

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

not get reflected. That this thing is going to be done by you is not borne out by your Budget proposals. Even now it is not late. You will have to do something in order to see that life in fact becomes tolerable for the common man. If things are going to be beyond the reach of the common man and still we go on saying all kinds of things, I am sure that nobody is going to be convinced about it. That is why we would like to understand from you, both the Railway Ministry as well as the Finance Ministry. They were rather very hard on both these aspects. That is why it had a cascading effect on all the items. The prices of all the items have increased to such an extent that it has become almost an impossibility for we people to understand whether your policies are getting reflected in your Budget or not.

I am in full agreement with hon. Vajpayeeji when he says that the public distribution system will have to be properly thought about. The kind of public distribution system and the kind of subsidy, food and fertilizer subsidy, have to be thought about. Is it the impression of the Government that it is reaching the targeted groups? A number of things do not reach the people for whom these subsidies are meant. You are trying to subsidise food items. That is the impression of the Government. At least I never had any doubt about it that it is waste of money, that it, in fact, is not reaching the tribals, the poorer sections. They are not getting the benefit of it. In fertilizer subsidy, who is the beneficiary? It is not the cultivator. It is the manufacturers who are getting the subsidy on fertilizer. You will have to streamline all these things. Whether we are in difficulty or out of difficulty, you will have to have a regular system by which items which are considered necessary for consumption of the common man are made available to him at a reasonable price. That is the point. For that you will have to consider and have an integrated view.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chavan, you can continue after lunch. Now the House is adjourned till 2.30 P.M. for lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirtyone minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirtyfour minutes past two of the clock, the Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagen Saikia) in the Chair.

**Short duration discussion on the Price situation in the country—Contd.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Chavanji to continue.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would just like to make two points. The hon. Members on the ruling side were telling that if the Opposition have any suggestion, they can offer constructive and concrete suggestions. In the forenoon I was on the point of public distribution system. In fact, this is a matter where the Government will have to go deep into the matter and try to find out whether the public distribution system is serving the purpose for which it is meant. In fact, it will be a salutary measures if the essential items being listed by the Government like... food subsidy and other subsidies are given to a reasonable extent and vulnerable sections of society, who in fact, deserve to get all the support and the assistance from the Government, should be particularly chosen for this kind of dispensation. The public distribution should be streamlined in consultation with the State Governments concerned and it has to be properly implemented in order to see that the benefits do not go to people, who, in fact, do not deserve this. Actually, a large number of people who are quite affluent, who can afford to spend money and purchase things from the open market, are entitled for purchasing the food-

grains and other items from the public distribution shops but normally they do not do it. They only purchase sugar and rest of the things find place in the black market. So that is a point which the Government will have to consider very seriously and in consultation with all those who are concerned, it should be possible to evolve a system which will, in fact, benefit the poorer sections and some kind of a mechanism will have to be created in order to see that the benefits meant for them are not being exploited by the intermediaries. That is one point.

Another point which I would like to bring to the notice of the House is the scheme of assistance or loan waiver as it is called, was not only confined to the cultivators, it was also meant to be extended to the weavers and village artisans. Those who have been doing tremendous amount of good service, they are a kind of people who in fact are suffering very badly, specially the weaver section. I am given to understand that the raw material which ought to be supplied to the weavers at a reasonable cost, colours, chemicals and all other items which, in fact, are badly needed by them, are being exported and weavers are deprived of them at reasonable cost at which these items should be available to this community. Most of these people are illiterate, ignorant, but at the same time, they are very good craftsmen. These village craftsmen, these village artisans, even if they were not to come to the banks, actually it is the responsibility of the officer incharge to see that those who are entitled for getting the benefit of the scheme get it and he should see that the entire industry is revamped, revived and they are given the full benefit of the scheme which is meant for them and if because of ignorance they are not able to approach the bank, it is the responsibility of the officer to see that benefits are given to them. Then hon. Members were asking me about the concrete suggestions—as Members of

the Opposition whether we have any. In fact it is none of my concern. I am not supposed to suggest anything but in the beginning, I have said that this is not a party affair. We should rise above the party lines and try to give them some suggestions if not all. A few suggestions I would like to place before the House for the consideration of the hon. Finance Minister. One is to make a serious effort to arrest deficit financing. We ourselves admit that this is a kind of structural imbalance in the total economy. We raise resources for capital purposes. Capital receipts are being utilised for revenue purposes. The greatest danger to the economy is this aspect of the question which everybody has to take very serious note of. Capital receipts should always be used for capital expenditure. But the tendency of using the capital receipts for revenue purposes, if this tendency were to be increase, then, of course, it is beyond the reach of any Government, whosoever might be the Government—whether Congress is there or any other party is there—it is not going to make any difference and total economy is going to suffer very badly. So the first thing is that the Government has to attempt, and attempt very seriously, consciously and deliberately, at deciding that we will not use these capital receipts for revenue purposes. The Finance Commission, of which my esteemed friend Shri N. K. P. Salve is the Chairman, have given a concrete plan of action. If you have read only four pages of the recommendations of the Finance Commission, you will see that this is what they have pointed out. They have suggested this normative approach for both State Governments and the Central Government that by the end of the Eighth Plan you should be able to reach a level where it should be a zero deficit finance. Zero seems to be rather difficult to achieve. But at least it should be the barest minimum. Everybody should be satisfied that they have tried their level best

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and that is the barest minimum which seems to be inescapable. You cannot possibly go beyond what you have attempted. But the kind of attempt which we find is a very lukewarm sort of approach. Nobody seems to be serious about it. State Governments are saying with each other to have overdraft from the Reserve Bank of India. Deficit-financing is a similar kind of overdraft. How is it different from the overdraft from the Reserve Bank of India? If you have to see the kind of tendency that we have, this is on the increase. Instead of arresting the same, we are increasing deficit-financing, thereby creating all kinds of difficulties for our future generations. In order to meet the expenditure, you have to borrow from the public internally and also externally; and at both the places, it is at a very high rate of interest that you have to borrow. At that rate of interest, is it going to be possible for any Government to pay back the instalments and the interests? It goes beyond the physical capacity of any Government. Are we in a position to reverse the entire process? The Government has now to seriously consider and come before Parliament saying, "This is the total limit of borrowing and we do not propose to exceed that limit." We can understand certain eventualities which necessitate immediate expenditure on certain items which, in fact cannot be thought of. All of a sudden, unfortunately, if something very big happens, if a conflict with a neighbouring country takes place, that is a kind of situation where you can possibly understand going beyond the limit fixed by Parliament. But for your regular purposes, you have to fix a ceiling which you will never try to cross. That is the kind of conscious discipline that we will have to follow. If you have to do this, then at least you will be reversing the trend that we find in the present circumstances. I am sure that this is the proper time when an attempt will

have to be made to put some kind of self-discipline and to see that we do not cross the limit. While on this subject, I can definitely say—I have an experience of thirty years of public life—without fear of any contradiction, that there are a large number of departments in the Government of India for areas which, in fact, are the sole responsibility of the State Governments. If you have to see the kind of staff employed, it is almost ten times, five times, more than the staff employed by the State Governments, whose primary responsibility is to run that kind of departments. What is the justification for this? This is the kind of multiplying effect that we find. In every committee which is being appointed, they will see to it that there are a number of staff people. They are being increased. On the other hand, the Central Government itself suggests to the State Governments. 'Unless you have to appoint this number of staff, your scheme is not going to go through.' Almost we are forcing the State Governments to appoint and multiply the staff which, in fact, is not the responsibility of the Central Government. So our job is to restrict our activity to the primary responsibilities of the Central Government. The State Governments should be asked to do the rest of the things which, in fact, are supposed to be done by them. One more thing and I have done and that is about avoiding the cost and time overruns of the projects, projects costing Rs. 2,000 crores, Rs. 4,000 crores, Rs. 5,000 crores and steel projects costing huge amounts of money. In the project report, you say that you are going to complete the project in five years. But it takes ten years, twelve years or fourteen years to complete the projects. So the estimates have to be revised and it becomes twice, three times or four times the estimated amount that was originally taken and then everybody has to say that this is the revised estimate and because of this revised estimate and the total time taken in the completion of

the project, the stipulated period within which the benefits of the project should actually accrue to the people at large, becomes almost doubled or trebled. That is why the money-circulation increases and the benefits of the scheme do not become available to the people. How to synchronise the same is the main point on which a concentrated attempt will have to be made by the State Government as well as the Central Government in order to see that we complete the schemes well in time so that we are within the financial limits and we do not unnecessarily create a problem which, in fact, according to me, is an avoidable problem. Not that everything can be avoided, but in the beginning, slipshod project reports are prepared and thereafter the revised project cost becomes almost four times the original cost and we find that the money-circulation to that extent increases in the market. Once the liquidity increases, then of course it has a chain reaction and that is the kind of thing which, in fact, needs to be avoided. Since the hon. Member insisted, that as a Member of the Opposition, it is our responsibility to suggest something concrete, I have placed these three or four points. I know that they are very difficult points and with the present Government—at least I have no doubt that they do not have that kind of political will and also the strength—it becomes rather difficult; that is why it becomes more the responsibility of Mr. Vajpayee and also our friends of the CPI(M) that you insist that your support is from the national point of view and not from any other consideration. You say “This is the kind of discipline on which we insist and unless you follow that kind of discipline, you can’t possibly take it for granted that our support is going to be available to you.” While giving the support, give it for a good cause and see that the entire atmosphere is being reversed for the better cause of the country. These are the few suggestions that I thought I must place be-

fore the House and I am thankful to the Chair for giving me the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Ish Dutt Yadav. Your time limit is 25 minutes.

SHRI ISH DUTT YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): Yes, Sir. But I will speak only for ten minutes and fifteen minutes will be taken by Shri Jaiswalji.

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इस अल्प-कालिक वर्चा में भाग लेने के लिए आपने हमें समय दिया, हम इसके लिए आपका हृदय से आभार प्रकट करते हैं।

मान्यवर, महंगाई बढ़ी है और पिछले कुछ महीनों में इस महंगाई में वृद्धि हुई है, इसमें दो राय नहीं हैं। इसमें देश के लोग और हमारी सरकार चिंतित हैं। सरकार इस महंगाई पर नियंत्रण करने के लिए और जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं के दाम घटाने के लिए प्रयास भी कर रही है। जो मूल्य वृद्धि हुई है मैं उन आंकड़ों के विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन तेल, सीमेंट, चाय, लोहा, नमक आदि जो आवश्यक सामग्रियाँ हैं, जीवनोपयोगी सामग्रियाँ हैं इनके दाम बढ़े हैं। थोक सूचकांक भी बढ़े हैं और फुटकर समानों के दाम तो बेतहाशा बढ़े हैं, इसमें दो राय नहीं हैं। इसके लिए हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी, हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी और जनता दल की सरकार प्रयासरत है और सफलता की ओर है, लेकिन पूरी सफलता नहीं मिली है। इसमें भी दो राय नहीं है।

मान्यवर, महंगाई बढ़ी क्यों है, यह साफ-साफ जाहिर है। अभी भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री जी का मैं भाषण सुन रहा था और सुझाव इन्होंने दिये। सुझाव स्वीकार योग्य है, लेकिन जो इन्होंने सुझाव दिया है, अगर इन्होंने और इनकी सरकार ने इन सुझावों को पहले क्रम में ला दिया होता, तो आज जायद देश की स्थिति यह नहीं होती, आज महंगाई नहीं दौड़ी होती।

इन्होंने मुद्रा-स्फीति बढ़ाई, विदेशी ऋण लिये और उसके आंकड़े में भी मैं नहीं

[श्री ईश दत्त यादव]

जाना चाहता हूं, पर गत वर्ष 1750 करोड़ केवल सूद की अदायगी की गई। बराबर इन्होंने घाटे का बजट बनाया और बराबर फिजूलखर्ची करते चले गये, अनुत्पादक कार्यों में देश का सारा धन इन्होंने व्यय कर दिया।

माननीय भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री जी की सरकार ने, इनके नेता ने और इनकी पार्टी ने केवल अपनी कुर्सी बरकरार रखने के लिए देश के अंदर मस्ती लोक-प्रियता प्राप्त करने के लिए बराबर घाटे का बजट बनाया और जब बराबर घाटे का बजट बनाया, तो हमारी यह राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे की सरकार का तो अभी केवल समय सात-आठ महीने हुआ है।

सरकार प्रयास कर रही है, हर संभव उपाय सरकार कर रही है, मुद्रा-स्फीति को रोकने के लिए, विदेशी मुद्रा वर्जन करने के लिए और महंगाई पर नियंत्रण करने के लिए सरकार हर तरह का प्रयास कर रही है।

माननीय गटल जी का भी भाषण मैंने बहुत ध्यानपूर्वक सुना है। उन्होंने जो सुझाव दिये हैं, वह अत्यंत ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

मान्यवर, महंगाई की जो आज सारी जिम्मेदारी है, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह पिछली सरकार की है। इसमें हमारी सरकार का कोई योगदान नहीं है। हमारी सरकार तो इस पर कंट्रोल कर रही है, नियंत्रण कर रही है और हमें ऐसा विश्वास है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में, हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी के प्रयास से महंगाई पर नियंत्रण निकट भविष्य में पा लिया जाएगा।

मैं इस संबंध में कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं और सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि महंगाई के नियंत्रण के लिए सरकार को थोड़ा कठोर होना पड़ेगा, थोड़े कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे, ताकि महंगाई पर रोक लगे।

स्व० डा० लोहिया का नारा था कि देश के अंदर अगर किसी चीज का उत्पादन

होता है, तो एक से डेढ़ तक इससे अधिक का फर्क नहीं होना चाहिए। अगर एक रुपये में कोई सामान तैयार होता है, तो देश के किसी भी कोने में जाकर वह डेढ़ रुपये से अधिक में नहीं बेचा जाना चाहिए।

महोदय, मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार इस ओर प्रयास करे क्योंकि कारखाने में जो सामान तैयार हो रहे हैं किमान के उपयोग के लिए जो खाद तैयार हो रही है, भिमेंट तैयार हो रहा है, लोहा बन रहा है, इन सब का दाम सही ढंग से तय नहीं किया गया।

मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार जो आवश्यक वस्तुएं हैं, जो सभी वस्तुएं कारखाने के अंदर बनने वाले सामान हैं, सब का दाम एक प्रिंसिपल पर, एक आधार पर, एक इकनाधिक पालिसी बनाकर सरकार को चाहिए कि मूल्य बांधे। मूल्य बांधो नीति जब तक अपनाई नहीं जाएगी, मूल्यों पर नियंत्रण पाना थोड़ा कठिन हो जाएगा।

दूसरा मेरा निवेदन होगा वितरण प्रणाली में सुधार करने के लिए। केंद्र से लेकर जिने तक और तहसील और ब्लाक लेवल तक जो वितरण प्रणाली है, इस प्रणाली पर सरकार ने सुधार लाने के लिए प्रयास किया है, लेकिन अपेक्षित सुधार नहीं हुआ है।

आज जिने में सप्लाई आफिशियल है। वहां से चीनी की निमासी होती है, वह ब्लैक में सेल हो जाती है। लोगों को ब्लैक में, मंहगे दाम पर खरीदनी पड़ती है, यद्यपि प्रदेश सरकारों ने और केंद्र सरकार ने बहुत कुछ इसमें सुधार किया है, लेकिन इसमें अब भी प्रयाप्त सुधार अपेक्षित है, और सुधार होना चाहिए। वितरण प्रणाली में अगर सुधार कर दिया जाएगा, तो मूल्यों पर नियंत्रण पाया जा सकता है।

मेरा तीसरा निवेदन इस संबंध में सरकार से यह होगा कि इस संबंध में

सरकार जो भी बजट बनाये, जो भी धन खर्च किया जाए, इससे उत्पादन होना चाहिए। देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार तभी हो सकता है जब देश का उत्पादन बढ़े। पिछली सरकार ने यह गलती की थी क्योंकि मान्यवर, जितनी भी सम्पत्ति है दुनिया के अन्दर, देश के अन्दर यह सब पृथ्वीमाता के गर्भ से निकलती है। लोहा है, कोयला है, सीमेंट है, कपड़ा है, जो भी वस्तु है वह सब पृथ्वीमाता के गर्भ से निकलती है। इसको निकालने वाला किसान होता है, इसको निकालने वाला मजदूर होता है। जब इसकी तरफ सरकार ध्यान देगी, सरकार ध्यान दे रही है लेकिन जब उत्पादन बढ़ेगा तब महंगाई पर नियन्त्रण किया जा सकता है। मान्यवर, खुशी है कि हमारी सरकार ने बजट का लगभग आधा पैसा और उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने तो 51 प्रतिशत पैसा गांवों के लिए और किसानों के लिए लगाने के लिए बजट तैयार किया है, बजट पास किया है और हमें विश्वास है कि नांव का, किसान का और खेत का जब उत्पादन बढ़ेगा तो मूल्यों पर नियन्त्रण किया जा सकता है। साथ ही, मान्यवर, मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि किसान को, किसान का जो उत्पादन है उसका उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिए। जब तक किसान को उसके उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य नहीं मिलेगा तब तक किसान खुशहाल नहीं होगा, उसकी गरीबी नहीं मिटेगी, किसान की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार नहीं आएगा तब तक देश की स्थिति में कोई सुधार नहीं आएगा। किसान के लागत मूल्य को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए उसका लाभकारी मूल्य दिया जाना आवश्यक है, लेकिन साथ ही यह देखना होगा और सरकार को प्रयास करना होगा कि जीवोपयोगी वस्तुओं का मूल्य बढ़ने न पाए, क्योंकि जब मूल्य बढ़ेंगे तो संपूर्ण देश की जनता, देश का रहने वाला हर आदमी बुरी तरह से प्रभावित होगा। मेरा इस सरकार से विनम्र और अंतिम निवेदन है, सरकार प्रयास भी कर रही है कि फिजूलखर्ची पर रोक लगाई जाए। पिछली सरकार ने तमाम फिजूलखर्ची की, अनावश्यक योजनाएं बनाई और इन अनावश्यक

योजनाओं से देश की कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई। पैसा पानी की तरह से बह गया, मंत्री लोगों के स्वागत में, सम्मान में, विदेश यात्राओं में, उनके ऐंशो-आराम में और हमारी सरकार प्रयास कर रही है और मैं सरकार से निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि इस फिजूलखर्ची पर रोक लगाएं। उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने रोक लगा दी है। हमारे हरियाणा की सरकार, बिहार की सरकार, जहां-जहां गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार हैं वहां-वहां पर उन्होंने फिजूलखर्ची पर रोक लगाने का प्रयास किया है और कर रही हैं। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है, केन्द्रीय सरकार से निवेदन है, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन है कि फिजूलखर्ची पर रोक लगनी चाहिए और अगर मूल्यों में इस तरह से बेतहाशा वृद्धि रोकी नहीं गई तो देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था छिन्न-भिन्न हो जाएगी और सभी लोग बुरी तरह से प्रभावित होंगे और सरकार से मेरा यह भी नम्र निवेदन है कि मूल्यों के नियन्त्रण के लिए सरकार को कड़ाई करनी पड़ेगी और जो लोग दानून के खिलाफ सभ्यता का मूल्य बढ़ा करके ब्लैक में उस बेचते हैं उनको कड़ी सजा देनी पड़ेगी।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मान्यवर, मैं पुनः आपका हृदय से आभार प्रकट करता हूँ।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार):**

यादव जी, बात तो आप सच्ची कह रहे हैं।

**श्री ईशदत्त यादव:** मैं हमेशा ठीक बात करता हूँ। मैं तो हमेशा अच्छी बात कहता हूँ।... (व्यवधान)

3.00 P.M.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA):** Now, Mr. Salve to speak.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Sir, when the Janata Dal took over the reins of the Government, there was considerable euphoria in the country and there was considerable exultation in the country.

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

People have had high expectations from this Government. In fact, they virtually expected miracles. And miracles were expected because in their poll campaign this party, their friends and their allies offered extremely alluring, deceptive and meretricious promises to the people and the people thought that once this Government is put into power they will be able to implement all the promises. It is a Government which is ultimately found out to be a Government which is mouthful of empty promises. Various reasons are there for the people now to feel greatly disillusioned, greatly disappointed and greatly frustrated. But the gravest of the reasons has been the alarming rate of inflation, nearly 9 per cent 'from point-to-point basis. And economists applying the rule of econometrics to the situation as it exists today on a conservative basis, have assumed that this inflation will not be less than 16 per cent by the financial year end.

In fact, Sir, there is an interesting study of the Reserve Bank of India by one of the ablest men in the Reserve Bank, Prof. Rangrajan; he is number two in the Reserve Bank. And the Reserve Bank, mind you, is not manned by the Congress Party. They have pointed out in that study which they have carried out that should the growth rate be 5 per cent or more than the minimum inflation rate of inflation will be 20 per cent and should it be less than 5 per cent then the rate of inflation will be above 20 per cent. This is not what I am saying. This is what has been stated by a very eminent authority on public finance, a very important officer of the Reserve Bank. And what he says further about the inertia of this Government, about the inability of the Government to understand the seriousness of the problem to tackle the same is extremely very disconcerting. It appeared in the Hindustan Times of May 17, 1990. I quote from the Hindustan Times. The study is of great significance. It was

headed by Mr. Rangrajan who has a massive reputation for his brilliance. It holds that the inflation rate as measured by GDP inflation as 7 per cent in a base year could by this factor alone be pushed to an unacceptably high level of 20 per cent within a period of five years, and in case the real GDP growth turns out to be less than 5 per cent a year due to adverse weather or otherwise, the inflation rate could easily go far beyond 20 per cent. Of much greater concern is what has been said by this distinguished economist a little later. Although Dr. Rangrajan is himself the most important kingpin of the Reserve Bank, next only to the Governor, the Study Group headed by him has admitted with brutal frankness that although much concern was being expressed over the growing governmental deficit and the resultant rapid expansion of domestic debt in the country yet the relevant issues had not so far been adequately and vigorously tackled. This is what hon. Member Vajpayee said that there were promises, plenty of barren verbiage, to which he referred from the speech of the Finance Minister. If they had acted firmly, today this situation would not have arisen...

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: They have no time... (Interruptions)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Just now we were run down—right, left and centre; you have not done this. Mr. Chavan was sought to be taught: if you had done this, this situation would not have arisen. We were being damned we were being condemned, for what had happened so far. I have no doubt in my mind and I consider what Atalji has said is a very difficult situation.

When such an economy was inherited, it was then also in a very difficult situation. We have no illusions about that. Did we ever have a double-digit inflation in the preceding several years? With all this mismanagement when did the rate of inflation achieve such an alarming proportion as it has achieved this time, i.e. in

less than 8 months' time? Only twice before, we had double-digit inflation. Once it was in 1980-81. It was 16.6 per cent. Thanks to the grievous mismanagement by the Janata Government. That nightmare is still fresh in our minds. Atalji, I think it is fresh in your mind also. Again it was in 1987-88 when he had the worst drought of the century. It was only 10.6 per cent at that time. What are you heading for now? For a minimum of 16 per cent? All right. We concede that when you took the economy, when you inherited the economy, the entire fiscal situation was full of imbalances. It was in a difficult situation. Does it mean that you should do your worse to damage it further? Or is it that you should have been more careful, more cautious? If you had been more cautious, this situation would not have arisen.

I am going to point out some figures and that is my grievance with the party of Atalji and with my Leftist friends. We implored this Government to take certain stern measures and not to go by the soft options, not to ruthlessly flout all the cardinal norms of a sound fiscal system. At that time, both these parties did not at all pay heed to what we were saying. If they had heeded us even partially. If Atalji had spoken then 10 per cent of what he has spoken today, these people would never have had the courage to go glibly the way they went on ruining and destroying the entire fiscal balance in the system. Sir the rise in price is only symptomatic. It is only symptomatic. It is only a symptom. It is not a malaise. The malaise is something else and that malaise is gross fiscal mismanagement. It is because the ruthless rules which govern the macro economics were sought to be thwarted and stifled by sheer recourse to soft option, by populism and by political pressures of the *kulak* lobby. Sir we know that the Cabinet was dragged like a dumb-driven cattle till yesterday. When the names of *kulaks* and

when the names of the rural people were taken, they were only too anxious to conceded every type of concession. I stand, as Atalji stands, for the welfare of the agriculturists. Nothing can be achieved in this country by way of economic progress or social progress unless the people living in the rural areas the agriculturists, are helped. Sir, I have figures to show that in 1987 the poorest 10 per cent in the rural areas owned some asset. How much was that asset? It was 0.0 per cent. If the poorest of the poor in the rural areas owned 10 per cent asset, I would like to ask this question. The lavish concessions which you have been doling out and so generously, giving to the *kulak* lobby, is even a rupee of it to go to these 10 per cent people? You are going to transfer tens of thousands of rupees there. Fifty per cent of your development programme has to go to the rural areas. In all these years we are guilty of having carried it out in a manner that the 10 per cent of the rural areas got nothing. Ten per cent of the rural poor are still not only below the poverty line, they are at the starvation line. When they are at the starvation line, how much of these thousands of crores that you are giving away will go to them? What have you done in giving all these incentives? You have increased the subsidies on fertilisers. You have increased the subsidies on food. You have increased the prices of food. The consumer has to pay more. There is an elementary principle of economics. They talk of the various primary articles. If food articles become expensive, wages go up. If wages go up, the prices of manufactured articles go up. If the prices of manufactured articles go up, inputs go up. As a result of that, we come to the same position where we started from. This is the kind of vicious circle. Instead of breaking it by some hard options, you have asked what we need to do. You have asked what we need to do in view of the very difficult position which you are facing



[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

now *vis-à-vis* the increase in prices abroad.

Mr. Gurupadaswamy is a distinguished leader of this House, I want to submit to him that now the time has come when you have to take very austere and strict measures. A developing country has never been able to achieve anything unless it has learnt to starve, unless it has learnt to work hard unrelentingly. They thought they will come here and offer on a silver platter El Dorado, they will offer Utopia as it were. All that the people had to do was to go and cast their votes. And people also, gullible as they are, they thought that it is the best thing to go and cast the vote. In the rural area, in Madhya Pradesh where Atalji's party is ruling, they got elaborate forms filled up. Give your name, give your address, give your father's name and grandfather's name and all that. Why? Once we come to power, every agriculturist will be free from his liability to pay the loan. This was told in Madhya Pradesh. Result? A bumper majority in favour of Atalji. The question, Sir, is, and what needs to be understood is that in this country unless the Government is willing to accept this proposition that there is no way out excepting a very stern, disciplined attitude and approach in fiscal management, we can never be able to manage our affairs properly nor are we able to impart any resilience in the economy. Why is this happening? Why are you not able to control? If I were to tell you why you are not able to control, do you know one thing? It is your indiscriminate levies. At that time we pleaded with you, we pleaded with the Left parties against this kind of levy that he is bringing about, this kind of a massive deficit that he was working for. Sir, he really worked out the deficit to be Rs. 17,099 crores. Out of that Rs. 4,067 crores, Rs. 2200 crores was covered by petroleum—Rs. 1400 crores by way of prices,

Rs. 800 crores by way of taxation, Rs. 394 crores by way of excise, Rs. 835 crores by way of customs, Rs. 172 crores by way postal charges and Rs. 470 crores by the railways. All of them have been talking glibly of socialism. All of them have been talking about the concern for the poor man. And what has happened as a result of Rs. 17,099 Crores of deficit? Today they are not able to control the rate of inflation. And they cannot control for one simple reason. A famous economist, Pai Panandikar, in the 'Economic Times' of 22nd May, 1990, by rules of econometrics has worked out an ingredient of inflation. And what does he find? This is something which Shri Gurupadaswamy should know. 'The Deputy Prime Minister is responsible for sponsoring 15 per cent inflation'. That, is because of fertilizer subsidy, food subsidy and rise in prices. Then he said, 'the Finance and the Railway Ministers between themselves because of these levies and because of increase in railway freight have contributed 38 per cent'. And the State Governments, well, as Atalji has rightly said, are perennially in need of moneys. What they do is, so far as their electricity boards are concerned, they generate power at a fantastic price of say 97 paise and sometimes more than one rupee, and they sell it at 18 paise to the agriculturist. Well, they may do so. They may do so if they want to. But then at some stage or the other they must realise that the laws of economics are no miracles. If you are going to run the Board, if you are going to generate power, then it has to be self-sufficient. And if it has to be self-sufficient, you have to balance somewhere. They are virtually on the brink of insolvency, as he has rightly said. Rs. 800 crores are to be paid. Sir, in the Finance Commission, one demand which was made by the States was that moneys may be given to the State Governments to enable the Electricity Boards to pay their debts away—the most amazing, the most fantastic demand that ever could have been made. The mistakes they commit, the profligacy

they show, the lack of discipline they show, and it is the Central Government which is expected to subsidise them to be able to discharge their normal business. Amazing!

Sir, I do not want to say anything more about the public sector. Rs. 280 thousand crores is the total amount invested in the entire public sector which not only includes our steel plants, not only includes the plants which are by way of industry, but also railways, irrigation, roads, etc. Sir, if we had been getting a minimal return of 5 per cent return, by now we would have been one of the strongest economies in the world. We never cared for productivity. Our wages are not linked to productivity. They are linked to what? To the cost of living index. In countries which have linked wages to the cost of living index and which give the security of the type which we are giving in our country, they have come to grief. And India also will come to grief sooner than later.

Of course, I am conscious of the fact that suddenly these things cannot be done. But at least, certain minimum things could have been done. I find that the Deputy Prime Minister, the Finance and the Railway Ministers and other Ministers and also the State Governments together have sponsored 73 per cent of the inflation. The balance 27 per cent is sponsored by the private sector. It is an amazing way of working. I am all for the agriculturists. But what is the manner in which you are doing this? Take, for example, sugarcane. The statutory price fixed is Rs. 22 per quintal. But at the behest of the State Governments—because they are also indulging in the same kind of populism—the actual price payable is Rs. 38. The cost price is Rs. 10/-, at the factory, but they have to sell below that. The result is inevitable. Large amounts are due to the cultivators in respect of the sugarcane supplied by them.

You have invited this kind of trouble. You have invited this kind

of difficulty. You create this kind of situation and then you blame the private sector. Could you not have been a little more discreet? Now, I would like to point out about the taxation proposals of 1990-91 and the revenue deficit position. A very interesting study has been made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research. They have pointed out here. This is for the benefit of Atalji specially because his party supported the Government on this issue. In the case of the 1989-90 Budget which was ours, the Budget deficit was Rs. 7,021 crores. The then Finance Minister, my esteemed friend, Mr. Chavan, is sitting here. In regard to the 1989-90 Budget, this is what the National Council of Applied Economic Research had to say. This is for the consumption of all, those who are going to blame the predecessor Government. I would like to quote what they have said, even if it takes a minute or two. I quote:

“A rise in the size of the Budget over its initial estimate is something trite and familiar. Much more striking than that is the attempt to bring about a check on the revenue account deficit which has been rising year after year. With the 1989-90 Budget, a hope had arisen that a reversal of this erroneous trend where the rising revenue deficits were being contained by growing capital account surpluses would probably be brought about. This was sought in the 1989-90 Budget by aiming at a sharp increase in the revenue receipts, the transfer of Oil Co-ordination Committee funds notwithstanding.”

As I said, the deficit was Rs. 7,012 crores. After they came to power, in just four months' time, they increased it to a neat figure of Rs. 12,436 crores. They increased the expenditure on defence by Rs. 1,179 crores, major subsidies Rs. 1,694 crores and economic services—Rs. 472 crores. Who is responsible for this? Who is

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

responsible for this profligacy? Who is responsible for this kind of an utter failure to exercise a minimum of circumspection and restraint to control the situation?

Sir, the Finance Commission pointed out about this and issued a warning. With your permission, I would like to read out from page 15 of the Second Report of the Ninth Finance Commission. When the Finance Ministry, much before the new Government took over, submitted the estimates of revenue receipts and expenditure for the period 1990-95, they were issued a warning by the Finance Commission. The Finance Commission said 'The details of the forecast contain some very disturbing features.' There was no hiding. We did not want to push under the carpet the difficulties which had been created as a result of continuous deficits for the earlier four years. In this context, it is a tribute to Mr. Chavan by no less an institution than the National Council of Applied Economic Research; what they have said about the 1989-90 Budget, which you people have ruined. But there was a warning which had been administered to the Government.

These are the details of the forecast for five years which contain some very disturbing features. After excluding railways, postal and tele-communication services, the non-plan revenue expenditure in 1989-90 is about 71 per cent of the total revenue receipts. As per the forecast for 1994-95 the expenditure will rise to nearly 100 per cent of the total revenue receipts. The percentage of expenditure other than major subsidies and interest payments goes up from about 35 per cent of the revenue receipts in 1989-90 to 40 per cent in 1994-95. Major subsidies which account for 11 per cent in 1989-90 will be 15 per cent by 1994-95. But the biggest increase is in the interest payment, from the level of 17,000 crores in 1989-90 it will increase nearly to 42,200 crores in 1994-95. This is a

fortunately by this Government and the Finance Minister paid tributes stating that it is a monumental work. What have you done after that? Did you make any single effort whatsoever not to allow increase in borrowings either from abroad or from the Reserve Bank of India? Blibly you determine a 13000 deficit. This 13000 deficit means it is going to come from the Reserve Bank and now you find yourself in a difficulty *vis-à-vis* the petrol problem. There is one thing I want to tell you. I want to warn you. There may be a difficulty in respect of foreign exchange. How to do it, it is your business. As I said in humour, it's your funeral. We are not going to be worried about it. But one thing I warn you. If as a result of this you are going to increase the price of petrol even by one paisa, take it from me, there will be revolution in this country. Please do not increase the price of petrol because you have left no margin and there is no difficulty. So far as the importing agencies are concerned, Indian Oil Corporation and other organisations are concerned, they have enough margin. They are actually rolling filthily in wealth and you have got more and more money for them. 14,400 was the price increase just before the budget. You used to run us down sitting over here. Mr. Leader of the House. How many times did you run us down for this kind of dubious method that you are adopting. Just before budget, without coming to the Parliament you are raising the administrative prices. This is another way of raising revenues through the backdoor, without taking the Parliament into confidence.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Did you not do it?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Whatever we may or may not have done, we never succumbed to soft options and that is one reason why we are sitting here. We could also give promises. (Interruptions). What is it? I am talking with reference to facts and figures. You said that you are going to increase the price of petrol up to 10,000. What

prevented us from saying that we will write off loans up to Rs. 20,000? Ultimately, the Reserve Bank is going to give money, they have to print notes. But what happens to the consumer, what happens to inflation, what happens to the basic considerations.

**SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN:** In Maharashtra it is your Congress Government which waived off the loans. I can give the names of two Chief Ministers, Shri Antulay and Shri Sharad Pawar, who waived off the loan. You too have the so-called set options.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** If that is so, I will have to talk on a subject which should not be discussed here. Maharashtra Government is the one Government which has enough resources to waive off loans. This Government is on the verge of bankruptcy. Do you want to know the position of your bankruptcy? Those people who are smiling, they would like to know. This is the report from an international loan market about your credit-worthiness.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN** (West Bengal): Who has created that bankruptcy? It is due to you.

**SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN:** Is the Finance Minister listening or is he sleeping when such a serious problem is being discussed?

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** This is a serious debate. (Interruptions). Otherwise I would have given a very befitting reply to Mr. Sukomal Sen. Please try to do some introspection and find out the grievous errors you have committed and your part of the guilt in the sin they have committed as a result of which there is rise in prices. It was an anti-people Budget; it was a Budget which was full of potency for inflation. It is going to be 16 per cent, 20 per cent, 25 per cent, as mentioned by the Reserve Bank. You have blamed us. You can go on blaming us ad infinitum

and ad nauseam. As I was telling Mr. Mahajan, one very important thing is that our credit worthiness abroad never went down the way it has gone down today. Why? Have we brought it down? It was not so in the days of Rajiv Gandhi; it was never so in the days of Indiraji and never never so in the days of Jawaharlal Nehru Ji and Lal Bahadur Shastri. (Interruptions). I think you will have to educate yourself properly on what the loan position is. This is what is stated... Please you can have your say when it comes to your turn. This loss of credit worthiness of this country is the surest indication of the bankruptcy toward which we are heading, is the surest indication of the fact that the rest of the world has started considering this Government and this nation utterly bankrupt.

"The latest assessment made by the international agencies is that the Indian economy is on a downhill course and the present credit rating is no more valid. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission....

Please listen to this and you will grin less—

"... (ONGC), the cash rich creditworthy public sector unit, has failed till now to get its \$ 150 million loan syndicated by the Japanese banks, who till the other day were wooing the Indian parties for such loans."

It further says:

"This has been for the first time...."

We have been in power and authority for so many years, excepting for the nightmarish years of Janata rule, but then—

"This has been for the first time that the Indian financial institutions have been put on watch. Since these are guaranteed by the Indian Government, this means that the India's credit rating is under a cloud.

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

According to experts, the international bankers are losing confidence in the capacity of the present Government to manage effectively its balance of payments situation. Interestingly, the present attitude of the international bankers made in contrast to the observations made by the World Bank in its country report for India presented to the meeting of the Aid India Consortium in June this year.

You said that the coffers were empty when you inherited this economy. Anyone who is conversant with the working of the government system knows that coffers are never empty—were no more or less empty then when the Prime Minister was the Finance Minister. There is no question of coffers being empty because the instrumentality of treasury bills is there. All that you have to do is to dish out treasury bills with an absolute sense of ingenuity and there is money printed by the Reserve Bank into your Bill. So there is no question of coffers being empty. But here is a very dangerous indication today. You planned it yourself due to gross mismanagement, due to your inability to know how necessary it was to adopt a very stern measure of discipline which you completely refused and declined to do, and in which you were abetted by BJP and the left parties. This is my charge against them. Due to this we have come to such a position that a successor Government perhaps will never say that the coffers are empty. It will say, "what we have inherited is sheer bankruptcy".

Even now, there are a few things which you can do. Unfortunately the Finance Minister is not here. His Deputy is here. I do not know how much his voice is heard. I would like to say that I have already told you, please don't increase the petrol price under any circumstances. Please stop further subsidies to farmers.

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY (Tamil Nadu): Is this the policy of your party to stop the subsidies and waiving of loans to the farmers and to increase the electricity tariff to the farmers?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: My party and I am concerned about farmers; we can't be concerned about kulaks. We would want this money to be given not by way of waiver of loans but to help the agriculturists augment their production and productivity. Has this money been spent on bio-technology which is making such tremendous strides in the western world? In genetic engineering, how much have you spent? What have you done? With the difficulty that you have now landed yourself into with petroleum, have you done anything for the renewable sources of energy? Nothing! Because, all that requires imagination, all that requires hard work, all that requires a good deal of discipline in yourself first. You have no discipline in yourself first. You have no discipline. I do not indulge in cavils—and it is not my grievance—but I was told that there were 20 Ministers at one time in London and some London paper reported that they could hold a Cabinet meeting there! The Prime Minister then had to say that they were not going to be foreign jaunts. I am only showing this as a manifestation of the attitude of absolute recklessness, carelessness, the casual manner in which you are taking the serious situation. Glibly you can always say that Mr. Chavan and Rajiv Gandhi are responsible for giving you this liability. But, if your Government was worth its salt, if it was worth the promises which you had given to the people, even 10 per cent of them, you would have realized your responsibility and made the best possible attempts to bring the economy on the path of rectitude and we would have saluted you. Instead you have taken it further down the drain. You brought untold havoc on the people, and that is not the end of the matter.

We don't want you to be toppled. The BJP do not want you to be toppled, the Left Front do not want you to be toppled, because the nation is not in a position as yet to go in for a mid-term poll. But whatever period you still have to fulfil, kindly, for God's sake, realize one thing—that you have got to be stern, you have got to be stiff, you have got to be tough, you have to be uncompromising in fiscal discipline. If, for that purpose, supposing for a moment that you are not able to import petrol, the option is not to tax people of Rs. 2,200 crores. And, what sheer dishonesty! Why were the prices hiked up? And collection by way of prices was to the tune of Rs. 1,400 crores and by way of taxes, Rs. 800 crores on petroleum. What was the reason given? "Because we can't foot the bill in view of the precarious balance of payments position." Nothing has happened since then to take care of the balance of payments position, and now certainly the prices are going up. If you had at that time itself said, "All right, we are going to reduce the Rs. 2,000/- crore petroleum bill by cutting on the Government expenditure," I could have appreciated it. Government itself consumes 50 to 60 per cent of petroleum and petroleum products. What have you done about it? Has a single Minister, has a single bureaucrat, has a single employee of the Government ever thought about it that the petrol that he is wasting away is invaluable? In the case of a man in the private sector, if he is running his own car, if nothing else, the prohibitive price of petrol is the biggest check. On you what is the check? People pay by way of taxes and, if the taxes are inadequate, the Reserve Bank is already there merrily to print more notes and give you and, therefore, you carry on—carry on in your cars, carry on in our planes, carry on in every possible way and, if you are not satisfied with what you are doing here, you go abroad. The whole attitude requires to be changed. For God's sake, take stern measures if necessary. Reduce the petrol consumption of the Government by Rs. 2,000 crores. If necessary, im-

pose rationing. The nation must be prepared for austerity. If you can't afford it, there is no way out. You can't put a mouthful of empty promises every time. Bad enough what you have done. Please do not worsen the situation and therefore don't ever raise the prices of petrol.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Be brief, please.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Just two minutes, Sir, and I will finish.

Don't ever increase any subsidies, either on food or on fertilizer or any other item whatsoever. We have had enough subsidies given. Try to manage within this and, if it is necessary to get a better price, increase the price. Let the people pay. One more thing I went to make. Mr. Atalji referred to it. He was talking of some parity in prices. My good friend would do better to know that ultimately, if you want to give fair prices to the farmers—Sir, I will have in just one minute's time finished—there has to be some parity with the primary articles. I have this groupwise wholesale price index for 1989-90, base 1981-82. (Interruptions) Please bear with me. Atalji referred to it, that there ought to be some parity between the agricultural prices. Did he refer to it or not? It must not be completely divorced, it cannot be completely unrelated to the rest of the commodities. If in that we find that the consumer is not paying adequate price to the agriculturists, we must increase the prices and really make them remunerative. But what is the situation? Sir, the situation is this, that in 1981-82 with 1981-82 base, the three primary articles, food articles, non-food articles and minerals had the wholesale price index of 163.6. In that the food articles was 179.3, the non-food articles was 166, and the minerals was 102. If at all anything, there is a very good case either for increasing the prices of non-food articles and minerals or reducing the prices of agricultural commodities. I know that what I am talking is not

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very popular. It will not go home when I go for elections, canvassing for elections. They will say, "This is the chap who talked of reducing of subsidy for the farmers. He is an anti-farmer man. He is an anti-people man." You are responsible for creating this situation in the country. Why don't you tell the people that there are certain norms, healthy norms, salubrious norms, wholesome norms for maintaining a certain balance in your fiscal management? Come what may, never mind what the Government has to do, the Government will never compromise and exercise soft options and indulge in plenty of mismanagement, putting the country into this kind of a predicament where 16 per cent minimum inflation is on the anvil. It may go up to 20 per cent because I do not expect that your growth is going to be 5 per cent. This is not what I say. This is what the Reserve Bank study says. Beware. It is not too late. For whatever period you are here, whether it is six months or a year or whatever it is, for God's sake, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, with folded hands I plead with you and I plead with Mr. Vajpayee and with my friends on the left, to force them to take strong measures, force them to come to the path of fiscal rectitude. We are with you, we are with the Government because ultimately for us the interest of the nation is supreme and above everything.

Thank you.

**SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today on the subject under discussion with whatever seriousness or vehemence the Members of Parliament on both sides may speak, the real situation cannot be reflected in this House. In India today the price rise is one of the most serious problems facing every family. The speakers in the House on both sides may reflect to a certain extent the extreme extremity of the problem, but no Member of Parliament can exactly reflect the situation prevailing in the country as a whole.

Before going into the details, I must thank the Members of the Opposition, especially my hon. friends, Shri Chavan as well as Mr. Salve, who spoke about so many things. But they were giving a certain alibi. Now being in the Opposition, they realise certain economic factors and facts, and they come to us, come before us and tell us to be disciplined. O.K., very nice. Don't have deficit. Kindly keep it at zero option. How nice they are now? What was the practice they had followed when they were in power?

During the last Session, Prof. Madhu Dandavate presented the Budget. He had told us that he was in a very difficult situation. The deficit had stood at Rs. 13,700 crores. That was double the amount expected by the previous Finance Minister. The international debt stood at one lakh crores of rupees. Of the total foreign exchange we earned, 30 per cent had to be spent for servicing the foreign loans alone. Our foreign exchange position was very delicate. We were not having money to spend for more than three months. Now, our friends realise all those things they had done or committed were wrong and a re-thinking on the whole financial policy should be necessary and that their advice given to us needs real care. I do not object to any of the suggestions given by them. When I talked about the price rise during a discussion on the General Budget last month, Prof. Dandavate had said: Balanandan, don't worry; I shall take care of it. O.K. Now after seven months I am again arguing the case and would like to tell him that the care which he had assured has not been taken. What is the price rise today? So many figures were given by my friend. Today, if you compare with last December's figures, this month the whole-sale price has gone up by 12.5 per cent. This rate of price rise was not witnessed during the last two or three years. This much rise was never there. This is a fact.

This or that reason may be argued, but the price rise is a fact of life today. Whole-sale prices do not tell us the whole truth. When we go to the market and enter into some shop and demand something, we find the retail prices have doubled or trebled. Nothing can be bought these days. That is the situation today. How has this situation come about? The Finance Minister had told us that he was going to see that the prices will be controlled through a system of monitoring. But it has not been seen in practice and the prices are going sky high. On 23-12-1989, the price index was 166.4 and on 23-6-1990 it stood at 176.8. If you add up for these two months also, it means today it is 178.78 or something like that. That is more than 12 points above the prices that existed before the present Government came into power.

Before the Budget, the Railway Budget was presented on 14-3-1990. In that 7 per cent impost on all kinds of rates was imposed from 1st April to 30th September and thereafter it was 10 per cent. Then, on 19-3-1990 the General Budget was presented. The trend of the Budget was such that there had been in-built inflationary elements. Then administered prices on petrol and diesel were increased—Rs. 1.25 per litre on petrol and 0.54 per litre on diesel. The percentage increase was 16 to 17. The increase in freight charges means every article transported through the Railways will have the effect and prices will go up immediately. Over and above that petrol prices have been increased. That means price spiral will go up sky-high. That is what is happening. Then over and above that from May 1, 1990 onwards administrative price of wheat has been increased by Rs. 30 per quintal. The retail price effect was 35 paise per kilo. Then from June 25th onwards the Central issue price of rice has been increased by Rs. 45. The result was that the price of one kilo of rice went up by between 40 paise

and 49 paise. So these are contributory factors and prices are going sky-high. The levy sugar quota as well as open market sale of sugar has been decreased. Therefore, the price of sugar also went up. We do not know what is the price of cement. Today it is Rs. 110 per bag and tomorrow it will be Rs. 200. That is the rate. The price of every essential item which the common people use is going sky-high. How Shri Madhu Dandavate, my friend was monitoring the price situation? The results are before us. We went to him and told him "Your budget, the total policy is in shambles". I do not want to make a budget speech here but one or two points I must refer here. You see we have suggested to him that the total finances of the Government have to be managed properly because they inherited a difficult financial position. It is very difficult to manage also.

Last year the small scale savings were nearly Rs. 7000 crores not this year. Madhu Dandavate puts in his budget this figure just about Rs. 5000 crores. The total small scale savings in the country is on the rise. This figure has been put down to Rs. 5000 crores this year. Anybody who has the total control of the finances should make it to Rs. 10,000 crores. It can be like that but he did not do that. That is one.

The second thing is improvement in tax collections. Year after year some taxes are proposed but nobody takes it seriously to collect them from big employers, big money holders. They get away this way or that way by bribing somebody. This Government as well as the previous Government did not care to collect the taxes. A new situation has come, financial stringency and difficulty has come to us. Then, are you going to collect the taxes which they owe to the Government? No, you are not collecting. That way you are not Serious. That is one. Then as usual direct taxes are also nominal. Therefore,



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finding finances for the Government was in a rut. This policy which was followed by the previous Government is still continuing. No new policy has been formulated by this Government. Therefore, the difficulty has come to this extent. Therefore, what should we do now? We were suggesting to the Government and even during the budget discussion somebody in the Lok Sabha also suggested that 14 essential items have to be reserved: Rice, wheat, sugar...edible oil, salt, match box, standard cloth, pulses, ghee, baby food, washing soap, fuel, cement, paper, essential medicines, if the Government of India could control the prices of all these fourteen items and if through a public distribution system this can be distributed, then the prices can be stabilised and the Government plan can work. You see year after year and month after month, cost of living indices go high. Consequently, we have to pay higher DA to the employees. The basket of cost of living indices rise through all these items. If the prices of these items are controlled, then there will not be any increase in workers cost of living indices. Then what will happen? There cannot be any DA rise and that money which is being given as DA can be given for subsidy. When the price of wheat was increased by Rs. 35/- and that of rice by Rs. 45/-, at least this money which is being raised should be given as subsidy. Instead, everybody who buys one kg of rice has to pay 50 paise more and everybody who buys one kg of wheat has to pay 40 paise more. This way the prices of everything which is needed by the common man has increased. I want to suggest here that the Government policy should be effective. My friends from the other side were asking and they were reasonable in saying that. I have no objection to their suggestion when they pointed out to us that we on this side should demand that the Government should take steps for controlling the prices of essential commodities so that the life of the

people is not made miserable by the Government policy and in order to achieve that, the Left should pressurise the Government to see that this policy is accepted. I have no objection in suggesting to a Government an advice which is a correct advice according to me. I am bringing this fact to your notice whether I am taking it from them or not. Our party and the parties of the Left who support this Government, want that this Government's economic policy should change. We will support the Government because so many other reasons are there. This is not the time to go into the other reasons. I am only saying that the Government policy with regard to getting people essential commodities at reasonable prices needs change and today extraneous issues are coming up which you cannot control. Because of the Gulf war the prices of petrol are going to be increased again and I do not know what will be the impact of the situation in Pakistan. Another extreme situation can also come. In such a situation, as my hon. friend on the other side correctly pointed out, what is the method of rationalising the consumption of petrol? The only method is by increasing the prices. Is this the correct method? 51 per cent petrol is consumed by Government agencies alone—Government officers, Ministers etc. etc. Why can't we examine this fact that in the Central Government offices where we are having cars for the officers, we dispense with the same and instead vans should be provided for all the officers to come in the morning for duty. Why can't you think like that? If you practise such a measure, people will think that the Government is very serious about this thing. But this Government only talks. They are doing nothing. They are only preaching and they are only picking our pocket. This is the understanding that comes now. Therefore my point here is that the Government should make some kind of thinking about this thing. As I have told you, whatever I speak or anybody speaks from this House is

not sufficient today. The situation in the country is that this price spiral has brought the country near a volcano. I do not know when it will erupt. It will work against any party, parties or no parties, Government party, this party or that party. People want to live in the country. Living in the country has become very difficult today. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to think once again. The policies need a change. The economic policy of the Government needs a change. I do not go into the other things. Budgetary policies need a change. The prices of essential commodities, as I suggested, should be controlled. And a network of distribution system should be organised in all the States. I will now tell you that in Kerala State we are having a perfect system of public distribution. In West Bengal also we are having a comparatively better system of public distribution. This kind of a system can be a model for every State Government. The Government of India should see that essential commodities are supplied at controlled prices so that the prices can be arrested. With these words, I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR NAGEN SAIKIA):** Mr. M. C. Bhandare. Including Mr. Bhandare, the speakers from your party will have to be very very brief because the time allotted has already been exhausted.

**SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra):** Sir, it is my privilege and pleasure to welcome you to this very high office of Vice-Chairman and I think the whole House joins me in wishing you a very successful tenure on the panel of Vice-Chairmen.

Today, Sir, I rise to mirror and echo the biggest dis-appointment of all sections of our society against the present Government and that is the unabating, ceaselessly inflaming prices of essential commodities. In May, when we were in the midst of our Budget Session, no less a person than the Prime Minister himself made a promise that he would control the

prices. And therefore, I was very keen to find out as to how, when he was personally at the task, he was going to do it. And I went round. I am not quoting the detailed figures of the Wholesale Price Index. But I am only quoting the figures which concern the common man, which affect the poor. I found this rise in the following commodities.

Refined oil, 1 Kg., in May, 1990, was Rs. 29/-. Today, in the first week of August, it is Rs. 39/-. Sarsoan kattel, 1 Kg., in May, was Rs. 21/- and today, it is Rs. 28/-. Dalda ghee for 1 Kg. was Rs. 26/- in May and today it is Rs. 34/-. Pyaj has gone up from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/ per Kg. The same is true of Aaloo. Atta has gone up from Rs. 33/- per Kg. to Rs. 40/-. Arhar ke daal, to which a mention has been made by Shri Atal Bihariji, has gone up from Rs. 9 to Rs. 12/- showing an increase of 25 per cent in less than two months. Rajma has gone up from Rs. 16 to Rs. 18. I can go on and on. But you find an increase of easily over 25 per cent in a matter of two months and this comes after the Prime Minister himself promised that he was personally taking charge of the price situation. I deal with my feelings about the Prime Minister. But no wonder that his Deputy had to say that he 4, P.M. is indeed a non-performing

Prime Minister. Well, at this stage, let me get a few things out of the way. It becomes very fashionable for the party in power and their allies to put the whole blame on us and the predecessor. But it must not be forgotten that during the ten years we were in power, India was recognised and credited to have a stable price regime among the developing countries and, in fact, the whole of eighties, during the Sixth and Seventh Five Year Plans, the economy performed well with price stability. And the price index, as has been pointed out, exceeded double digits only once and that was in 1987-88 when we had the worst drought of the country and at that time if you look at the

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debates which were held in this House and elsewhere, all the world over, internationally India was recognised for her economic resilience internationally India was recognised for her economic resilience and strength, and today we find an abyss, a complete detour, an about-turn of that situation. And as has been pointed out by hon. Mr. Salve, a time was there when our industrial credit was high and those who queued to woo us are now shying away. I think, a lot has to be learnt by the Government from the performance. In a developing society like ours, a certain degree of inflation is inherent and unavoidable. But what is necessary is to curb, control and check such inflation and that is where the management of the Government in regard to what I may call the public distribution system comes into play. Now what has happened is that the Congress particularly built up a very large public distribution system and got the demand and supply position constantly under check. Whenever there was a shortage, that shortage was made good by pumping those goods through this public distribution system to the poorest and that is why you find that there was this fairly admirable management of prices during our regime. If you look today, for example, when it was absolutely necessary to import several essential commodities like edible oils, the first signal which this Government gave was: our coffers are empty and we will not be able to import any edible oil. And a message went and overnight, the prices shot up by hundred percent. This is where I feel that in order to get a very, very petty—I do not know whether it is petty but I think it is negative-political advantage, you really cause so much misery to so many millions of the country. I think, the first thing your Government should do, Mr. Finance Minister, is to stop making alibi and start acting. I know you are incapable. Today when I speak, I speak the voice of the people and they also know that

you are thoroughly incompetent, but if I do not echo their feelings, if I do not mirror their frustration, then I will be failing in my duty as a Member of this House. Now what is the present position? It has been elaborately explained by the economists, here Mr. Shanker Rao Chavan, then Salveji, Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji. I think, one single factor is the Budget which was presented. In fact, I remember when I was coming out after the passing of the Budget, I was suddenly called and asked, "Will you come in?" I went in and I found there were observations of MPs on the Budget being collected by the Doordarshan. I was not on the official list. There were so many other people on the official list who were also at the last minute censored. I went there by sheer chance. And I hate to be prophetic. But two sentences which I said on that occasion have, to my great misfortune, come true. I said that this Budget would end in an unimaginable inflation coupled with unimaginable recession, what I called stagnation. Nobody is more sorry than I am that what I said then has come true, even to a degree more than what I anticipated. I think instead of choosing the hard options when the country has placed overwhelming confidence in the Government, the Finance Minister chose options which have triggered off the price rise. The net impact of this taxation and other Budget proposals was highly inflationary—the decision of increasing the prices of petrol and petroleum products to the extent of Rs. 2,200 crores., —Rs. 800 crores by taxation, Rs. 1,400 crores by price mechanism—increase of excise duty by Rs. 390 crores in addition to the increase in customs duty of Rs. 835 crores, gave clear inflationary signals. And I may tell you this is not just a blunder, this is a very, very grave blunder which this Government has committed. Now, the studies all over the world have proved, if there is one sector to which you must look after properly and which contributes the maximum to the growth in any region, it is com-

munication — whether it be by surface, by road, whether it be by air, whether it be inland water, ships, whether it be by communication by telephone, whether it be by any other telecommunication. What has this Government done? This Government has increased the petrol prices and, then, the diesel prices. So we have the transport going up. They have increased the prices of tyres. The Government has increased even the telecommunication charges; even the postcards and other things have not been spared, with the result today you have taken the progress of our country back by a decade, if not more. I do not know who has advised the Finance Minister, Prof. Dandavate, for whom I have the highest regard and highest affection because he was my professor. Somebody asked me, "What do you think of this Budget?" So I said, "Well, this is not his Budget at all. This is only a bureaucrat's Budget." And that is why the first fault for this rise in prices rests with the Budgetary provisions.

Then I come to the second most important aspect which has been repeatedly put against us. Now, kindly consider this. The yearly deficit estimated in the Budget is Rs. 7206 crores. We do not know whom the Finance Minister or the Government is trying to fool. In any event, I am convinced that they fool themselves in projecting such a deficit. In order to artificially reduce the Budgetary deficit, the honourable Finance Minister has made a very meagre provision of Rs. 100 crores to meet the dearness allowance of the Central Government employees. Perhaps this provision is the joke of the year!

AN HON. MEMBER: Of the century!

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: The committed expenditure on this head would be much more. Even in the early 'eighties, when Venkatramanji was our Finance Minister, he used to make a lump sum provision of Rs. 300 crores to meet the Dearness Allowance liability of the Central Government employ-

ees. In this way, many of these committed expenditures have not been shown and the result is going to be very bad, particularly with the addition in the petrol bill which, they say, is because of various factors like the increase in the price of crude by the OPEC, the attack of Kuwait by Iraq and so many other factors and, therefore, I think that this budgetary deficit is going to be far more and because of this, I may say, foolish attempt to get very cheap popularity, I think, they are going to place themselves in a very very unenviable position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You have got two minutes more only.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: No, no. This is a very very important subject. How much time has been given? Everybody has taken much time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You see, your allotted time has been exhausted.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: We are nowhere near the issue. If you want, I will sit down in two minutes and I have no objection.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): No, no.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: If you feel that I am talking something irrelevant, then that is a different matter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please be brief.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Then I come to the third thing and I want to expose the hypocrisy of this Government. Nobody is keener than I am in observing austerity measures. At all times I have said—and I have said this even against the Congress(I) Government—that there is always a need for a poor country like ours to tighten the belt. Of course, nobody listens to me. But let me now deal with what this value

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based Government is doing. Kindly see this: And, Sir, let my friends contradict me here and now because I am making a very serious allegation. There are two Ministers here and let them find out because they are not likely to be included in what I am saying. Earlier, apart from the Prime Minister, everybody including the Cabinet Ministers used to travel by commercial services. But nowadays—till recently even the Deputy Prime Minister; of course, he is not there now—and more than the Deputy Prime Minister, many Cabinet Ministers travel very frequently by the Air Force planes.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Yes.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I would like to have the verification of my statement from the Minister.

SHRI RAFIQUE ALAM (Bihar): For foreign travel?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Of course. What shall I say? As has rightly been pointed out by my esteemed and honourable friend here, Shri Rafiq Alam, the Government is going on a spending spree on populist measures.

The loan waiver scheme is going to be a fiscal piracy which has not benefited anybody except some cronies of the ruling clique. I find that a large number of farmers are suffering and their production has been affected and no bank loan is available for productive purposes as the banks are too busy preparing the list of beneficiaries of the loan write-off scheme! Non-availability of bank credit during the sowing season has been pointed out by almost every speaker who preceded me and it is going to have a very bad effect. What has happened is that they have increased the procurement prices and, in the process, they have made millions of consumers suffer.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Small farmers also.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: There are many many things which I want to say here. But I will abide what you have said because you are sitting here for the first time but the next time I will be more adamant.

Now, I will give only one or two instances and then come to the close of my speech. It is because I feel that something is wrong and that something should be done. Look at the abolition or the repeal of the Gold Control Order. Now, it was done with the hope of reduction of gold prices. And what has happened? Gold prices are still increasing, smuggling is still going on and, what is worse, a part of the investible resources of the community would now be legally invested in non-productive assets like gold.

Sir, I do not want to talk about foreign jaunts. Everybody has spoken about that. I do not know whether a Cabinet meeting in London—because there so many; quorum was present—was going to be presided over by.... (Interruptions).

Sir, the real problem is that this Government started with the promise—it was said by Atalji to curb and contain the prices—promises a galore. I learnt it in my Law of Contracts. Sir, do you know how a fraud is defined in law? Any promise made without any intention of fulfilling it is a fraud. And this is what this Government. The National Front Government, the NF Government, is full of frauds. You will not hesitate to make promises: Right to work....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): All of them are frauds.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I do not know. I will not say anything against individual members. I have the highest respect. But when I come to the working of the Government, when I test their performance, when I put them to the promises that they have

held out to the poor people of this country I must say that they have perpetrated many frauds—making promises without any intention of fulfilling.

The other day, as many Members mentioned about Prof. Dandavateji coming on the Open House programme somebody asked about the right to work: How will you make it? He said: The right to work will be a Fundamental Right but it will be subject to reasonable restriction, it will be subject to availability of jobs. Now, I have never known of Fundamental Right to Work depending upon availability of jobs. Now, this is another way of not only befooling the people but really practising a fraud on the people.

Sir, what shall I say? Look at the petrol fiasco. I returned from my vacation. And they said: Look, today you cannot go anywhere. I asked my son who had come to pick me up, why? 'Today all the petrol pumps are closed', I was told. I said, let me find out. From the airport, before going home, I went to a petrol pump. He said: साइब को जरूर पेट्रोल मिलेगा, लेकिन दस रुपये में नहीं पंद्रह रुपये मिलेगा।

I heard. I did not pay; that is another thing. The petrol which was being sold at the rate of Rs. 10 was being sold at Rs. 15 per litre in black market.

I do not want to go into other harassments—to the poor rickshaw pullers, poor taxi drivers and others on Saturdays and Sundays. Therefore, this Government National Front Government, has been called the National Failure Government.

Let me say, Sir, with all earnestness, with all humility, that the inflation is the cruelest form of taxation on the poorest strata of our society. It hits the hardest because their incomes are not indexed to the rising prices. Over three hundred million people living in poverty go to bed hungry every night. The rise which I have read just now

and which has taken place in a matter of two months affects them immensely. Potatoes have gone up from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/- a kilo. Also onions have gone up from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/- a kilo. Even the rise of one naya paisa results in greater starvation. What I see around is only the debris of this Government, why? I have given the economic reasons which have been elaborated more brilliantly by my predecessor. Why is it that this Government cannot solve this problem? It is far too busy in fighting among themselves. It is far too busy in sticking to chair at all costs. What I find today is that the people have lost all confidence in this Government. They also do not want this Government to fall for one simple reason. They know that election in our country is a very very costly proposition and another election at this juncture will only make our poor people poorer. They do not want that. They also know what is in their interest. What you have done is that by your policies you have encouraged all those forces. Look at the stock exchange market. It clearly shows that all your distribution system is now in the hands of the hoarders and in the hands of the speculators and black-marketeters. You cannot do anything about it.

All in all, I will end by saying that NF Government stands for (a) a national flop government, (b) a national fraudulent government and (c) a national failure government. It is a government which cannot take decisions and a government which will remain weak at all times. For speaking this truth, one of them had to pay the supreme price. Thank you.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to say that the rise in prices is the biggest issue before the nation. All the people of the country and the public opinion of the country must be mobilised to solve this problem. We must be realistic. We must take all the issues in reality. I would like to tell the Government that the increase in freight charges and hike

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY:

in petrol prices and all these things had a cascading effect on the economy. This has to be very clearly accepted by the Government. Whenever there is a cascading effect everybody wants to take a bite at it. At every stage, the profiteer is there, the middleman is there and he makes his own profit. Finally, we have come to a stage where there is a huge price rise beyond the expectation of the Government.

I agree with what Atalij has said. The manufacturers of manufactured goods, instead of having a profit of 20 per cent which is reasonable, are charging a profit of 500 per cent. It is high time that the Government goes into this matter thoroughly. They should see to it that nobody can make a profit of more than 20 per cent. It is reasonable and accepted by everybody. And there is the generation of black money. Now, everybody has accepted, even the Finance Minister has accepted that every year Rs. 40,000 crores of black money is generated in our country. And I don't think the previous Governments were not at fault. And the Congress party should not be angry with me if I say that they were nursing this all through their regimes. As Salveji said, economic laws rule, and this accumulation of black money has created a parallel economy where all undesirable elements have got enough of money to play with the lives of the people, to play with the prices. The hoarders, the blackmarketeers, speculators are free to play and raise the prices. They have become a challenge to the Government. That is why the Government will have to take a very serious view about this matter. And I have been hearing arguments about subsidies and loan waiver. After all, for years together, even during the British days also, the farmers had to suffer because the Lancashire, the British capital had to increase. After independence also, the farmer had to suffer because the capitalism had to be created in this country. The backbone of the farmer has

been broken. And today if a Government comes forward and says frankly that the farmers have to be given relief, I think, nobody has got a right to go against such a statement. Common-sense tells this and the economics also requires it that if we do not go to the rescue of the creator of the wealth, the farmers, the workers and the artisans, the entire economy will collapse. National Front Government has done I think, the one good thing that the National Front Government has done is this loan-waiver. But I want the Government to be strict. I want them to see that it is implemented immediately. Every year Rs. 4000 crores of black money is being generated. So, you cannot grudge giving concessions and so also price equalisation and remunerative prices to the farmers. Let us not go into the subsidy schemes and let us not try to pull down or pull the legs of the Government because today you feel very happy about the situation. I also want to tell the Government that if you want to be fair to the poor man, to the working man, to the farmer and the artisan, you have to be very strict with the tax-evader, the richman, the people who make super-profits. You cannot make two of these entities happy at the same time. The sooner we will understand about it, the better. And the nationalised banks do not come under the purview of our Parliament. We hear thousands and thousands of crores of rupees being written off. Thousands of crores of rupees are locked up. Small scale industries are in doldrums today. Lakhs of workers are on the roads. All these things will add to the burden in our economic system.

Sir, a situation has come where it becomes very difficult for a housewife to go to the market. Even a Kg. of edible oil costs Rs. 35 to Rs. 40. No housewife ever imagined that a day will come when they will have to pay Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 for oil which is a cooking medium. There is a steady rise in the prices of all the items. The price of salt has also increased. And side by

side, the prices of all the items which are required for the daily use are also steadily increasing. That is why it becomes very difficult. There has been a tremendous increase in the prices of vegetables, oils, pulses, etc. Pulses, for example, are very necessary for the nation. Without adequate amount of pulses, the nation itself will be dwarfed. There has been a phenomenal rise. Rs. 12-13 per Kg. If a man cannot get sufficient amount of dal to eat, it becomes very difficult for him to work.

The same is the case in regard to the various modes of communications. The State Governments are also in a fix. Bus fares have to be raised. In my State, there has been an increase of two to three paise per kilometre. Rightly there has been so much agitation. We, Members of Parliament, are also faced with this problem, of price rise. The moment we go out, we have to pay more by way of taxi and autorickshaw fares. The picture is gloomy in this regard. We are expected to save a thousand crores by thrift. But I do not know whether we can reach even Rs. 200-300 crores in spite of our attempt at austerity. We cannot do it unless we are very strict. It was right on the part of the Opposition to have said that we must be very strict and see to it that there is a saving of 20 per cent in regard to the consumption of petrol and petroleum products. This is very necessary. In China, we have seen people going on cycles. I think, some very very stringent measures will have to be taken by the Government in this direction.

I would say that a national effort is required. The people will have to be involved in combating the situation. This I would like to emphasise. I would also like to point out to the Government, in this connection, that you cannot allow the police to have its way. The people are suffering. When you cannot allow the police to have its prices should be controlled, we see

that they are lathi-charged. Even in Delhi, this has happened several times during the course of the last Session. Instead of doing this, we should take the assistance of the people we should take into account the public opinion, we should seek the co-operation of the various organisations and see to it that the hoarders and the anti-social elements are combated. Only with the help of the people, we can find a way out of the situation.

This problem will have to be effectively gone into. Under no circumstances, the police must be allowed to go and deal with the very reasonable types of activities of the political parties. Further, this problem should be placed before the Inter-State Council and the State Governments must be actively involved in the price control measures.

We must be very firm in regard to the implementation of the Essential Commodities Act. We have to expand the public distribution system. We should remove corruption because corruption is rampant at all levels. We should take the people's support and see to it that the public distribution system functions effectively and we are in a position to reach every nook and corner of the country. We should also explore the possibility of including drugs, life-saving drugs, along with the other items, in the public distribution system. Their prices should be controlled and we should be in a position to distribute them through the public distribution system. An effort will have to be made. Some thinking has to be given to this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

DR. G. VIJJAYA MOHAN REDDY: There should be monitoring at the State-level of the effectiveness of the public distribution system. The monitoring should be very thorough. We should take into confidence the peo-



[Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy]

ple in the districts, taluks and villages. We should take into account their suggestions....in combating the price rise situation. Adulteration is also a major subject. We will have to evolve simple methods to test samples of eatables and other commodities like petrol to see whether there is adulteration. Therefore, people have to understand the seriousness of the situation. When the country will have to defend its integrity and security, when a type of a military regime has once more come on our borders threatening our country, I think price rise should be considered as a task before every Indian citizen and we shall have to put all our efforts to combat this price rise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Rameshwar Thakur. Please confine yourself to the time that is allotted for your party.

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर (बिहार):

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश में महंगाई की जो स्थिति है उस पर हम सभी लोग विचार कर रहे हैं। जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं पर लगातार बढ़ती हुई महंगाई से देश की पूरी आबादी खासकर आम जनता, गरीब जनता के लोग, मुदूर गांवों में रहने वाले सामान्य लोग, और भी उससे दूर पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में रहने वाले आदिवासी, हरिजन और दूसरे गरीब तबके के लोग, सभी बहुत ही बठिनाइयों में गुजर रहे हैं। यह एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है और जैसा माननीय श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि इस पर राजनीति से ऊपर उठकर सदन में एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या के रूप में इस पर विचार करना चाहिए, इससे मैं पूर्ण रूप से सहमत हूँ। सदन के सभी सदस्य जानते हैं कि महंगाई बढ़ रहा है और काफी बढ़ा है। विभिन्न जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं में खासकर पिछले 6 महीनों में 10 प्रतिशत से 45 प्रतिशत तक की बहुत के आंकड़े समय समय पर विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में आये हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त कालाबाजरी का बोलबाला सारे देश में बढ़ा है। इसे भी लोग कबूल करते हैं।

अब तक इसको रोकने के लिए जो प्रयास किये गये हैं, उन प्रयासों में सफलता नहीं मिली है, इसे भी लोग कबूल करते हैं। खास तौर से जो लोग गांवों में आते हैं या जिनका संबंध गांवों की स्थिति से है वे जानते हैं कि जीवन की जो उपयोगी वस्तुएं हैं वे गांवों में उपयुक्त मात्रा में उपलब्ध नहीं हो रही हैं। ऊर्ची कीमतों में भी लोग प्राप्त नहीं कर पाते हैं। आज एक प्रकार से त्राहिमाम त्राहिमाम स्थिति गांवों में हो चुकी है और लोग काफी परेशानी में हैं। आज इस संबंध में जो विचार हो रहा है उसमें मूल प्रश्न यह है कि महंगाई का मूल कारण क्या है। हम समझते हैं कि भारतीय जनता को भारत के किसानों को, मजदूरों को सर्व साधारण को हम आप सभी को यह जानने का अधिकार है कि यह महंगाई इस प्रकार इतने जोरों से क्यों बढ़ी है और महंगाई बढ़ती क्यों जा रही है। इसका समाधान क्यों नहीं होता? गणतंत्र में स्वाभाविकता इसकी पहली और सब से बड़ी जिम्मेवारी सरकार का होती है। स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में और जो राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा सरकार जिन पार्टियों से बनी है, उनके घोषणापत्र में यह कहा गया कि हम महंगाई रोकने को प्रथम स्थान देंगे और यहां तक घोषणा की गई कि सरकार में आने के बाद एक महीने के अंदर हम इस पर नियंत्रण करेंगे।

तीन महीने के बाद बजट आया और वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट भाषण दिया, उसमें जिसका उल्लेख श्री वाजपेयी जी ने भी, भाषण में किया था, वह यह था कि हम राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा की सरकार महंगाई रोकने के प्रश्न को अपने कार्यक्रम में सब से प्रथम स्थान देंगे।

तो यह सब में प्रथम स्थान देने के बाद, उन्होंने जो अपने भाषण में कहा और उसके लिए जो प्रावधान बजट में किया गया, आप, हम सब जानते हैं कि बजट के बाद नियंत्रण की बात तो दर रही, बजट के बाद चारों ओर से कीमतें बढ़ने लगीं और बढ़ती ही जा रहा है और इस स्वयं वित्त मंत्री जी ने स्वीकार किया है

कि बजट के बाद आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में वृद्धि हुई है, धोखे जो विक्री होती है, उसमें भी वृद्धि हुई है और जो खुदरा विक्री है कज्यूपर गुड है, उसका विक्री में और अधिक मूल्य की वृद्धि हुई है।

तो इस संबंध में अभी तक सरकार की ओर से, प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर वित्त मंत्री तक और कई वक्ताओं ने भी इसका उल्लेख किया कि इसका मूल कारण घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था है और जो सरकार ने अर्थ-व्यवस्था प्राप्त की, उसी में कृपावस्था थी। ऐसा कहा गया कि करीब तेरह हजार करोड़ रुपये की घाटे की स्थिति थी, जब उनकी सरकार आई और लगभग 87 हजार करोड़ रुपये विदेशी कर्ज था और साल में 17 हजार करोड़ रुपये करीब व्याज के रूप में देना पड़ता है। यह तीन मूल कारण अभी तक सरकार की ओर से बताये गये हैं।

यह आठवीं योजना में जो प्रारूप—अप्रोच टु दी एट्रश प्लान, राष्ट्र के सामने रखा गया है, उसमें यह कहा गया है कि यह जो स्थिति हुई, इसका मूल कारण है कि जो हमारी आर्थिक रचना, आर्थिक व्यवस्था जो योजनाओं के अंतर्गत हुई, उसमें मूलभूत में कपजोगी रही है और इसके कारण से देश की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं है और उसे एक नई दिशा देने की खाँज की जा रही है और आश्वासन दिया गया है कि जो आठवीं योजना बनेगी, उसकी दिशा ऐसी होगी जिसकी वजह से इस तरह की जो अर्थ-व्यवस्था में कमियाँ आई हैं और वर्षों से आई हैं, पहली योजना से सातवीं योजना तक आई हैं, उसे दूर करने का प्रयास किया जाएगा।

मुझे लगता है कि इसमें पुरानी सरकार की अर्थ-व्यवस्था जो रही है, यह हमारी जो योजना है, वह कोई एक सरकार की एक-दो वर्षों की, पाँच वर्ष की योजना की में बात नहीं है। देश ने प्रारंभ से ही आजादी के बाद यह स्वीकार किया कि हम अपने देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था, योजना के अंतर्गत

करेंगे, प्लान्ड इकानामी हमारे देश में होगी और इसमें मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था, मिक्चर्ड इकानामी की कल्पना की गई और उसी के मुताबिक नीति निर्णय किये गये।

और पाँचवीं योजना से सातवीं योजना के प्रारूप को आप देखें तो घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था अभी 7वीं योजना में नहीं आई है, प्रथम राष्ट्रीय योजना का आप लें, जो केवल योजना 1960 रोड की थी, उसमें 350 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा था। आप समझ सकते हैं कि साला के हिसाब से वह घाटा बहुत बड़ा था और इसके बावजूद भी 3.6 प्रतिशत विकास दर माना गया था और उसे हमने प्राप्त किया। दूसरी योजना जो उसमें बड़ी बनी 4,672 करोड़ उसमें भी घाटे की बात थी। तीसरी घाटा था फिर भी हम चार प्रतिशत विकास दर को प्राप्त कर सके। तीसरी योजना 8,570 करोड़ की थी। उसमें भी पर्याप्त घाटा था और उस वक्त कई कारणों से हमारी विकास दर कम हो गई 2.2 प्रतिशत हुई। लेकिन चौथी योजना जो 15 हजार 7 सौ 19 करोड़ की थी उनमें 3.4 प्रतिशत विकास की गति को हमने प्राप्त किया। पाँचवीं योजना उससे बड़ी हुई जो 19,429 करोड़ की हुई उसमें भी घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था थी। उसमें हमारा आर्थिक विकास जो था, ग्रोथ रेट 5 प्रतिशत के लगभग पहुँच गया और छठी योजना जो पहली योजना से पाँचवीं योजना तक में जितने साधन लगाए थे उसमें अधिक साधन छठी योजना में लगाए गए 97,500 करोड़ उसमें भी काफी घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था थी। इसके बावजूद भी 5.2 प्रतिशत विकास दर प्राप्त की और 7वीं योजना जिसकी लागत आप जानते हैं कि पहली योजना से 7वीं योजना तक में जितने साधन लगाए गए थे उससे लगभग सवा गुना अधिक यानी 9 लाख 80 हजार करोड़ रुपये लगाए गए। उसमें हम चार प्वाइंट चार या पाँच प्रतिशत आंकड़ा यही फाइनल आंकड़ा माना है, इतनी विकास दर प्राप्त हुई। इसका कारण है कि जो 7 वीं योजना थी

[ श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर ]

उसमें हम लोगों ने 14 हजार करोड़ रुपये का अनुमान किया था कि यह घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था होगी लेकिन वह 30 हजार से अधिक बताया जा रहा है। वह पांचों वर्षों का मिलाये तो अधिक घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था हुई इसके बावजूद भी कृषि के क्षेत्र में, उद्योग के क्षेत्र में, यातायात के क्षेत्र में, किसी क्षेत्र को ले लें, हर क्षेत्र थे हमें उपलब्धियां हुई हैं। विकास की गति में तेजी आई है, उत्पादन बढ़ा है और कभी भी 7वीं योजना में एक वर्ष जिसका उल्लेख भंडारे जी ने किया 1987-88 को छोड़कर जिसमें बहुत भयंकर रूप से सुखाड़ था एक अंक से, एक डिजिट से ज्यादा कभी भी इसमें मूल्य में वृद्धि नहीं हुई, तो केवल यह कहना कि हमारी घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था है इस वजह से मूल्य-वृद्धि हो गई यह एक बहुत बड़ी भ्रांति का कारण है। यह एक कारण है, लेकिन सारे विश्व में जितने विकासशील देश हैं कोई भी विकासशील अर्थ व्यवस्था घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था होती ही है। इसको विश्व के सभी अर्थशास्त्रियों ने माना है, यदि हम विकास करना चाहते हैं तो अधिक से अधिक लागत लगाने के लिए घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था करेंगे लेकिन जो घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था है उसका संचालन और उसकी सीमा तितांत आवश्यक है। जो सीमा है वह माना गया है कि सीमा ऐसी होनी चाहिए जिससे कि मुद्रा-स्फीति एक डिजिट के अन्दर यानी 10 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा नहीं हो।

और यदि लागत ज्यादा है तो उसके 10 प्रतिशत तक घाटा हो सकता है। यह सोचने का बात है। यदि हम ने 1 लाख 80 हजार करोड़ रुपया लगाया और 10 परसेंट यदि घाटा होता है तो वह घाटा ऐसा है जिसे हम विकासशील अर्थ-व्यवस्था में बर्दाश्त कर सकते हैं। यह उचित और आवश्यक है और यह कहना कि कुछ विकास ही नहीं हुआ, गलत है। बहुत-से लोग यह भी कहते हैं कि इतनी योजनाएं

बनीं, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ, में समझता हूं कि यह बात भी बड़ी भ्रांतिकारक है। पहली योजना से सातवीं योजना तक मोटे तौर से भी हम, चाहे किसी दिशा में ले लें, कृषि में साढ़े 3 गुना विकास हुआ है, कोयले में साढ़े 5 गुना यानी 550 प्रतिशत, लोहे में 11 गुना हुआ है। पहले एक सी होता था अब 111 टन होने लगा है। सीमेंट में 14 गुना हुआ है। निर्यात 33 गुना और आयात 43 गुना हुआ है। बिजली 42 गुना, फर्टिलाइजर की खपत 141 गुना और कच्चे तेल का उत्पादन 1464 गुना हुआ है। ये कोई साधारण उपलब्धि नहीं है। देश के हजारों, लाखों, करोड़ों किसान और मजदूरों ने काम कर के देश के उत्पादन को बढ़ाया है यह कहना कि कुछ भी नहीं हुआ है, में समझता हूं कि बिल्कुल ही गलत धारणा है। जो हुआ है उससे अधिक होने की आवश्यकता है और उसके लिए प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश आठवीं योजना के प्रथम वर्ष की जो लागत का प्रावधान है वह साठवीं योजना के अंतिम वर्ष से कई दिशाओं में कम है। जो प्लांट एक्स-पेंडीचर है, वह केवल 14 प्रतिशत अधिक है जबकि 20 प्रतिशत हुआ करता था। इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि इस दिशा में सोचना भ्रांतिकारक होगा कि हमें पिछली अर्थ-व्यवस्था ऐसी मिली जिसकी वजह से बाजार में मूल्य वृद्धि हो गयी। यह बिल्कुल ही गलत है क्योंकि सातवीं योजना में हमारी सभी चीजों में जितनी लागत अनुमानित थी, उससे अधिक लागत हुई है। अगर ईच प्लान का हम आउट पूरे पांचों वर्ष का ले लें तो कृषि में सातवीं योजना में 126 प्रतिशत लागत हुई, प्राचीण विकास में 166 प्रतिशत, सिंचाई में 107 प्रतिशत, ऊर्जा में 132 प्रतिशत, उद्योग में 137 प्रतिशत, यातायात में 143 प्रतिशत और संचार में 184 प्रतिशत हुई। इस प्रकार हर चीज में वृद्धि हुई है। गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले लोग जो 79-80 में 51 प्रतिशत थे, वह 1989 में घटकर 31 प्रतिशत पर आयी

है। तो हम देखते हैं कि हर चीज की उत्पत्ति में विकास हुआ है। सातवीं योजना में मनाज 150 मिलियन टन से बढ़कर 175 मिलियन टन हो गया। उद्योग में 9 प्रतिशत तक की वृद्धि हुई है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): At 5-00 o'clock the Prime Minister is to make a statement. Therefore, please try to conclude.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: If you want, I can stop now. But I have to say so many things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Cover your points.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: I have a number of suggestions. The Minister has asked for suggestions. I am giving analysis now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You cover the points.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: I am on the point of how this occurred. I want to say how it could be removed. I have a number of suggestions to make. Kindly give me time tomorrow or after this statement.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश : मजेशंस ही ज्यादा अच्छे रहेंगे क्योंकि ये उन पर आरोप लगाएंगे तो वे इन पर आरोप लगायेंगे और समय बर्बाद होगा... (व्यवधान)

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : अभी आरोप नहीं लगाया, जो आरोप लगाया है, उसका जवाब दे रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): What I am saying is that the Prime Minister is making a statement. Briefly you make your points. Try to be brief. The question is how it started. We had a very good economy and it was doing well. We had a very good production in agriculture and in industry. Outlay was also very good. Then suddenly all the prices have gone up.

In this connection I would like to mention that there had been a cascading effect of the Budget proposals on account of more expensive transport, freight, postage, communications, iron and steel, aluminium and other things. As a result cost of production of the things went up. Therefore, the prices have gone up after the Budget proposals. It has been explained by the hon. Finance Minister that the effect of transport is 0.5 per cent only. I had been to my village and I found that the bus charges which were Rs. 3/- only, have been raised to Rs. 5/-. Everywhere it is like this. Then how can it be 0.5 per cent? Therefore, the first and foremost reason for the price rise is the Budget proposals. We have seen the effect. We have also seen that in spite of the best efforts, it has not been possible for the Government to contain prices. So, the prices are going up day by day, week by week and month by month. Therefore, some more basic remedies are required and we may have to go into those aspects which will certainly help in containing the prices, because they have arisen primarily because of the Budget proposals. Of course, it is in the background of the deficit financing in the past, that they have proposed to contain it in this Budget, but we have also to see what other steps are necessary to ensure that the prices, which have gone up and have their effect all around are reduced and we are in a position to bring them at a level which is tearable and the common people are in a position to have an access to them and are not faced with the hardships which they are facing today. In this connection I have got a number of suggestions to make. If you want me to continue, I will continue otherwise after the statement of the Prime Minister I may be allowed to continue.

(The Deputy Chairman in the Chair)

Firstly, we have to see whether there is a paucity in the availability of the essential commodities. Are they available in the market? If not,

[Dr. Nagen Saikia]

what is the position of their domestic production and what is the position of the distribution channels in the rural areas? Therefore, we have to go to the basic reasons. First, in regard to each and every item for which there is a price rise, we must see the position of the supply first. I say this because in the market ultimately the demand and the supply factors are the most important ones. We must know what is the supply position and how their supply position is going to be improved. Is the supply position of certain articles sufficient? And if not, is the Government thinking of importing these materials?

If so, what is the Government policy in this regard keeping in view the constraint of foreign exchange that the Government has got. Madam, I want to make a number of suggestions..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is a statement at 5 O'clock.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: Then, Madam, I will speak tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak tomorrow.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): Madam Deputy Chairman, the subject on which the hon. Prime Minister is going to make a statement is of very great consequence and many of us are interested with reference to the Mandal Commission report itself. Nobody can minimise its importance in any form... (Interruptions)... I am saying nobody need minimise its importance... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him speak.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: The submission that I am making is that it is not that urgent.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA): How do you say that?

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: We are only requesting that because so far as today's business is concerned, it has been fixed from 11 to 5 O'clock. On the very first day we would not like it to extend beyond that. There is some emotional feeling on our people. The Prime Minister can make this statement tomorrow at 12 o'clock and we would also like to seek clarifications as well. I am only submitting.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: What is dear friends, I am equally interested.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): You are not interested.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: What is it that you are talking about? (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish. Take your seats.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Therefore, quite a large number of friends from this side are emotionally agitated that on the first day we should not exceed 5 o'clock... (Interruptions) I am saying as it is not as though that the statement must be made only today. It could as well be equally made tomorrow. There is no difficulty about it. I appeal to the Prime Minister and the Treasury Benches that this matter be taken up tomorrow at 12 O'clock. ((Interruptions))

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let the Leader of the House speak. I will allow you.

श्री सुरेन्द्र जीत सिंह ग्रहलुवांसिया :  
इतने ज्यादा इंटरस्टिड हैं तो लिस्ट ?  
में क्यों नहीं लाए थे इकतेसला करते  
हैं । ... (अवधान) ...

श्रम एवं कल्याण मंत्री (श्री राम  
बिलास पासवान) : राम नरेश जी,  
मंडल कमिशन के लिए बैठक थोड़ी  
देर ।

श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तरप्रदेश)  
मंडल कमिशन के लिए हम जितने  
चितित हैं आप नहीं हैं, इसलिए यह  
मवाल खड़ा हो रहा है । ...  
(अवधान)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have allowed the Leader of the House. You sit down.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): The point of order should proceed... (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is for the Chair to decide. I say, please take your seat.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): Madam, I heard the Leader of the Opposition, carefully. He said "The statement that is being made by the Prime Minister is important." ... (Interruptions)... I am only quoting your Leader. He said, "The statement to be made by the Prime Minister is important but he should not make it today because the Members of the Opposition are emotionally... (Interruptions).".

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt the Leader of the House. I would not like it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Let me finish. I am only quoting what he has said. "The Members of the Opposition are emotionally disturbed or very much moved. They are emotionally very much moved. Therefore, the statement be made tomorrow." (Interruptions). Just a minute. May I just state? He is a lawyer, he was a judge, he is the Leader of the Opposition. May I appeal to his sense of law, sense of propriety... (Interruptions). I am just making an appeal to him. (Interruptions). May I appeal to his sense of logic... (Interruptions)... I have not yet finished. May I just appeal to his sense of logic; are these

the reasons for postponing the statement by the Prime Minister? This is number one. Number two, just a minute. Have a little patience. (Interruptions).

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: It is already extended by five minutes.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I do not take umbrage on that. I want to make this suggestion because never in the past—please mark my words—never in the past when the Prime Minister was to make a statement... (Interruptions)... Please listen to me. Don't disturb me. I never disturb him. Please bear with me. (Interruptions). Then you have no patience to hear me. (Interruptions). Never in the past such an objection has been taken whenever the Prime Minister wanted to make a statement. (Interruptions). Third, let me tell you, the Prime Minister had to make a statement at 4.30 today. Why are you so impatient? The Prime Minister was to make a statement at 4.30 P.M. but because there was a meeting of the Business Advisory Committee and we had to meet in the Business Advisory Committee, I requested that the Prime Minister can make a statement at 5 O'clock. That was connected by the Chair. These are my submissions. Therefore, in view of the importance and significance of the statement which Mr. Shiv Shanker has referred to, in the name of its importance and significance, I would like Shri Shiv Shanker to control his Members and I would like the Opposition to cooperate with us and let the Prime Minister make the statement. It is a very important statement.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Madam Deputy Chairman... (Interruptions).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal). Madam, I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow you to submit. The Leader of the House asked Mr. Shiv Shanker to reply. So he is replying.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Will you allow me?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, I will allow you.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Madam, so far as the importance of the subject itself is concerned, what I had said was this. (*Interruptions*).

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : 12 बजे का टाइम क्यों चुना है आपने ? आप नहीं चाहते कि मंडल कमीशन की रिपोर्ट पर लिए गए निर्णयों के सम्बन्ध में प्रधान मंत्री इस सदन को जानकारी दें

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Madam, what I said was... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I said, please keep quite.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Having said that the matter is of great importance, I said that many a Member on this side are emotionally agitated that... (*Interruptions*)... Just a moment. Let me say this... Many a member on this side are emotionally agitated that the business, as it has been announced in the House today, is between 11 A.M. and 5 O'clock. If he has got to say something... (*Interruptions*)... I must be allowed to say something. I cannot be stopped (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You are saying that on the first day... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: You must allow me to speak. This is not the way you should... (*Interruptions*) I must be allowed to say what I want to say. (*Interruptions*). Madam, I appreciate that if the Prime Minister would like to make a statement, normally we should not object. That is why when I spoke, I appealed to the Prime Minister. I have said 'I appeal to the Prime Minister not to make the statement today, but tomorrow'. I did not object. I appealed to him, I appealed to his good sense. I appeal to his good sense and I leave it to him.

I would like to submit that having regard to the fact that in the bulletin the timing has been fixed, law logic and propriety demand that, we should adhere to the timing that has been fixed in the bulletin.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Shiv Shankerji, if this is the objection you are making you are entering into a vicious cycle. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It was announced that the Prime Minister would make a statement at 5 O'clock. It is ten minutes past 5 O'clock now. The Prime Minister is present. Let the Prime Minister make the statement.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: My point of order is this. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have allowed him.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It has been announced in the bulletin that the House will close at 5 O'clock. (*Interruptions*). The usual procedure of the House is, on the first day, it is announced in the bulletin. Subsequently, leaders of parties in the Business Advisory Committee are called and they talk regarding the business of the next day. The only point is, it has been already announced in the bulletin that the House will close at 5 O'clock. Most of the Members thought that after 5 O'clock... (*Interruptions*). Madam, in the Rajya Sabha, there is a procedure for asking for clarifications. In the Lok Sabha, there is no provision for asking for clarifications. We should be well-prepared to ask the clarifications. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not able to hear anything. I cannot give my ruling on it.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, please allow me only one minute. There is difference between the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. In the Lok Sabha, there is no procedure... (*Interruptions*). Please allow me for one minute. In the Rajya

Sabha, there is a procedure for asking for clarifications. If we had known earlier, we would have been prepared to ask for clarifications. Suddenly at 5 O'clock, we are not prepared. (*Interruptions*). We will not be able to ask for clarifications.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have the clarifications here. Please sit down. There is no point of order. There is nothing in it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It was announced that the Prime Minister would make a statement at 5 O'clock. And it is already 12 minutes past 6 O'clock. The Prime Minister is seated here. Why the Prime Minister is not being asked by the Chair? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam Chairperson, my point is, the exchange between two great personalities in the House is overshadowing the proceedings. (*Interruptions*)... even going beyond the orbit of normal transactions. My point is, if Members of the Opposition are really agitated because the House seeks to sit beyond the normal period of time, then the procedures should have a tranquillising effect on them. The procedures clearly point out that it is upto the House to decide regarding the time of sitting and the Government is having freedom... (*Interruptions*). Please. At least listen. Madam, the point is, never before the freedom of the Government on the part of the Prime Minister to give a statement in the House was put to question in the way it is being done now. Therefore, my submission to you is this. Instead of wasting our time and instead of extending the House beyond five by indulging in unusual acrimony, let the House agree that we are ready to sit beyond the scheduled hours... (*Interruptions*)... We are ready to listen to the Prime Minister. I suggest, let the Prime Minister be asked to make the statement... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam, I am on a point of order... (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Salve... (*Interruptions*)... Just a minute... (*Interruptions*)... I have got the bulletin before me which says, "Unless otherwise notified, the time of the sitting of the Rjya Sabha during the Hundred and Fifty-Fifth Session will be from 11.00 A.M. to 1.30 P.M. and 2.30 P.M. to 5.00 P.M." Was it announced on the television? The secretariat can tell us. Was it announced? There is a supplementary List of Business also. It was at 2.40 & that it was announced and I have a letter before me to the Secretary-General which says that the Prime Minister wanted to make a statement at 4.30 PM but because of the Business Advisory Committee meeting the Chairman said that it could be delayed till 5 O'clock. Now keeping these things in view, I request the Members to... Just a minute... (*Interruptions*)... Let me finish... (*Interruptions*)... Let me finish. You might raise your hands and let me finish and then you can speak and you can speak simultaneously... (*Interruptions*)...

I have about 24 clarifications already with me. I would suggest, let the statement be made today and the clarifications can be taken tomorrow... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam, I am on a question of procedure... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. UPENDRA: They don't want to listen to the Prime Minister. They want to walk out... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Madam Deputy Chairman... (*Interruptions*)... Just a moment. I am on a point of order. I am quoting the rules book.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, I am on a point of order



SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA (Uttar Pradesh): You have not been allowed. ...*(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call the Prime Minister to make a statement: ...*(Interruptions)*... Will you all please sit down? If I allow everybody on a point of order... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: You have to.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then, what is it?... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: You can't help it. Let me make my point of order, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Make your point of order.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: The implementation of the Mandal Commission Report is indeed not only...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just have patience. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Madam, I am raising a point of order of substance...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Raise it now.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: The implementation of the Mandal Commission Report is a matter of not only emotional involvement but also an article of faith. Now I, as a parliamentarian, would like to know as to what prevented a notice being given to us because we have a procedure where a Member asks for a clarification. ... *(Interruptions)*... Let me tell you that I do not like this being thrown on the face of a Member of Parliament. At 3 o'clock we were told that a statement would come at 5 o'clock. This is not an urgent Business.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Is he a new Member? Has it not happened in the past?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: This is not an urgent subject like dismissal of Benazir Bhutto. I do feel very strongly that in matters where you have to give notice, where the Members of Parliament have to get ready with their homework that minimum notice should be given. Now, Mandal Commission Report is not a thing which has sprung up suddenly. We have waited for days, months and years for it to come. I don't think you should allow like this. I am telling you, I have no objection to the course you have suggested. Let the statement be made today. But let us ask for clarifications tomorrow. Off the cuff I am not going to ask for clarifications, without studying the subject. Every Member is entitled to some minimum notice, unless it is unavoidable and I don't think that in this case it is unavoidable.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is why I have suggested, let the Prime Minister make the statement today and you have the whole night; tomorrow you ask your questions.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Point of order...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I must remind the Member that it is not sufficient that you show your hand for a point of order and the Chair should give it. You have to understand that it is entirely the prerogative of the Chair to allow a point of order or not to allow a point of order. Just raising a finger is not enough. Please take your seat.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: You have given the ruling. The copies of the statement must be made available.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think they are coming. Now, the Prime Minister. *(Interruptions)* The Prime Minister is on his legs. The statement is coming. Clarifications tomorrow.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I would request the members of our party... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. The statement is coming.

### STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER DECISIONS ON MANDAL COMMISSION REPORT

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Madam, I am happy today to announce in this august House a momentous decision of social justice that my Government has taken regarding the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes on the basis of the Report of the Mandal Commission.

2. Hon'ble Members are aware the Constitution which we gave to ourselves 40 years back envisages that Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBCs) be identified, their difficulties removed and their conditions improved in terms of Article 340(1) read with Article 15(4) as well as Article 16(4). It is a negation of the basic structure of our Constitution that till now his requirement was not fulfilled.

3. The Second Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of the late Shri B. P. Mandal which was appointed on 1st January, 1979 submitted its report on 31-12-1980. In accordance with our commitment before the people we included this in our Action Plan. After examining various aspects of it, I am glad to announce that my Government has taken the following decision on the Mandal Commission Report:—

(i) In order to avail ourselves of the benefit of the long experience of a number of States in preparing list of Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBCs) and in

order to ensure harmonious and quick implementation, we have decided to adopt in the first phase, the castes common to both the Mandal list as well as the State Lists.

(ii) The percentage of reservation for the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBCs) will be 27 per cent.

(iii) This reservation will be applicable to services under the Government of India and Public Undertakings.

4. Hon'ble Members are aware that on 14-4-1990 at the official function organised to celebrate the birthday of Bharat Ratna Eaba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar at the Ambedkar Stadium, I announced the commencement of the Ambedkar Centenary Year and designated it as the 'Year of Social Justice'. We have taken a number of measures of social justice pertaining to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections like removal of injustice done to Neo-Buddhists, vesting of Constitutional status and substantial power to the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, according due but long-delayed honours to Dr. Ambedkar and so on. The present decisions are in the same line and belong to the tradition of this Government's dedication to the cause of the Schedule Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Socially and Educationally Backward Classes and other weaker sections.

श्री सुन्दर लाल निहल ग्रहलवाजिया :  
चित्तीडगढ घम कर आईये (व्यवधान)  
पनवडी घम कर आईये । (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All of you, take your seats. I have to make an important announcement .... (Interruptions)....