoming of an hon. Member to refer to an accident in a Party Congress. If something were to happen to the hon. Member's Party Congress of this nature I would have said the same thing.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, I was not telling anything about the party. I have the greatest regard to the Congress Party. I have not said anything about it but I was told—I do not know whether it is true that the entire food was supplied by a Marwari Relief Society. They supply food to *anaths* or orphans (*Interruption*).

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Sir, I have cited only three items from this book so as to show that the Birlas will not hesitate to do anything in business. From falsification of accounts, if it comes to a question of search they used even to burn godowns so that records may not be taken. On this particular issue, I am not at all much bothered about all these things but I am bothered about the attitude of the Government towards Birlas, especially the attitude of the entire Cabinet. I do not want to single out anybody. The entire Cabinet is responsible. That is why I mentioned about the Petroleum & Chemicals Ministry and other Ministries.

With regard to the burning of the pandal and all that we have every sympathy and we are not at all in any way happy about that. But sir, actually the Congress itself is burning. The position in the Congress itself is, I am sure if my hon. friends over there were given the freedom to talk about this, will be supporting my resolution. But my information is that the whip has been issued and only such Members are going to speak who will be supporting Birlas.

Such an attitude is not proper. My humble submission is that this question of Birlas must be considered above party politics, because it is a menace to this country. This octopus has its legs all over India and it is sucking the blood of poor people, killing small industries and establishing monopolies. This octopus is doing enormous damage to the country.

Why are the Government reluctant to come forward and institute an inquiry about the working of the Birla concerns ? Because of their own past experience they should have done it. If they had the courage, they should have themselves declared "we are prepared to order an inquiry". Instead of doing that, they are trying to shield the Birlas and run away from the issue by saying that such and such things have taken place.

In the case of Dalmias this Government came forward with an inquiry. In the case of Mundhra they did not hesitate to come forward with an inquiry. So also in the case of Shri Kairon, Shri Biju Patnaik, Shri K. B. Sahay and Shri Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed. Now, what is the sanctity so far as Birlas are concerned ? The only sanctity, so far as we can make out, is that Birlas are financing the Congress. According to our information, even for the Faridabad mela they have given something like Rs. 3 lakhs.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH ; Sir, it is a baseless allegation. Not a penny has been received from the Birlas. It is wrong to make such a statement. It is baseless, preposterous and even malicious.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : Well, we have received as much as they have received.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : All parties have received donations from them.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Not all parties. According to the admission or statement of the Minister, Shri F. A. Ahmed, himself, between 1963 and 1966 Rs. 38,25,651 were paid to the Congress by the Birlas. For 1966-67 and 1967-68 the corresponding amounts were Rs. 21,27,000 and Rs. 13,64,000 respectively.

[Shri Viswanatha Menon]

About the Faridabad mela the rumours in Delhi are that they have already got Rs. 3 lakhs.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : Sir, I protest against such baseless allegations.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : I want to know from the hon. Minister, who is in charge of this discussion, whether Government are prepared to appoint an inquiry committee. Has some wisdom dawned on them now? Today it is a question of Birlas. Tomorrow it may be Tatas or some other big firm, a big monopoly which is influencing the political thinking and economy of the country. This is quite possible especially when only 75 big firms are conducting the show even now.

My humble submission is, when such persons like Mr. Chandra Shekhar and others have come forward with such allegations all these allegations have not been brought by the Opposition but by their own people in the Congress—the only proper thing is that they should conduct an inquiry.

In this respect, I want to say a word about the appointment of Mr. Rajagopal to coordinate evidence and all that. Who is this Mr. Rajagopal?

AN HON. MEMBER : He is Birlas' man.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : Mr. Rajagopal is one of the signatories of the Monopolies Commission's majority report which actually certifies the actions of the monopolists. He is a man who has identified himself with the monopolies of this country and that person has been appointed to coordinate evidence. My humble submission is that such kind of an eye-wash will not be useful for the interests of the people. For exam'pe, even those officials who are connected with the Central Government and connected with trade business and all those people like Mr. Iyengar have been given offices after retirement by private concerns. So, their interests will be for the private concerns, the same Birlas and such people.

The Ministry must come forward and say that we are prepared to conduct an

inquiry. In Mr. Kairon's case, Dada Kripalaniji may remember, Pandit Nehru was against making an inquiry for a long time. All the officials were silent and nothing came out as all officials were purchased. But when an inquiry was made, everything came out. Just like that, in this case, if the Congress Ministers have any conscience, if they have any interest for the people, they must come forward and do it. Here, I want to conclude my speech with a quotation from Karl Marx. According to Karl Marx :

“Governments in the capitalist society are the executive committee of the bourgeoisie”

See, the executive committee functioning actively for the Birlas, Tatas and Dalmias and such monopolists.

In conclusion, I say, on the basis of the allegations made by Mr. Chandra Shekhar which have been placed before the House today and which have been brought in the Rajya Sabha, an inquiry must be conducted and the culprits must be brought to book even if it is painful for some Swatantra Members or some Congress Members. They must be brought to book. That is my humble submission.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Resolution moved :

“Having regard to the seriousness of the charges that have been levelled against the Birla Group of concerns by very responsible persons including Members of Parliament, this House is of opinion that a High Power Commission should be appointed by the Government to go into those charges and recommend appropriate action.

There is an amendment by Shri S. M. Banerjee.”

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I move :

“That in the resolution,—
add at the end—

“and the Commission should be instructed to submit its report within three months.”

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now, I would request the hon. Member to bear in mind the time-limit. We have got today 1 hour and 15 minutes left. It will automatically go over to the next day. Looking at the list with me, I will permit not more than 10 minutes each. Shri Shantilal Shah.

श्री प्रेमचन्द वर्मा (हमीरपुर) : मेरा प्रस्ताव यह है कि अगर हमको फैंक्ट्स और फीगर्स पेश करने हैं और सारे मामले को ठीक से सदन के सामने रखना है तो 10 मिनट में कुछ नहीं रख सकते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ज्यादा समय दिया जाना चाहिए।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let us see. About such Members who are not in a position to state their case precisely, we shall see. But the time limit is there.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad) : Let the Government make a statement whether they are accepting the inquiry or not. Then, the discussion will be meaningful

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : After all, it is a debate. Government will come forward with their proposals when they reply, not at this stage.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam) : May I submit in a case like this it is something like summons case. It will be better if Government gives its opinion. Then, it will be easy for the Congress as well as the Opposition and the Independent Members like me to speak on it. Without knowing the mind of the Government, the debate will not be meaningful.

My submission is that if you follow the procedure which I have suggested, then there will be life in the debate; otherwise, there will be no life.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : May I point this out? All the members are aware that the whole matter was debated in the other House at full length and Government has said some thing there. The members may bear that in mind.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : Much water has flowed under the bridge since then.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Shantilal Shah.

SHRI SHANTILAL SHAH (Bombay-North-West) : I submit sir, that this is a futile Resolution and I will state my reasons. One purpose in bringing forward this Resolution may be that some political parties have a grievance that the Birlas have paid some lakhs of rupees to the election fund of the Congress. Is it any offence under any law in this country for somebody or a group of persons or a company to pay moneys to a political party? Or is it an offence for a political party to accept funds for its election campaign? As long as it is legal, nothing wrong seems to have been done. (*Interruptions*) The motive behind this Resolution, therefore, is either to censure the Government or to terrorise either the Congress Party or the Birlas so that if they make enough noise about it here, in future, the Birlas may not give funds. If that is the motive, then it is a very bad motive. But I want to point this out. In the last General Elections, it was the Congress which put up a candidate against Mr. Birla. There is an hon. Member here by name Mr. Birla. I do not know whether he belongs to the Birla group. (*Interruption*) I am told that he is a member of the Birla Group. It was the Congress Party which fought against Birlas. Of course it was a misfortune that it lost. Even if Congress has taken the money, it had the courage to fight them. No other party has done this.

Now I come to the Resolution. Irrespective of the fact that it has been reported that Government has taken a decision not to appoint a Commission, let us see what this Resolution seeks to achieve and whether it will at all achieve anything. My submission is that this Resolution will not achieve any purpose. Firstly, under what law is the Commission going to be appointed, this Resolution does not say. But I presume that it is intended that there should be a Commission under the Commission of Inquiry Act. If, in pursuance of this Resolution, a Commission is appointed, that Commission will be challenged, because the Act lays down that there must be a definite

[Shri Shantilal Shah]

matter to be investigated by the Commission. What definite matter has been indicated in this Resolution? It merely says, '...charges levelled against the Birla Group of concerns' and not even one charge has been specified for being investigated. What is suggested is that there should be an inquiry against the Government — an inquiry to decide whether the Government is right or wrong. Then what is the point in asking for an inquiry into Birlas affairs?

Two cases have been cited: one was in respect of falsification of accounts and the other, burning of certain documents. Burning of a document is not an offence. If it is destroying evidence, then only it is an offence. A man can burn his own documents and no mischief will have been done by that. But if it is destroying evidence which can be used in a court of law, then it may be a criminal offence.

It has been laid down by courts time and again that a Commission under the Commission of Inquiry Act cannot be appointed for the purpose of collecting evidence so that a prosecution can be launched thereafter. No person can be compelled to give evidence against himself. When such a clause was put in another inquiry commission, the Bombay High court struck down that clause and said that that part of the inquiry was illegal.

If a Commission were to be appointed to inquire into these two charges, that Commission will fail, because, there is no definite purpose and secondly, it is a misuse of the powers of the Commission to hold an inquiry in order to collect evidence, so that prosecution could be launched. On both these counts, the Commission cannot work.

What do they want? Do they want a speedy remedy or do they want that this matter shou'd drag on? Which Commission has reported within 2 years? Any Commission appointed will take at least 2 years. In between before the Commission starts its work, there may be a writ petition which may go from the High Court to the Supreme Court and another 2 years. Therefore, if a speedy decision is wanted, this appointment of a commission is not going to serve the purpose. What is

necessary is: if there are charges, then it is for the Government to prosecute them. If the Government does not prosecute, then it is for the opposition to bring a censure motion or a no-confidence motion against the Government. The appointment of a commission of this nature is not going to serve any purpose, either a prosecution or otherwise. There have been prosecutions against the Birlas. Some of them have succeeded and some of them have failed. (Interruptions) I am not being educated by these interruptions. Birlas is a monopoly, a big monopoly. If they have done anything which deserves conviction or prosecution, certainly the Government can do it. Why ask this Government to do it? There is a government in Bengal and Birlas have their offices in Bengal. The Government of United Front in Bengal can certainly prosecute them. Why not you ask the United Front Government to prosecute the Birlas if there is a case to prosecute them. (Interruptions)

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Because they are also getting money from the same quarter.

SHRI SHANTILAL SHAH: When the first Communist Ministry came into existence in Kerala, they made an agreement with the Birlas and the agreement of all things said that they will never allow labour to raise its head. (Interruptions). The only inference one can draw is that when that agreement was made, the Communist Party in power had some monetary consideration. When that consideration failed they are raising a hullabaloo about it and trying to pass on the buck to somebody else. My submission is that if there is any offence, let them be tried. If there is any breach of the company law, there is the Company law under which there can be prosecution. Applications can be made to the Government even by a minority shareholder for the appointment of an administrator. They can appoint inspectors under the company law who can inspect the affairs of the company and make a report. What is that thing which this Commission can do which cannot be done otherwise by other procedure. The purpose, therefore, is just to have a publicity stunt and keep the pot boiling. If the Birlas have grown into a monopoly and a big monopoly if that monopoly has to be broken, there is a Bill which is now before the Rajya Sabha

and which will be coming before this House, the Restriction of Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Bill. Does the Birla Group fall within that Bill? As far as I understand—I do not know them so well and I do not know them so closely—there is not one Birla Group, there are 3 or 4 Birla Groups. It may be that they combine with each other and sometimes against each other, but to lump all the Birlas together is neither fair to them nor to this House.

My submission, therefore is that a special commission of enquiry only means procedure of delay. Further that inquiry will not be a judicial inquiry. The commission cannot convict or they cannot acquit. After the Commission has made a report, another prosecution must start either under the Companies Act or under Cr.P.C. What then is the purpose of this Commission?

If there is an offence, let them be prosecuted and if this Government does not start the prosecution, let them start it in Kerala, let them start it in Bengal. Why bring it here? (Interruptions) This a publicity political stunt in the part of the Communist Party. (Interruptions)

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंबई) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सबसे पहले मैं अपने मित्र श्री वी विघननाथ मेनन को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि यह प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रख कर उन्होंने हमको एक महत्वपूर्ण समस्या पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का मौका दिया है।

इन बिड़लाज के बारे में एक अर्से से बहुत त्रिचित्र घटनाएं घट रही हैं। सभी लोग जानते हैं कि यह बिड़ला परिवार एक अर्से से दिल्ली की राजनीति में दिलचस्पी ले रहे हैं और दिल्ली अर्थात् भारत सरकार की गद्दी पर कौन बैठे इसका फैसला हम करेंगे यह इनका हमेशा कहना रहा है।

जब जवाहरलाल जी के निधन के बाद कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता के चुनाव के बारे में बातें चल रही थीं तब बिड़ला परिवार ने एक दफा नहीं, तीन दफा, जितने चुनाव हुए, उनमें दिलचस्पी ली थी। सबसे पहले लालबहादुर

शास्त्री को और उसके बाद दो दफे इन्दिरा गांधी को नेता चुनने के लिए सभी दृष्टि से प्रयास किये।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आपको कैसे मालूम हुआ ?

श्री मधु लिमये : हमको सब मालूम है। अगर मालूम न होता तो अभी यह जानकरी कैसे मैं देता ?

बिड़ला परिवार के लोग नहीं चाहते थे कि मोरारजी भाई नेता बनें और प्रधान मंत्री बनें लेकिन इसका हरगिज यह मतलब नहीं है कि मं.रारजी भाई से वह दोस्ती नहीं रखना चाहते थे। एक और नेतृत्व के लिए उन्होंने इन्दिरा गांधी का समर्थन किया तो दूसरी ओर कांति देसाई के जरिए उन्होंने मोरारजी भाई के साथ भी अपना रिश्ता कायम रखा है।

पिछले वर्ष 19 अगस्त को जब मैंने मोरारजी भाई के मामले में यहाँ पर बहस उठाई थी तो मैंने अपने उस भाषण में 6-7 कम्पनियों का जिक्र किया था। मोरारजी भाई से मैंने पूछा कि उन्होंने सदन को अप्रैल के महीने में फाइनेंस बिल पर जब बहस हुई थी तब कहा था कि उनका उनके लड़के, काम धंधे से बिजनैस से अब कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा है। उसके बाद मोरारजी भाई को मैंने 6-7 कम्पनियों के नाम भेजे। मोरारजी भाई ने स्वयं यहाँ कहा है कि उन्हें तो जानकारी नहीं थी लेकिन उनके लड़के ने कहा कि उसने रिश्ता तोड़ दिया है और वह यह मान रहे थे कि तोड़ दिया है लेकिन मधु लिमये ने जो दिलचस्पी ली है उससे अब उन्हें पता चला है कि 6-7 कम्पनियों से उनके लड़के का सम्बन्ध 1963-64 के बाद भी रहा है। उसमें एक कम्पनी का मैंने विशेष तौर पर जिक्र किया था। उसका नाम है इंडस्ट्रियल एण्ड कैमिकल कम्पनी। इस कम्पनी के बारे में साफ शब्दों में मैंने कहा था कि इस कम्पनी को सौराष्ट्र में केशोराम कोटन मिल और एक और कम्पनी की जोकि

[श्री मधु लिमये]

बिड़ला परिवार का उद्योग है उनके पश्चिम के इलाके के लिए सोल सेलिंग एजेन्सी मिली थी। उस कम्पनी में पूंजी लगभग 5000 रुपये की है लेकिन उस कंपनी का जो कारोबार है वह 2 करोड़ तक चला जाता है और उसमें कांति भाई की इस कंपनी को बहुत ज्यादा मुनाफा है। क्या वजह है कि बाकी सभी कंपनियों का जिम्मे मोरारजी भाई ने किया लेकिन इंडस्ट्रियल कैमिकल कंपनी का नाम तक नहीं लिया। राज्य सभा में भूपेश गुप्ता ने कहा कि मोरारजी भाई ने अपनी बचत के पैसे में से कुछ पैसा इस कंपनी को डिपॉजिट के तौर पर दिया था। राज्य सभा में भी भूपेश गुप्ता की बात का मोरारजी भाई ने कोई जवाब नहीं दिया। क्या वजह है कि लोक सभा में और राज्य सभा में जब बहस होती है तो इस बात को मोरारजी भाई छिपाते हैं? इसका साफ मतलब यह है कि उनके मन में चोर था क्योंकि वह जानते थे कि इंडस्ट्रियल एण्ड कैमिकल कंपनी बिड़ला परिवार के उद्योगों की सोल एजेन्सीज है, बहुत ज्यादा उनको मुनाफा मिल रहा है और उन कंपनियों के लिए अपनी बचत से डिपॉजिट दिया है। कांग्रेस पार्लियामेंटरी एक्जीक्यूटिव कमेटी की रपट प्रकाशित हो गई है। आप पूछेंगे कि कार्यसमिति में जो घाटा है उसकी चर्चा आप क्यों करते हैं?

लेकिन उनके सेक्रेट्री ने जो रिपोर्ट अखबार वालों को दी है उसमें श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कबूल किया है कि मैंने अपनी आमदनी को सॉल्विमेंट करने के लिए, जब मैं मंत्रिपद से हट गया तब इंडस्ट्रियल कैमिकल कंपनी से स्माल सेविंग सर्टिफिकेट का अपना पैसा विद्वा करके अपने लड़के की कंपनी में लगाया। एक और तो आप स्माल सेविंग के लिए प्रचार करते हैं और दूसरी ओर आपके दो नम्बर के नेता स्माल सेविंग सर्टिफिकेट्स का अपना पैसा विद्वा करते हैं और लड़के की कंपनी में लगाते हैं, और उस लड़के की कंपनी को बिड़ला परिवार की एजेन्सियाँ मिलती हैं। क्या हम लोग इतने बेवकूफ हैं कि इन चीजों को नहीं समझते हैं?

इसके बारे में मैंने एक प्रस्ताव का नोटिस दिया था, और मेरे पास जो सबूत है वह सारा मैंने अध्यक्ष महोदय के सामने पेश किया था। यह जो इंडस्ट्रियल कैमिकल कंपनी है वह मुंशी और देसाई दो परिवारों की हिस्सेदारी पर आधारित है। 25 प्रतिशत मुनाफा मिलता है। मुंशी वालों को और 75 प्रतिशत मुनाफा मिलता है देसाई परिवार को! इसके हिस्सेदार कौन हैं? जो कांतिभाई के नाबालिग लड़के हैं वह इस कंपनी के हिस्सेदार हैं! सबसे पहले 1966-67 तक स्वयं कांतिभाई इसके मैनेजिंग डाइरेक्टर थे, लेकिन बाद में जब हल्ला होने लगा तब उन्होंने अपनी बीवी पद्मा देसाई को मैनेजिंग डाइरेक्टर बनाया। लेकिन क्या आप मानते हैं कि कांतिभाई के नाबालिग लड़के इस कंपनी को चलाते हैं या उनकी पत्नी चलाती हैं? इस कंपनी को कांति देसाई चलाते हैं और उनके ऊपर पिताजी का छत्र श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने रक्खा हुआ है?

यह जो राजनीति चल रही है वह इतनी सड़ गई है, मैं आप से निवेदन करता हूँ, कि उसमें श्री मोरारजी देसाई भी हिस्सेदार हैं और प्रधान मंत्री को भी मैं बरी नहीं करता। क्योंकि प्रधानमंत्री इसमें चालाकी कर रही हैं। सबसे पहले बिड़ला का समर्थन उन्हें मिला। प्रधान मंत्री बनने के बाद वह सोचने लगीं कि हो सकता है कि धीरे-धीरे बिड़ला परिवार खिसक जाय श्री मोरारजी देसाई के साथ या दूसरे मंत्रियों के साथ। तब उन्होंने कांग्रेस के कुछ सदस्यों को उकसाया और कहा कि बिड़ला की इन्क्वायरी की मांग करो। बिड़ला की इन्क्वायरी की चर्चा चलती रही तब बिड़ला परिवार के लोग घबरा गए। जब श्री मोरारजी देसाई का निवेदन आया तब कलकत्ते में बिड़ला परिवार के प्रतिनिधियों से श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की मुलाकात हो गई। बिड़ला परिवार के लोगों ने कहा कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी हमारी फेमिली फ्रेंड हैं, उनके परिवार की दोस्त हैं।

श्री प्रेमचन्द वर्मा : सारे केस को स्प्वायल कर रहे हो।

श्री मधु लिमये : केस जैसा भी हो, मैं आपकी तरह प्रधान मंत्री का चमचा नहीं हूँ। मैं जनता की ओर से बोल रहा हूँ और बोलूंगा। मैं न श्री मोरारजी देसाई का चमचा हूँ और न श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का चमचा हूँ। इसलिए सत्य बात कह रहा हूँ। मोरारजी देसाई स्वयम् पहुँचे कलकत्ता में। इस तरह दोनों के बीच में दोस्ताना हुआ, और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को, कांग्रेस पार्टी के चुनाव अभियान के लिए और उनकी दलबन्दी की जो राजनीति है उसके लिए बिड़ला परिवार से, कुछ लोग कहते हैं 40 लाख रुपया मिला और कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि 1 करोड़ तक रुपया मिला। यह जो रहस्य है इसको कोई नहीं जान सकता।

जो पैसा राजनीतिक दलों को दिया जाता है वह दो किस्म का होता है। एक तो वह जिसको आप सफेद पैसा कह सकते हैं और जो कम्पनी के अकाउन्ट से दिया जाता है, जिसके बारे में शांतिभाई ने सवाल किया कि क्या कम्पनी के द्वारा किसी दल को पैसा देना कोई अपराध है। अगर वह एक दूसरे दर्जे के मजिस्ट्रेट के सामने जिस तरह बकील बहस करता है उस तरह से बहस करते हैं तब मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि वर्तमान कानून में कम्पनियों के द्वारा पोलिटिकल डोनेशन देना कोई अपराध नहीं है। लेकिन आज सारा देश मानता है, कलकत्ता, बम्बई हाई कोर्ट के जज मानते हैं कि कम्पनियों के द्वारा जो धन दिया जाता है उससे लोकशाही का जो झोत है वह दूषित हो रहा है और हमारी लोकशाही कलकित हो रही है और उसमें नैतिक अपराध होता है और यह सदन उसको नैतिक अपराध मानता है। इस बात का सबूत मैं एक ही दूंगा कि 1967 के अन्त में मैंने यहां एर कम्पनियों द्वारा जो राजनीतिक चन्दा दिया जाता है उस पर रोक लगाने वाला विधेयक रखा था। सभी लोगों ने उसका समर्थन किया था, कांग्रेसजनों ने भी

किया और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के लोगों ने भी किया। लेकिन मुझको ताज्जुब होता है कि डेढ़ साल में हमारी स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के लोग बदल गये। उस समय वह मुझ से बहस करते थे कि इस कल्पना का जनक कौन है? वह कहते हैं कि आप पिता नहीं हैं, हम इसके पिता हैं, हम जनक हैं। मैं नहीं कहता कि आप जनक नहीं हैं। लेकिन क्या वजह है कि आज हमारे ये जनक, आज हमारे ये पिता इस विधेयक का विरोध करने के लिए तैयार हो गए हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : नहीं।

श्री मधु लिमये : आपके नेताओं ने मुझे कहा है। आप जैसे नौजवान लोगों की वे उपेक्षा करते हैं। आप अपने नेताओं के खिलाफ बगावत करो। कांग्रेसियों से भी मैं कहता हूँ कि एक भी कांग्रेसी नहीं था इस सदन में जिस ने हमारा विरोध किया लेकिन जब पाटिल साहब ने डंडा निकाला तब सब लोग बदल गए और उसके बाद इस बिल को खत्म करने की कोशिश की।

यह बिल छः मई को आ रहा है और यह इस बात का सबूत है कि मंत्री महोदय भी मुझ से सहमत हैं कि आज के कानून में कम्पनियों के द्वारा चन्दे देना अपराध नहीं है, लेकिन नैतिक दृष्टि से अपराध है। उसको कानूनी अपराध बनाने के लिए हमारी इसमें जीत हो रही है और इसका सबूत यह है कि 6 मई को यह बिल आने वाला है।

मोरारजी भाई के ऊपर और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के ऊपर मैं सीधा-सादा आरोप लगाना चाहता हूँ। श्री मोरारजी देसाई के ऊपर मेरा आरोप यह है कि उप-प्रधान मंत्री बनने के बाद उनको चाहिए था, उनको एब दफा नहीं दस दफा इसका मौका भी मिला था, लेकिन उन्होंने कभी नहीं बताया कि इस कम्पनी में, कान्ति की कम्पनी में उनका फाइनेंशल इंटररेस्ट है। फिर ये कानूनी जवाब देगे कि हमारे तो कोई शेयर नहीं हैं, हमने तो सिर्फ डिपॉजिट दिया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ

[श्री मधु लिमये]

कि डिपार्जिट किसी कम्पनी में रखना क्या उस कम्पनी के कल्याण में दिलचस्पी लेना नहीं होता है, क्या उस अवस्था में कम्पनी के कल्याण में कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं रहती है? मैं इसका श्री मोरारजी देसाई से जवाब चाहता हूँ। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने जो काम किया है उसमें औचित्य का भंग नहीं हुआ है? अगर हुआ है तो उसकी जांच करने के लिए क्या इस डंग की कमेटी के सामने श्री मोरारजी जाने को तैयार हैं, उसके सामने जाने की उनमें हिम्मत है? उनको स्वयं कहना चाहिए कि मैं इस कमेटी के सामने जाने के लिए तैयार हूँ। अगर कमेटी मुझ को बरी करती है तो मैं उप प्रधान मंत्री रहूँगा। लेकिन कमेटी का जब तक निर्णय नहीं आ जाता है तब तक मैं इस पद से हट जाऊँगा।

मैं प्रधान मंत्री से दो प्रश्नों का उत्तर चाहता हूँ। बिड़ला की जांच न करने का निर्णय जब स्वयं उन्होंने किया और कहा कि कैबिनेट ने किया है तो क्या वजह है कि इस बहस का जवाब स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री ने राज्य सभा में नहीं दिया? आज भी क्या वजह है कि इस बहस का जवाब श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद दे रहे हैं? यह प्रधान मंत्री की एक चालाकी का तकनीक है। कुछ लोगों को वह उसके हक में खड़ा कर देती हैं और कुछ लोगों को उसके खिलाफ खड़ा कर देती हैं। बिड़ला से सौदा हुआ। जांच की बात को खत्म किया। लेकिन अब फिर सोच रही हैं कि जांच खत्म करने के बाद फिर बिड़ला वाले तो स्वतंत्र नहीं हो जाएंगे। इसलिए वकिम कमेटी की मीटिंग में जा कर कहती हैं कि हाँ, निर्णय तो किया है लेकिन पब्लिक इज नाट सैटिसफाइड। मतलब साफ है। तलवार को लटकाये रखो, उनको रगड़ो, पीटो, उनसे पैसा लो। व्यापारी और उद्योगपति इतने निष्कम्भे हैं कि सरकार के जूते चाटने का ये लोक काम करते रहेंगे और भ्रष्टाचार के जरिये देश को लूटने का भी काम करेंगे। इसलिए यह जो अपवित्र गठबंधन हो गया है, इसको

भ्रष्टाचार तोड़ना होगा। एक और भ्रष्टाचारी राजनीतिक नेता हैं, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हैं, मोरारजी देसाई हैं और उनके नेतृत्व में काम करने वाले लोग हैं, दूसरी ओर ये नीकरशाह हैं जिनको खरीदा जा रहा है और तीसरी ओर यह भ्रष्टाचारी पूंजीपति हैं। तीनों मिल कर देश को लूट रहे हैं। मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ, लोकतंत्र खतरे में है। अगर लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से आप इन चीजों की, बिड़ला वालों की जांच नहीं करेंगे, श्री मोरारजी देसाई की जांच नहीं करेंगे, तो वह समय भी आएगा और आपको उस समय को देखना पड़ेगा जब भारत की जनता पाकिस्तान की जनता की तरह विद्रोह करने के लिए उठेगी और आपकी गर्दन पकड़ कर एक-एक को निकाल देगी।

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): I am certain that if I am to speak in this debate, there is likely to be misunderstanding. But after hearing the two speeches from the Opposition, I am compelled to intervene with a few words.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Ganhati): To defend Birlas.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: No question of defending Birlas. I am not concerned with Birlas or any other persons.

I think Shri Madhu Limaye covered ground beyond the Resolution itself. Instead of speaking to the Resolution, he spoke about Shri Morarji Desai, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister. Is this the way to carry on a debate? I shall speak on the Resolution before the House.

I oppose this Resolution. The Mover may have moved it with the best of intentions.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: With the best of motives, he has done the wrong thing.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: On factual grounds, on legal grounds, this Resolution should not have been moved.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry): Moral grounds also.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Moral grounds also, so far as this forum is concerned,

It is true that sometimes we speak on some subjects which are not germane either to the political life of the country or to raising and making strong the moral fibre of the people. So far as facts are concerned, I would certainly appeal to Government to examine them. Government have already made their position clear. Therefore, I do not hesitate in making the appeal. So far as the facts are concerned, they should certainly be examined by Government. After that, I hope they will show courage, as is mentioned so often, *ad nauseum*, that if there are faults, failings or legal breaches, they will take the legal action. In fact, in certain matters, they have done so. It is, therefore, no use mentioning certain facts and demanding a Commission. This is not the forum for it. Of course, for the purpose of drawing attention of the Government, of the whole world, such matters may be discussed, but it is Government which has ultimately to go through the facts. After ascertaining the facts—as in these cases, Government has done—it is the Government which has to launch a prosecution against the particular person.

On the legal question, is this the proper forum, the proper method, by seeking by vote of the House the appointment of a Commission? Which is the authority which appoints a Commission?

AN HON. MEMBER : Government.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Ultimately, it is Government. I am dealing with the legal aspect. Had it been mentioned that a Committee be formed of members of the House to go into the question, I could have understood it. But ultimately it is Government which has to appoint a Commission for the purpose of making an inquiry and holding a particular person or company responsible.

AN HON. MEMBER : The House can discuss it.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : If at all there is any offence committed, it is either for Government or for the shareholders of the company to take appropriate action. If

there is any fabrication or falsification of accounts, any shareholders can under the company law launch a private prosecution. I do not want that the shareholders should wait for Government to act. They can themselves do it. That is the position. Therefore, I had taken courage to speak on this purely legal aspect. Therefore, I doubt very much whatever we had accepted the procedure that after framing certain charges they are sent to the Government. The Government is under no obligation to accept those charges. It is not an impeachment proceedings as such. The Government had already come forward to say unequivocally and in unambiguous terms that wherever there was any breach of the law Government would certainly launch a prosecution. In view of this I think this resolution has no meaning; and it will not serve any purpose, even the purpose for which he had moved or even the purpose of those friends who are out to launch some prosecutions against Birlas. With these words, I oppose the Resolution.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi) : I also like to congratulate Mr. Viswanatha Menon, for a different reason. He has today initiated a debate which, I feel, will end for good and which will give a quietus to the charges against the Birlas. He has chosen two particular instances of great importance against the Birlas I am afraid he has not taken the trouble to see the papers laid on the Table of the House this morning. If he had taken that trouble he would have found out the position in respect of those two charges. The first finding is that the fires that broke in those mills were not to destroy any cloth; they were accidental and destroyed only a little cotton. That was the finding of the Textile Commissioner.

17.47 hrs.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *in the Chair*]

The second case is about the Ruby and National Insurance companies. That had been met by a report: it was examined by the Additional Solicitor General and the Additional Solicitor General found that there was no case against those two companies. On the other hand, Government proceeded to appoint two very distinguished people to the directorate of those companies Shri S. N. Sen, Solicitor for the Central

[Shri Lobo Prabhu]

Government in Calcutta and Prof. B. N. Das. All those persons are as honest as any of our good friends.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : What about the audit report? I request you to read the proceedings of the House for so many years. Even Pandit Nehru refused to lay a copy of the audit report on the Table of the House.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : Three minutes of my time has been taken; I should be given that time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You need not take notice.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I do not take notice but you must not allow them; it is your duty to give me my time.

"It would be observed that the reports of the auditors received the most careful consideration and the decision that no further action was needed was based on the advice of the Solicitor General—that is the position.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON : All the allegations have been explained away.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : Two grave charges are therefore dismissed on the basis of this very document. I am coming to the third. He relies a great deal on Mr. Chandrasekhar. I am afraid he does not know what poor opinion Mr. Chandrasekhar has of the Communist Party in Kerala. I shall read that for the benefit of the hon. Member. This is in respect of the bamboo deal in Kerala. This is what he says: "...Birla's capacity to enlist the sympathy of the Communist Government....." The word used is mild—'enlist the sympathy'. Now if you are going to be enlisted for Mr. Birla, what right have you got to say that Mr. Birla is this and that (*Interruption*) I would like to say, that if you mean any business—(*Interruption*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : Why don't you allow him to proceed? Let him speak.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : They must proceed from this explanation. All these complaints have been referred to various authorities—the licensing committee, the

Income-tax Commissioners, etc. If you are not satisfied with this, if you find fault with any of this, then only would you be justified in pressing these complaints.

Now, in respect of the particular resolution about a Committee—Mr. Shantilal Shah and yourself have said enough—I would only like to say that if you are anxious—and I am anxious—to keep Birla where he should be, do not appoint this Committee. You are going to frustrate the very purpose of the discussion. Mr. Shantilal Shah has mentioned two years, but I think it will be more. All these proceedings which have been initiated by Government will stop. And therefore, if you really mean business, let care be taken from the point of view of the report.

I have got to make two more points. One is this I am very sad this House is being used in this way. No doubt this is a House where anything can be said, where no action can be taken for defamation. But is this House going to ruin the employment opportunities of lakhs and lakhs of people? (*Interruption*) I am saying this because Mr. Birla's case is typical. Our good friend Shri Viswanatha Menon mentioned that Tata might come. I am not for protecting Tata or Birla, but this is a place where they should be assailed. This is a place where they cannot reply, and this is a place where all kinds of extravagant charges can be made, like the charges they have brought here. Do not allow this House to become a House against the interests of the people. Mr. Birla has provided employment for 2.5 lakhs of persons. Have you people provided employment to a single person? On the other hand, what have you done? You have reduced employment opportunities; they have caused strikes and caused the flight of capital. You are troubling the people, not Mr. Birla who gives employment. (*Interruption*)

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna) : You are worshipping him like God.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : I am not worshipping him like God. But you worship ignorance. I am going to tell you this. It is you people who have caused the flight of capital and yet you bring in charges like

this against Mr. Birla and against Mr. So-and-so, so-and-so. You are causing unemployment to exist in this country. You are the enemies of the people and they will not tolerate it. (*Interruption*)

Now, I am not sparing the Congress Government either. I have given the Communists what they deserve; perhaps a little less. I give the Congress Government a little too. If Mr. Birla has been able to do this, if Mr. Birla has been able to obtain so many licences, if Mr. Birla has been able to evade income-tax, it is because you have introduced the Statist system of Government. You have taken over the business of this country; you have controls; you have the State enterprise. You are providing Mr. Birla with all the opportunities to take advantage of it.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer) : What about cement de-control? (*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Let there be no cross-talks.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : The Congress Government has to seriously think whether they should have these controls which give advantage to people, businessmen, who are alert; I do not say they are dishonest; they are alert, and they use the businessmen to help them for opportunities which are growing. It is only competition that will cleanse the economy of this country; it is only competition which can give the consumer and other goods to the people, which are far more important than a few workers. It is the best that is possible in this country.

I will go further. The conspiracy today is between the workers, the communists and if you like, the capitalists, against the consumer. Between them, they are putting up the prices. 6 million factory workers are making the whole country pay for it. They may be in collusion with Birlas. I am not sure how many of my friends here have not received money from Birlas. The Kerala Government has received very fine treatment. For God's sake, put your own house in order and see that the Kerala Government does not deal with Birlas, before you open your mouths again.

I would say to both the Congress which had introduced the system of controls,

licences and permits, which permit Birlas to make money and to my hon. friends here, I would say to both, think a little. Do not come and just talk in this House and destroy the right of the people to employment and the right of the country to better and greater production. When you have done that, there is some meaning in a resolution which says that no dishonest man shall exist in this country.

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : चेयरमैन महोदय, मैं मैंन साहब ने जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है उसकी पूरे जोर से तार्ईद करता हूँ। यह देश एक आदमी के लिए नहीं है, बल्कि यह देश बिड़ला के लिये नहीं है, बिड़ला देश के लिए है। एक आदमी 500 करोड़ की जायदाद का मालिक हो हिन्दुस्तान में जहाँ करोड़ों आदमी कीड़े-मकोड़ों की जिन्दगी बसर करें, भूखे सोयें, नगे रहें, दवादारू का इन्तजाम न हो तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह हमारे देश पर एक कलंक है कि कुछ मुट्ठी भर आदमी देश की सियासत पर छायेँ, देश की इन्तसादियात पर छायेँ, अखबारों पर छायेँ और सारी ह्यात और जिन्दगी पर छायेँ, और तब छायेँ जब देश के सामने सोशलिज्म का नारा हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि दूसरी तरफ के लोग भी पार्टी के नुक्ते निगाह से इसको डिस्कस न कर।

यह रिजोल्यूशन ऐसा है कि इसकी स्पिरिट से कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। और जो इन्कार करे वह हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी को परपीचुएट करना चाहता है। हम हिन्दुस्तान की काया पलट करना चाहते हैं और इसके लिये यह ज़रूरी है कि जल्दी-से-जल्दी इन मगरमच्छों को जो छोटी-छोटी मछलियों को निगलते हैं हज़ारों की तादाद में उनका कोई इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। मैं इनको इन्सान नहीं समझता हूँ जो मन्दिरों में भी भगवान का नाम नहीं, लक्ष्मीनारायण मन्दिर नहीं, बल्कि बिड़ला मन्दिर रखते हैं। मैं लखनऊ में गया तो वहाँ मैंने देखा कि एक सरमायेदार ने भगवान की जगह पर अपना नाम रखा हुआ है। और ऐसे ही बनारस में

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

वहां भी एक भाई ने सारे मन्दिर पर रामायण छपवा रखी है, ऊपर से नीचे तक, दुर्गमजला मन्दिर है, और अपनी बीवी की तस्वीर छपवा रखी है और वहाँ भगवान नजर नहीं आता है। मैं किसी पर हमला नहीं करना चाहता। जो लोग भगवान के नाम को भी ऐक्सप्लायट करना चाहते हैं, और करते हैं उनको मैं इन्सान नहीं समझता। यह देश गरीबों का है, भगवान से डरने वाले लोगों का है। ऐसे देश में रुपया खर्च करके बिड़ला के मन्दिर के नाम से, सिघानिया के नाम से और दूसरों के नाम से जो लोग मन्दिर बनवा कर अपना नाम कायम रखना चाहते हैं, देश के गरीब लोगों को ऐक्सप्लायट करके ऐसे आदमियों के लिये मैं पहला आदमी हूँगा जो कहूँगा कि उनकी जायदाद जब्त की जाय। बिड़ला की 500 करोड़ की जो जायदाद है वह जब्त की जाय ताकि हिन्दुस्तान में एक-चौथाई गरीब हरिजनों के पक्के मकान बन जायें। यह जो बड़े-बड़े मगर मच्छ हैं सौ के करीब इनकी जायदाद से जितने हरिजन, गरीब और बैंकवर्ड लोग कीड़े-मकौड़ों की तरह आज अपनी जिन्दगी गुजर कर रहे हैं, उन सब के मकान पक्के हो सकते हैं।

18 Hrs.

मैं जो बात खास तौर पर इस मौके पर कहना चाहता हूँ और यकीन के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जितनी देर से आप इस काम को करेंगे उतना ही आप इस देश को इनकिलाब के गार में धकेलने का काम करेंगे। इसलिए जरूरत इस बात की है कि यह काम और देर से नहीं होना चाहिए जितनी जल्दी हो उतना ही अच्छा है। हमारे एक माननीय मित्र ने इस संकल्प के बारे में अपना यह लीगल इन्टरप्रेशन दे दिया कि यहाँ पास करना मुनासिब नहीं होगा। वह एक माने हुए वकील हैं और जब वह प्रतापसिंह कैरों के लिए एक बड़े सहायक सलाहकार सिद्ध हो सकते हैं, दूसरे भाइयों के लिए हो सकते हैं तो फिर बिड़ला साहब के लिए क्यों नहीं हो सकते हैं ?

जहाँ तक यह इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की बात है तो वह तो दरअसल नीयत होने या न होने की बात है। अब अगर सरकार कोई काम न करना चाहे, भले ही सुप्रीम कोर्ट भी फंसला कर दे, गबनर या प्रेसीडेंट माफ कर सकते हैं। इसलिए मुख्य सवाल यह है कि आया एकजी-क्यूटिव की उसे करने की नीयत है अथवा नहीं ? सरकार अगर वाकई इस देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहे तो उसे इसे बिना देर किए करना होगा। यहाँ कहां का समाजवाद है कि एक किसान की 30 बीघे जमीन के ऊपर तो सरकार ने सीलिंग लगा दी है और वह बिड़लाज जोकि 500 करोड़ रुपये की जायदाद रखते हैं उन पर कोई सीलिंग नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो 2, 3 या 5 लाख रुपये से ऊपर की जायदाद है उस पर सीलिंग लगाई जाय और यह काम जितनी जल्दी किया जाय उतना ही वह देश के हित में होगा। इस देश का जो बैंकवर्ड तबका है चाहे वह शहर का हो अथवा देहात का, किसान, हरिजन व मजदूर, इन सभी लोगों के स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिभिग को बढ़ाने के लिए और इस देश को बचाने के लिए यह कदम उठाया जाना बहुत जरूरी है।

इसी के साथ-साथ मैं यह कहूँगा कि अकेले बिड़लाज ही नहीं बल्कि देश में पचासों ऐसे खूनी मगरमच्छ पड़े हुए हैं और सरकार को उन सब को टैंकिल करना चाहिए। इसके लिए एक कमीशन बनाया जाय और उसमें उन सब को ले लिया जाय। इस समय फरीदाबाद में कांग्रेस का जो संशन हो रहा है उस में भी यही बात चल रही है कि देश में समाजवाद लाया जाय और देश की सारी दौलत इस इस तरह से सिमट कर जो चंद हाथों में चली गई है, शहरों में कुछ बड़े-बड़े इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स के हाथ में चली गई है उनकी उस अपार दौलत पर सीलिंग लगा कर इस देश के भलाई और विकास-कार्यों पर लगाया जाय। यह 500 करोड़ रुपया बिड़लाज का नहीं है बल्कि यह इस देश के गरीब मजदूरों का खून-पसीने की कमाई का रुपया है।

श्री शांतिलाल शाह ने बतौर एक वकील के इसमें कानूनी दिक्कतें बतलाई लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वकील की हैसियत से आगुं करना एक चोज है और जो दिल में बात हो उसे साफ तौर से वगैर लाग-लपेट के कह देना एक अलग चोज है और मैं तो मानता हूँ कि साफ बात कहने में सदा सुख रहता है। मन में कुछ रहना और ऊपर से कुछ दूसरी बात कहना उचित चीज नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आप की मार्फत गवर्नमेंट से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब भी वक्त है कि जल्दी से जल्दी इन लोगों को बुक्स में लायें। यह सरमायेदार देहातों में बड़े-बड़े फार्म्स खरीद रहे हैं। इनके रोपड़ में कई हजार बीघे के फार्म्स हैं। इन लोगों ने नाजायज तरीके से करोड़ों रुपया सरकार से इनकमटैक्स का छिपाया हुआ है और सरकार इनको तो कुछ कहती नहीं है। यह मगरमच्छ तो और जनता का खून घूस-घूस कर मोटे होते जा रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीब जनता पर दोहरी मार पड़ रही है। इन मगरमच्छों को कोई कुछ कहता नहीं है और यह इस तरह से कई हजार करोड़ रुपये का इनकमटैक्स बचाये हुए बँटे हैं। मैं आपकी मार्फत श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वह इस बारे में जरा मजबूती से और हिम्मत से काम लें और ऐसा फँसला करें ताकि इन पूंजीपतियों से वह चोरी से बचाया हुआ इनकमटैक्स का पैसा बरामद किया जा सके और यकीन जानिये इस देश की 45 करोड़ जनता एक स्वर से इसके लिए आपकी सराहना करेगी और आपको लम्बक कहेगी।

जहाँ मैं अपनी यहाँ की कांग्रेसी सरकार से इसको करने के लिए कहता हूँ वहाँ मैं बंगाल और पंजाब आदि की गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारों से भी अपील करूँगा जोकि आये दिन समाजवाद का दम भरती हैं कि वह आगे आएँ और इस तरह की कंसोलिड इनकम को अनअर्थ करने के लिए इनकवाररी कमीशन बैठायें। कौनसी ऐसी पार्टी है जोकि इन सरमायेदारों और बिड़लाज के असर में नहीं आ पायी है ? इसके लिए सभी

पार्टियां दोषी व जिम्मेदार हैं और मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि इसमें पार्टी का सवाल न लाया जाय बल्कि इसको एक नेशनल लेवल पर उठाया जाय और ऐसे आदमियों को नंगा करके मुल्क के सामने रख दें ताकि उनकी हकीकत से हर लोग आगाह हो जायें कि वह इंसान नहीं बल्कि खूनी दरिन्दे हैं जिन्होंने कि सारे देश को खा रखा है। यह लोग फौरन कंट्रीज से अमरीका आदि से मिले हुए हैं और यह कुछ अन्य देशों को भी गुलाम बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान को फाइनेशियली गुलाम बनाकर अब यह बिड़ला की कम्पनी दूसरे छोटे देशों में भी इसी गरज से चलाई हुई है। वहाँ भी गुलाम बनाना चाहते हैं। हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारा फी देश किसी दूसरे देश को गुलाम बनाये, बल्कि जो बीमारी हिन्दुस्तान से फैली है उसका इलाज करें और जोर का इंजेक्शन लगायें, और जनता का पूरा-पूरा खून जो है, गरीबों का जो खून है, वह देहातों में लगे। आज उस गरीब हरिजन को जिसको टुकड़ा नहीं मिलता, जिसके बच्चे टी. बी. के मरीज के शकल के हैं, उस किसान को 100, 200, 400 रु० कर्जा नहीं मिलता जबकि यह लोग करोड़ों रुपये कर्जा लेते हैं। मुझे पता नहीं है कि कितनी कम्पनीज हैं, कितनी इजारेदारी है उसकी, लेकिन मैंने सुना है कि उन 65 आदमियों में उसका नाम है जो इनकमटैक्स अदा नहीं करते। यह शर्म की बात है, इससे ज्यादा शर्म की बात और नहीं हो सकती। आप जरा इस बात की एन्क्वयरी करायें। दुनिया का मशहूर सरमायेदार होकर बड़ा भारी, वह बिड़ला इनकमटैक्स नहीं देता। किस वास्ते ? मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि क्या बात है।

यह मामला कोई पार्टी का मामला नहीं है। मैं चाहूँगा कि हम इस मामले को नेशनल मामला समझें, क्योंकि यह देशभर का मामला है। इस मामले में एक आवाज के साथ और एक होकर हमें चलना चाहिये और इसका इलाज बतम्या जाय जिसमें देश का भला हो।

मैं पूरे जोर से इस रेजोल्यूशन की ताईद करता हूँ।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Birlas are honest and hard working people. They started and built their house even before independence, which has now grown into an empire. Shri Lobo Prabhu told us how persuasive they are, how persevering they are in approaching even the hearts of the Communists. But, unfortunately, a suspicion is created today in the minds of the people of this country that they were, after all, not so honest in their dealings in getting licences. So, it is in the interest of clearing their own image and also the image of the Government that neither Birlas nor the Central Government should hesitate to accept the Resolution moved by Shri Viswanatha Menon.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : If they can purchase the Finance Minister, they can also purchase the members of the commission ; do not brother about that.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : Shri Kriplaniji is warning us that they may purchase even the members of the commission. So, when the government appoint the commission they should be careful to see that those who are vulnerable are not appointed as members of the commission.

18.09 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the chair*]

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : You cannot get them because everybody has his price. Even the Communists have their price.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : I would like to place before the House only a few general problems that are agitating the minds of the hon. Members, as well as the country at large. Shri Shantilal Shah, as well as some other members, who opposed this Resolution have taken shelter under technicalities and pleaded that this is not a possible move. They have also posed the question : what is the benefit that we expect from the appointment of this kind of a commission ? I would tell them that it would at least clear the cobweb that has accumulated in the Ministry which is in charge of Company Law Administration and the Ministry which is in charge of issuing licences.

After all, even in regard to a perfect system, even in regard to a fool-proof sys-

tem, when it is confronted with issues of this type, when we examine carefully the anomalies that have crept into it, then the administration would have a better understanding about how to improve things in their own Ministry. So far as the previous inquiries are concerned, of course we know that nothing has been done against the industrialists. After the inquiry the property of not a single industrialist, whether it was Sahu-Jains, Dalmias, Mundhras or, in fact, any industrialist against whom inquiries were instituted, was confiscated, and all of a sudden on a fine morning they did not become beggars. But still an awareness was created in the country. I am sure the Government do have some information because on the basis of those inquiries, they could have improved their procedural methods to some extent. So, at least that kind of benefit will accrue. Also, I am sincere in saying that if at all Birlas group behave honestly and Government is also very much beyond questionable conduct in this matter, definitely, this will help both the Government and Birlas group. They need not hesitate to come before the House to accept this Resolution.

Sir, unfortunately, the villain of the piece is Government itself. That is why they are wavering. We have got the booklet with us and we have got so much other material that is being circulated everyday to us about Birlas affair. I do not want to go into details ; it is within the reach of every Member. Even without going into the details, if the Central Government could have honestly implemented their income-tax policy, it would have been impossible for Birla or any other big businessman in this country to build up in a way they have built up today. The Government, somehow or other, for reasons best known to themselves, have allowed these monopolies to be built up in the country. Even today they are hesitant to come before the House to pass the Bill banning the Companies donations.

Sometime back, I remember, when the question of parties getting funds from various sources was raised, the hon. Home Minister refused to disclose the various accounts of the parties as to how much

money they get from which source. Here, some Members and even Kripalaniji were saying repeatedly that all parties are getting money. I would like to say here categorically and I can take pride in saying that my party has not approached any businessman, big or small or medium, to get funds for the party so far. I hope, we will persist in that and we will succeed in that.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about film stars?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Even film stars. We entirely make our collections from public donations, from ordinary small people in the country. Ours is a very open account. Like that, if all parties could carry on their political quest in the country, it will definitely boost up the morale of politicians in the country and it will improve things in a way which will be conducive for democratic functioning of the country.

There is a proverb in Tamil saying .

“Palukkum Kaval, Poonakkum thožhan.”

It means, a friend to a cat, at the same time, watching over the milk in a bowl. So, the friend of a cat cannot be relied upon to watch over the the bowl of milk. That is what is happening with this Government. They are friend of the big business and, at the same time, they say that they are trying to protect the economy and the interest of the people in the country. It is an impossible thing.

Before the Elections, I remember, on the eve of 1967 Elections, our late lamented Anna issued a poster in which a catching phrase was printed saying, “Tata-Birla Koottali, Pattalikki Pahaiyali”, that is, the partners of Tatas and Birlas are bound to be anti-public, antiproletariat and anti-toilers,

That is what is happening to this Government. So, at least now, in this affair, Government should come forward to clear their image and should try to convince us and the country at large that they are very honest in their approach. I hope they will do that.

Also, the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Bill is pending before the

House for a long time. I hope before the end of the session, the Government will come forward to accept the Bill.

Another very serious matter that I would like to deal with is that many charges were made here that even the Kerala Government invited Birlas. I would rather like to be very candid and say, if Birlas or Tatas or for that matter any private business people in this country would be prepared, or would manage a licence from the Central Government, to say that they will come to set up an industry in Tamil Nadu, we will welcome it. There is no other go for us. What has the Government done from 1947 onwards to encourage new entrepreneurs in this country to come into the field? From the very beginning we have decided that we are going to live with a mixed economy. Then what has the Government done, apart from those 75 big families that have grown up in this country, to encourage risk-taking entrepreneurs, small and medium entrepreneurs, to set up industries? By their Licensing policy, they are not only discouraging new entrepreneurs in the industrial field but are also discouraging the State sectors. I mean not only the Central sector but also the state sector; even in the States we have our industrial corporations. Even when the industrial corporations owned by the respective States apply for licences, the Government do not favour them, they do not clear them. It is very difficult to get a liaison officer here and compete with some of the big business houses who have got liaison people and manage the licences. This being the policy, the Government is really the creator of monopoly in this country. I do not blame the people, the big business people when they exploit the situation. It is for the Government to consider these aspects and see that things improve at least from now onwards.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: May I suggest that the Commission that is to be appointed should consist of only DMK people, because they have not taken any money from any capitalists?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: I welcome the suggestion. I will be the happiest.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Acharya Kripalani should be made the Chairman of that Commission.

श्री अमृत नाहाटा (बाड़मेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने साथी श्री रणधीर सिंह चौधरी की भावनाओं के साथ इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ। बिरलाओं का और बिरला-बन्धुओं का प्रभुत्व इस देश की राजनीति पर और इस देश की सरकार पर कितना है इस की एक मिसाल मैं आपको देना चाहता हूँ। हमारे इंडस्ट्रियल पॉलिसी रेजोल्यूशन में यह स्पष्ट था कि ट्रांसफार्मर्स और एल्यूमिनियम सिर्फ पब्लिक सेक्टर के लिए रिजर्व रहेगा और प्रोड्युट सेक्टर में अगर पहले से कोई यूनिट है तो वह काम चलेगी। इस प्रस्ताव को बदल दिया गया। इस प्रस्ताव को रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दिया गया। एग्जिस्टिंग यूनिट्स को क्रश किया गया और बिरलाज को ट्रांसफार्मर्स और एल्यूमिनियम के कारखाने बनाने की छूट दी गई। उन को सब तरह की सुविधाएँ दी गईं। सरकारी जो संस्थाएँ हैं, एल० आई० सी०, ने 30 करोड़ का कर्जा बिरलाज को दिया है। राजस्थान में जनता पानी के लिए तरसती है, द्युबवेल खोदने और पाइप लाइन लगाने के लिए पैसा नहीं है और हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स का कर्जन रोड पर आलीशान एयर-कन्डीशन्ड भवन बनाने के लिए 35 लाख का कर्जा एल० आई० सी० ने बिरलाज को और दिया है। बिरला का का अपना बैंक है।

यूको जहाँ से बिरलाज कर्जा लेते हैं लेकिन स्टेट बैंक में भी बिरला मौजूद हैं। उनका भी बहुत सा पैसा बिरलाज को मिला है। इतना ही नहीं, उनके सुविधायें दी जाती हैं वह भी मैं आपको बताऊँ—पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में रिहन्द डैम प्रोजेक्ट से बिजली जब बनने लगी तो उनको अन्दाज था कि 500 रु० पर किलोवाट उससे उनको आमदनी होगी लेकिन बिरला को वह 60 रुपए पर किलोवाट पर बिजली दी गई। दूसरी तरफ खेत्री के कारखाने के लिए बिरला से जमीन ली गई तो उनको अनाप शनाप पैसा दिया गया जोकि बहुत ज्यादा था। केरल की कम्युनिस्ट सरकार ने बिरला को एक रुपए के

भाव पर बांस दिया जोकि बाजार में दो सौ रुपए के भाव पर बिकता था। और मैसूर में उनको पूरा जंगल मुफ्त दे दिया गया। बिरला के एयर-कन्डीशनर्स खरीदे जाते हैं, रद्दी बिल्कुल सड़े हुए एयर-कन्डीशनर्स जोकि बिल्कुल टंडा नहीं करते लेकिन सरकार खरीदती है और मुँह मांगा दाम देती है। कोई कानून नहीं है बिरलाज के लिए, कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है, कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है। एक लिनोलियम की कम्पनी बिरलाज की है, उनकी मर्जी पर है, जब चाहा कैपेसिटी बढ़ा लिया, जितना चाहा बढ़ा लिया, कोई सरकार से पूछा नहीं जाता। फारेन एक्सचेंज बिरलाज ने मांगा, दे दिया गया और सरकार उनसे खरीदती है, जब चाहें कीमत बढ़ा लें सरकार खरीदती चली जाती है। उनके ऊपर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है, उनके लिए कोई नीति नहीं है। मैं सविधान की बात नहीं करता, बढ़ती हुई असमानता की बात नहीं करता किन्तु कानून तोड़ना, इनकम टैक्स की चोरी करना, अफसरों को भ्रष्ट करना, रिटायर होते ही उनको अपने यहाँ नौकरियाँ देकर एक एक राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार इस बड़े गृह ने हमारे देश में पैदा कर दिया है।

यह बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है—जैसा मेरे साथी चौधरी साहब ने कहा कि बिरला बन्धु इनकम टैक्स नहीं देते हैं, उनकी आमदनी सिर्फ 5 हजार रुपये सालाना है—मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसकी जांच क्यों नहीं होती है—ऐसा क्यों होता है? हमारे एक वयोवृद्ध नेता ने कहा कि इस कमीशन आफ एन्क्वायरी से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार और इस सरकार के अनेकों विभागों के सहयोग से बिरला बन्धु इतना बढ़े हैं, इतना पनपे हैं, उन की इतनी जायदादें बढ़ी हैं। तो क्या Can the accused be the Judge? हमें शक है—जिस सरकार पर हम आज यह आरोप लगा रहे हैं कि उन्होंने बिरला बन्धुओं को इस देश में बढ़ाया, प्रोत्साहन दिया, अपनी नीतियाँ उन के लिये बदलीं, क्या वही सरकार फैसला करेगी, क्या वही सरकार जांच करेगी। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है और यही कारण है, इसी मंशा से यह कानून बना था—

कमीशन आफ् एन्कवायरीज एक्ट—जब जनता और जनता के प्रतिनिधियों को सन्देह हो कि सरकार इस मामले में निष्पक्षतापूर्वक जांच नहीं कर सकती तो फिर सरकार स्वयं जांच न कर के कमीशन नियुक्त करेगी। जो इन्कम टैक्स का महकमा आज तक सोया रहा कि बिरला टैक्स नहीं देते, क्या वही इन्कम टैक्स का महकमा इस की जांच करेगा? आज देश की जनता जानना चाहती है कि किन तरीकों से बिरला बन्धु इतना बढ़े हैं, सार्वजनिक रूप से जनता के सामने उन की पोल खोली जानी चाहिये। इसीलिये हम चाहते हैं कि इस मामले में खुले आम जांच कमीशन बैठाया जाय। हमारे साथी चन्द्र शेखर ने जो मेमोरेण्डम पेश किया है, उस में साफ़ है—प्राइमा-फेसी केस मौजूद है, जिसमें इन बन्धुओं ने कानून को तोड़ा है, टैक्स की चोरी की है, भूठे हिसाब रखे हैं, उन ठोस आधारों पर जांच की जानी चाहिये।

हमें मालूम है कि सरकार ने फैसला किया है कि ऐसा न किया जाय। मैं दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि सरकार अपने इस निर्णय पर पुनर्विचार करे, इतना ही काफ़ी नहीं है बल्कि सही फैसला ले। दुनिया को दिखाई देना चाहिये कि आपने सही फैसला लिया है। यदि आप चाहते हैं कि देश में कांग्रेस को बिरलाओं के साथ न जोड़ा जाय, यदि आप देश में यह भावना पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि हम इस देश में मोनोपलीज को नहीं बढ़ने देना चाहते हैं तो आपको खुले आम यह घोषणा करनी चाहिये कि यह जो मेमोरेण्डम दिया गया है उनके बारे में पब्लिक एन्कवायरी की जायगी और इस के लिये कमीशन नियुक्त किया जायगा।

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North-East): The House should be grateful to the mover of this resolution for having given us this opportunity, and it was heart-warming to listen to Shri Randhir Singh and Shri Nahata who represented, I hope, something of the conscience of the Congress Party which is a vanishing quantity and which to a certain extent must persist in the country. It is an old story—the domination of the Birlas over public life,

and even Gandhiji has gone on record that the money received by the Congress in pre-Independence days from the Birlas' constituted "a silent debt." He said that in conversation with Louis Fischer, which is recorded in Louis Fischer's 'Life of Gandhi'. These people like the Birlas never do a thing without consideration of *quid pro quo*, and even in the days of Gandhiji a silent debt was there. That debt is being repaid by not making over the Birla Houses in order that it may be converted into a national memorial. Soon after Independence there came out two volumes of a book called 'Mystery of Birla House' which exposed such material that the Birlas bought up all the books and prevented its distribution in other way.

There is no country in the world where such allegations could pass muster, and the allegations involved every time the members of the Government and high officials of the Government of India. Nothing was done about those allegations, and people who were accused are going about even now with impunity. Sir, after that, the Hazari report is there. The Monopolies report is there. Mr. Chandrashekhar has present his memoranda before Parliament and before the country. Mr. Madhu Limaye has said so many things in the House which have never been properly answered. A magazine like *Blitz* has printed photostatic materials which have never been contested as far as Governmental agencies are concerned. This is the kind of thing which no country would tolerate, but because we happen to be in a mess where we wallow, we have to suffer this kind of indignity. The mix-up of the Birlas—about whose misdeeds every day the question-hour produces evidence, into which I have no time to go,—with the leading luminaries of the Government is something of a scandal which has not to be answered as far as public opinion is concerned. What Shri Morarji Desai has been doing in his own name and in the *benami* of his son and daughter-in-law, and Heaven knows, who else in his own particular fraternity—that is common knowledge—nobody has the guts, nobody in this Government has got the guts to appear before a public tribunal of any sort. They have not even the guts to prosecute a paper like *Blitz* or *New Age*; They have not got that kind of guts, and yet they function here and they pose

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

sanctimoniously as pious people; but the country knows the truth about it. I have no time to go into the details about this matter. I have no time to speak about those unspeakable transactions of Dodsals and Permanent Magnets and all the rest of it. I hate to have to even think of those miserable little things. The trouble, the tragedy is this. The Minister might think it is a laughing proposition; but even the Prime Minister appears to try to wash her hands of this matter. We have seen reports in the papers of something which is supposed to have happened in the Congress party meeting where it was said that Mr. Morarji Desai had offered that there might be a reference to a tribunal as far as the Birla case and his own case was concerned, but he was leaving it to the Prime Minister. Why is it that the Prime Minister does not clear her own position? Why is it that the Prime Minister of this country finds herself in a predicament where such glaring ugliness which is practised by people who dominate the political scene are not brought to book? Where is the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister as far as this Debate is concerned? Sir, Private Members' Resolution is a matter where you find the conscience of the House trying to speak. So many times the Private Members' Bills and Resolutions are accepted in principle by the Government even though about 20 people listened to the Debate. That is only because there is a peculiar sanctity attaching to Private Members' Resolution.

The Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister knew very well that this was a matter which affected them, their reputation, their standing in the country, and they are as we debate it, nowhere in the picture. They might have gone to watch the debris in Faridabad; I would not gloat over what happened; they might have some preoccupations but they should have some respect for Parliament. They should not have left Mr. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed alone to mind the baby when he knows very well the kind of difficulty which it is.

Therefore, Sir, here in this House we have had a Debate where, on the other side...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We started a little early. You may take one or two minutes more.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: Here, in this House, we have had speeches...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Or, would you like to continue on the next day?

AN HON. MEMBER: He would not be here on the 9th.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: I would like to finish today. I would not take more time than what I am entitled to.

Here in this House we have listened to a Debate where the Congress Member, Mr. Shantilal Shah—who always makes me think as if there must be some vestige of Gandhism in his composition—attempted a pseudolegal, sophisticated argument and said nothing very much would happen. Mr. Lobo Prabhu came forward to say again that the private sector, competition and the personal enterprise are the biggest things in life and so on and so forth. We are not concerned with that. But we are concerned with the decencies of public life, we are concerned with the development of monopoly power in our country where economics dominates political life to an extent which is causing havoc. We are concerned with a moral gesture which is being asked for repeatedly in both Houses of Parliament. We are concerned with a kind of Commission of Inquiry—call it whatever you like. Government can explain its position. In principle let them accept this Resolution and later lay down the methodology for action. We want something to be done which will bring about a change in the atmosphere and clear the cobwebs. Here are the Birlas who have got so many people in their pocket and over and above they seem to have got the Government in their pocket. Here are the Birlas who are described by the Prime Minister as family friends or may be it is the other way about. Here is a position which this country cannot tolerate in all honour. If we have any respect for honour, decency in public life or morality, we should do something about it. This Government should come forward and not merely leave to departmental processes of inquiry which are utterly suspect in the eyes of the people and the Parliament. We cannot leave this matter to the Finance Minister or his official advisers. We want proper adjudication. The Birlas in their own interest should come forward to offer themselves for examination. That is why here is a Resolution which if

the Government has any conscience left, let them accept in principle and then lay down the methodology for action.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam) : I am on my legs. I will continue next time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You may say one word.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : Mr. Deputy-speaker, Sir, I am very happy that we are given an opportunity...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member may resume his speech next time. We will now take up the half-an-hour Discussion.

**HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION
RECOGNITION OF PAST GOVERNMENT
SERVICE OF DISPLACED**

PERSONS

16.33 hrs.

[**SHRI R. D. BHANDARI** in the Chair]

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar) : Mr Chairman, Sir, the other day on the 18th of this month, I mentioned

certain specific grievances of the displaced Government servants in the matter of their pensionary benefits so that their services which they rendered in Pakistan might be considered for the benefits of pension. Peculiarly, the hon. Minister the other day simply said that there is no such scheme for admitting pensions of displaced Government servants belonging to the formerly undivided Province of Bengal who opted for service in Pakistan and who migrated to India on or after 15th August 1947. I cannot help myself unless I make certain other references...

डा० महादेव प्रसाद (महाराजगंज) :
सभापति महोदय, सदन में इस समय कोरम नहीं है।

18.34 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The bell is being rung.

Since there is no quorum, the House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday, 28th April 1969.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till eleven of the clock on Monday, April 28, 1969/ Vaisakha 8, 1891 (Saka.)
