

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल (बिहार) : एक बात हमको भी कहनी है...

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please. I have not called you... No, please.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल आपने सब को चाम दिया है। हमको भी थोड़ा टाइम दीजिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please. I have not called you. This is according to the subject. Please sit down. I have not permitted you.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल : कालिग अटेंशन में राज नारायण का नाम था। इसलिए रिजेक्ट कर दिया जाए। यह कौन सा तरीका निकाला है? इसमें केवल राज नारायण की ही बात नहीं है।

श्री सभापति : आप कुछ नहीं कहेंगे।

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल :... इसमें हमें और भी कुछ कहना है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please. I have not permitted you. You please sit down. Nothing will be recorded... Please sit down. I request you to sit down. Kindly sit down. Yes, Mr. Raghunatha Reddy.

### THE APPRENTICES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1972

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the following amendments made by the Lok Sabha in the Apprentices (Amendment) Bill, 1972, be taken into consideration, namely:—

#### Enacting formula

1. 'That at page 1, line 1,—for 'Twenty-third' substitute 'Twenty-fourth'.

#### Clause 1

2. That at page 1, line 4, for '1972' substitute '1973'."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the amendments made by the Lok Sabha in the Bill be agreed to."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

### RESOLUTION RE NOMINATION OF ONE MORE MEMBER TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO REVIEW THE RATE OF DIVIDEND PAYABLE BY THE RAILWAYS TO THE GENERAL REVENUES.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do agree to the nomination by the Chairman of one more member from the Rajya Sabha to the Parliamentary Committee to review the rate of dividend which is at present payable by the Railway Undertaking to the General Revenues as well as other ancillary matters in connection with Railway Finance *vis-a-vis* the General Finance and make recommendations thereon."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176— EFFECT OF ABNORMAL PRICE RISE ON THE FORMULATION OF THE FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Sir, I beg to raise a discussion on the effect of abnormal price rise on the formulation of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Sir, it is for the first time that the Minister of Planning is replying to a motion on price rise in this House. But, Sir, it is connected with the formulation of the Fifth Plan. Sir, ever since we became independent, price rise has been so much and it was the highest in the last financial year and it was the highest during the last twenty-five years. Even the economists have pointed out that never was the runaway inflation so much even during the British days or even during the War days as it has been in the past one year or so.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Yes, you are. Compared to the prices in the whole world.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Yes, you are right. Sir, it is known that thirty crores of our population is living below the poverty line and this price rise is causing havoc in their lives. Not only that, Sir. Even the fixed-income groups in the cities and towns are being brought into the vortex of poverty and these middle-income groups and the meagre-income groups are leading a very difficult life. In this situation, Sir, I was wondering whether we should not look into the question of the prices, the price situation, as it has developed during the last twenty-five years.

Sir, if you look at the Congress Election Manifesto of 1952, you will find that the Congress party at that time was very much conscious of this phenomenon of rising prices. It says—I would like to quote from it—"It is of the highest importance to keep prices from rising and to endeavour to reduce them. . ."

"Many of our difficulties today are due to a high and rising price level and economic development has been seriously hampered because of this. If prices rise, this will not only come in the way of progress, but will even prove detrimental to the real interests of these very sections of our people for whose supposed benefit an increase in prices is sometimes advocated. Therefore, it

is of essential importance to follow firmly a price policy aiming, at first, at prevention of a further rise and, secondly, to reduce present prices."

Now, Sir, this is what was stated in 1952 at the time of the first Five Year Plan. After that, there was 3 per cent decline in prices. The Congress has not been very happy about the price rise.

Sir, the 1967 Election Manifesto spoke of the need for the price stabilisation:

"The country is rightly anxious and uneasy about the steep rise in prices in recent years."

Then, the mid-term elections took place for Lok Sabha. The 1971 election manifesto had sought—I am quoting—"a clear mandate to control price and ensure to the people the supplies of essential commodities at reasonable prices". Sir, from the time of framing the Second Five Year Plan, the whole question has arisen. It was when the second Plan was being framed, Prof. Mahalanobis had said in the Second Plan document that unless we can control the prices of essential commodities, the rest of the Plan will get distorted. His advice not heeded to and as a consequence the first crisis came within one year of the launching of the Plan. In 1957 we saw foreign exchange crisis, food crisis and price inflation, and the result was that only a part of the Plan could be saved—the core of the Plan. This situation is being faced in the execution of every plan and every time we attempt to save the core of the plan. Hence no plan has fulfilled all the targets.

Sir, before the launching of the 5th Plan and even during the formulation of it we are facing the spectacle of price rise in a very acute form. I do not want to go into the figures for the last few years. But I will only take the figures of the last one year. Since last year there has been a steep rise in prices. Even today, Sir, the Hindustan Times states that in Gujarat the price in one year rose from 80 per

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cent to 100 per cent—80 per cent for other commodities and 100 per cent for food-grains. The Government of India figures for the last year are 80 per cent. What price index does the Government of India talk of? According to the Economic Times, the wholesale price index shows an increase of 30 per cent over the last year. The Government index is a less sensitive index. It does not give the real impact objective index. What is a position today? Anybody who goes to the market finds that prices are much higher. At present, the prices are increasing by 2 per cent every month. It leads to basing your whole planning on wrong statistics. How are they really going to implement the 5th Plan? If the prices increase of 25—30 per cent takes place in one year before the start of the Plan, and even supposing there is no price increase in the plan period and the growth rate of 5.5 per cent is achieved, both of which are unreal, the poor will remain poor, as the price rise will absorb the whole growth rate. The situation is much more serious than the jugglery of statistics. We witnessed last year trouble on sugar price rise and firing in Gujarat. We are witnessing food riots in various parts of the country.

Sometimes, arguments are given that price rise is very high in the developing and under-developed countries and as such we need not worry over it. The example of Indonesia, Chile and other countries is cited. But, Sir, the growth is not looked into. One point which I would like the House to consider is about the figures that have been given by the I.L.O. about the price rise in various parts of the world.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Sir, the I.L.O. data for 1971 revealed that the general price index in various countries has increased as follows : Kenya—18.6 per cent; Sri Lanka—29.5 per cent; Thailand—19.1 per cent; Iran—17 per cent; Mexico—28.4 per cent and Pakistan—45.1 per cent. In developed countries, the price index rise has been as follows : Canada—30.2 per cent; U.S.A.—

32.4 per cent and Australia—32.5 per cent. The highest rise in price was in Japan. It was 52.8 per cent. India showed a figure of 90 per cent. This is how the prices have risen in India and this is how they compare with the world price rise.

Sir, what happens is this. This inflation changes the very social fabric of society. It hurts the weaker sections most because the economically stronger sections tend to get more money. The rich become richer and the poor poorer. A recent study by Dr. S. Palekar has shown that the Indian worker, during the past ten years, had suffered because of inflation. Even though the money wages have risen, the real wages have fallen. In the period 1961—72, the production has increased by 60 per cent and the wages have gone down by 2 per cent. That was the figure given. A recent Reserve Bank study shows a very interesting fact. The Reserve Bank Study about the trends in the finances of 1500 large and medium companies shows that the wage costs had declined from 14 per cent in 1965-66 to 13.2 per cent in 1970-71. So, the result of the price rise will be that for the poor people who constitute 40 per cent of the population living below the poverty line...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : It is not 40 per cent. 70 per cent people are below poverty line.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : May be it is 70 per cent. It may be that only 5 per cent gain and all the others lose. The operation of the Fifth Plan may not be a Garibi Hatao operation. It becomes an operation of Garibi Barhao. The cost of living goes up. The availability of food to those people whose consumption expenditure is 50 paise decreases and their hunger increases. Their misery and suffering increase. That human element which should be an active participant of the plan process to build up a new India is left out and cannot put his mite in the adventure of making a prosperous India.

It is said that the price rise has taken place only for items of consumption like foodgrains and the price rise for cement,

machinery and building material, etc. has risen by 6 per cent only. This is another method of not looking at the problem straight. Can you get cement in the market at that price? What about bricks and other building material? If the prices have really increased, are they not going to have any effect on the Fifth Plan. The basic assumption of the Fifth Plan that prices will stabilise at 1971-72 prices has been knocked out. There has been a price rise in foodgrains only to the extent of 19 per cent in 14 1/3 months since the year 1971-72. In order to achieve the same physical targets, the Plan will have to be of the order of 70-80 crores of rupees more. This will require a new order of resource planning. The situation that we are facing was never faced before in the earlier three plans.

I will come to the other essential commodities later. The price rise that takes place because of the inbuilt inflation in the structure of planning is an important factor. We resort to deficit financing. We invest certain amounts in the economy so that production will increase. It has been our experience since the very first Plan that you invest in a particular project, the project never comes up in time, inflation goes on, consumption goes on and investment also goes on. Production does not increase and there is an imbalance in the sense that inflation goes on increasing. So, inflation becomes part of the whole economy, in-built structure of the planning. That makes the situation difficult in the country. Supposing, you have taken in hand the projects of irrigation and power. You go on investing money in those projects but ultimately we see that the projects do not come up, that the projects do not come up on the scheduled date. The same is the position of the Bhakra Nangal. The target that we fixed for the Hindustan Steel during the Second Plan has not been fulfilled. The whole process of investment, deficit financing is not being implemented properly. The result has been that inflation has cropped up in the economy, in the planning process. Unless adequate steps are taken, it would not be possible to

streamline the implementation of the Plan in various sectors.

Another result of the price-rise has been that the national income has not grown. During the last session we had asked figures about the national income. Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha gave certain figures supplied by the Cabinet Secretariat but there are no actual figures available and they say that the figures are being worked out. For 1971-72 and 1972-73 no figures have been given. The Reserve Bank in their last year's report had said that the national income would be something less than 4 per cent. Now it is assumed that the national income is around 2 per cent for each of the two years. As a matter of fact, it is made known, that the national income may be 1 to 1 1/2 per cent.

If that is so, the national income has not grown but the money supply has grown. Taking 1971-72 and 1972-73 together, the money supply increased by 30 per cent or by 2,129 crores. These are the figures given by the 'Economic Political' weekly. The annual rate of growth of money supply rose continuously from 8 per cent in 1967-68 to 14 per cent in 1972-73. With hardly 2 per cent increase in national income and 14 per cent increase in money supply the prices are bound to increase.

Besides this, another important factor is the creation of artificial scarcity by anti-social elements. We saw this phenomenon last year in the case of sugar. There are certain scarcities which are due to less production but where large quantities are available still the prices rise. There was sugar production of nearly 31.7 lakh tonnes, with a carry over stock of 4 lakh tonnes. But still the scarcity was there. The market machination was so made that the prices of sugar increased; that the sugar is not available in the market. Even the last year's figures show that there is increase in production of foodgrains. We are in this country talking of green revolution. Even then the prices of foodgrains later on increased. What does it show? That shows that we have no control over

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the economy in this country. The Government, the administration have no control over the price mechanism, monetary mechanism.

Cloth production is another typical example. You say that the price of cotton went down considerably and enough production had been there. But then the price of cloth has shot up by 100 to 200 per cent. How do you justify that? You can say about drought that the food has not been produced but what have you to say about cloth? Does it not show complete lack of grip of the Government, Centre and States over the economy, production and distribution?

Then what is the position about coal?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Is it not a deliberate thing?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: No, no, that is not the question. I will come to that later.

Now, what has happened to coal? The coal prices have gone up to Rs. 10 a maund when the Minister here was saying that there is no difficulty about coal being available.

Then, Sir, what about wheat? Last year we know Rs. 150 crores were spent on crash programme for the wheat production. The day before yesterday, the news came in the papers that in spite of the fact that more areas were brought under wheat, in spite of the fact that money was invested for minor irrigation, the increase in production is very minor. And ultimately they will say, production has decreased than earlier years. How do we face the whole thing? Mr. Dhar said in March, while speaking in the Lok Sabha on price rise that there will be remarkable improvement after the rabi crop comes in. He was hopeful that the rabi crop would have a remarkable effect on prices; now the rabi crop has come but the prices have not fallen. And now we are looking up to God. The rabi crop

has not solved the problem and we are hoping that Indra Devata will be kind to us and the prices will fall. The difficulty is we cannot bring God into this House or into the Lok Sabha and question why Indra Devata has not been kind and showered rains in the country. The whole process of inflation is man-made. I would like here to say that inflation is the mother of all evil. It is the offspring of human folly as Galbraith says in his book. It is the counterpart of war as a German economist says. Inflation is always man-made. If the situation in which we are today has come about in the country it is not because of anything that God has done but it is because we have mismanaged our economy, we have mismanaged our administration, we have not been able to come up to our own expectations.

In this connection another factor that I would like to mention is the problem of black money. Black money began to be generated in the economy after the Second Plan, after we started deficit financing. In 1963 it was estimated that Rs. 3000 crores of black money is running in the economy. After that many reports have come and they say the black money that is running in the economy is between Rs. 1400 and Rs. 2500 crores generated every year. The total Budget of the Government of India is about Rs. 5000 crores. With Rs. 2500 crores of black money being generated every year it seems for every one rupee of industrial production one rupee of black money is being generated. When such is the case do you expect that we can curb the prices? Do you think we can correct the economic maladies with any of the financial measures, with any of the banking stringencies? Black money even in its fundamental state is a parallel economy and even now it continues to be a parallel economy. Unless some specific approach is there towards this problem I do not think it is possible to curb black money. pens to the whole plan? Because of that of our thinking, political action and function. That will bring us to the whole structuring of our Plan strategy. What hap-

prices increase. Now smuggling is there. It is reported by the Kaul Committee that smuggling of the order of Rs. 250 crores takes place every year but Mr. B. R. Shenoy says that smuggling of the order Rs. 500 crores annually is taking place in the country. That itself leads to conspicuous consumption and prices going up. It is interesting to see that in Delhi smuggled foreign cigarettes are cheaper than India Kings. For those persons who want to get imported things, cigarettes, liquor, there is a second market of smuggled goods. This is what is going on. May I know what the Government has done about it? Smuggling did not take place when the Indo-Pakistan war was there but after the Indo-Pakistan war was over it started again. So it is a question of lack of sound approach, lack of clarity, lack of determination to meet the situation. The whole approach in the Fourth Plan was to curb consumption in the country. What have you done about it? A decision has to be taken on the basic requirements of the common man. It has to be fulfilled first and not production of cars or building of sky-scrapers. If we build houses for the common man and not sky-scrapers or luxury houses, certainly the need for steel will become less and it can be used for the common man. Nearly thirty-five to forty per cent of the investment goes in for the building of luxury houses. If ordinary houses were built, the demand for them would be less. Take the case of petro-chemicals or the consumer goods industry or any other industry. Suppose the production of cars is reduced and other types of vehicles are allowed to be produced which would promote growth in the economy. Then, certainly the need for crude, petrol and other consumer goods will be reduced and the whole economy can be changed.

Another point about which much has been made by Mr. Chavan in the Budget and in the Plan is the crash programme of Rs. 100 crores for employment. I had spoken earlier saying that this sum of Rs. 100 crores had come from some cut. I had analysed the Budget and the Plan

documents. It shows that in the last year of the Plan, when the expenditure in the various sectors generally increases, there was a cut and out of that cut a sum of Rs. 100 crores was added for employment which means that development will not take place. Under those heads employment will not take place. This type of crash programme for generating employment will result in increasing inflation. It would lead to a price spiral without having development. This has to be looked into. Crash programmes must not be undertaken only to satisfy the urges of the people for employment, but they have to be production-oriented. I am sorry this question still needs to be looked into. I was referring to the question of conspicuous consumption. Now, Sir, I do not know whether we have really dealt with the question of foreign collaboration. On what items which the common people in India need is there collaboration? In this House we raised the question as to how there has been foreign collaboration in respect of ladies' under-garment, then, men's under-garment. Cannot we live with our own clothes? Is this the way of reducing conspicuous consumption? These are basic questions which need to be looked into.

Another question which has to be looked into in connection with price rise is inflation. The non-Plan expenditure is increasing at a faster than the actual investment expenditure. What steps have been taken to reduce the non-Plan expenditure? Another very important fact which is not being looked into is this. Last year and in the earlier year the nationalised banks gave bank credit to the Government. The money supply increased by 14 per cent per year. This is not explained by the official figure of deficit financing. Now, our economy has reached a new stage of integration where the total bank credit to the Government has to be taken into account to calculate the inflationary finance. The Budget finance last year was only Rs. 500 crores, but if one takes into account the bank credit to the Government the total comes to more

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than Rs. 1000 crores which explains the increase in money supply. What does it mean? It means that our policy of deficit financing is not functioning properly. The execution of Plan projects is not functioning properly. Money supply is increasing disproportionately and there is no control on the distribution system. The question which Prof. Mahalanobis

raised in the Second Plan has

12 NOON not been tackled up till now.

There is lack of determination to arrest conspicuous consumption. You should have a better distribution system. In England, after the war, we saw many people going to hotels and restaurants and spending. But every individual was given a certain amount which he could spend in a big hotel or a small hotel. That money was rationed. It meant that the person did not indulge in conspicuous consumption or in luxury living. Another factor was that money supply was scarce because of price rise due to war or drought. North Vietnam is the one of the country in the whole world which has seen the most difficult of times. Sir, even after so much slaughter that the humanity has ever seen, there was no price rise in North Vietnam. In China there has been no price rise.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Because that is socialism, here it is capitalism.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Do not say that. It only shows the determination of the Government and the people to work together.

What should be done is, there should be strict control over private conspicuous consumption, about which you have expressed—the need for control. I have referred to this earlier also.

Now, I come to the most important thing. We have been thinking in the Plan Approach as to how the idea of prices, wages and incomes can be related. Up till now there has been no long-term plan policy which Mr. Dhar had earlier promised that this country will have. The

basic question is: Can you have a wage and income and price policy so long as there is black money. In the Municipal Corporation elections for which all parties stand, Rs. 5 lakhs are being spent. From where does that money come? All that is black money. A decision has to be taken by all the political parties put together whether they will exist on the support of the black money or on the support of the people. A political decision only...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Then it will boomerang; the Congress will be the first to be hit.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I do not think so. The history of the Congress can show it, we have been surviving on the support of the people, on the Gandhian method. It is the only basic organisation to survive like that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Do not say that.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Gandhiji gave us a formula, and if all the political parties go on basically on that, I think political structure and democratic structure will survive in this country.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): Do you mean Indira Gandhi method or Mahatma Gandhi method.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Shrimati Indira Gandhi also is trying to follow Mahatma Gandhi. You may not feel it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): With so many Communists in her Cabinet, she is far away from it.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Gandhiji said that there shall be no compensation paid.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Gandhiji never said that.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: You do not know.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL :** I have read more than what you have. Is this the Congress method?

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT :** Even Dahyabhaiji does not know his own father. After the Telengana land-grab movement took place, Sardar Patel said that whatever land was taken by the peasants should be allowed to remain with them.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** It was during his Ministry's time that the land was taken.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT :** The basic question is, when we have taken up a new step about procurement and are trying distribution, whether the Government is united or not. Yesterday, Mr. Shinde said...

**DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) :** How can you procure when there is no producer's levy? Ask for a levy.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT :** I am not going to speak at your instance. Who are you to ask?

**DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN :** It is because of your policy. Why not you attack the policy of the Government?

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT :** I am not here to take instructions from you.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) :** Tomorrow you will say something and create confusion because that is the only aim of yours. We are running the Government in the interests of the people.

What I was going to say was I would like the Government to be clear as to what their policy is. Mr. Subramaniam said a few days back that all the essential commodities must be procured and distribution must be undertaken by the Government. Now Mr. Shinde said yesterday that we are not going in for other commodities. I would like to know from Mr. Dhar as to what the correct

position is, whether what Mr. Subramaniam says is correct or what Mr. Shinde says is correct. What is the real policy about procurement of essential commodities? It is no use of planning if a democratic State cannot provide the essential needs of the people. If there is no planning there is no use of thinking of democratic economy. The basic question is: On this question of procurement either take the help of these people and procure. If they are not co-operating then what is the M.I.S.A. for? You are keeping the emergency regulations even now. Why D.I.R. is not being used? These blackmarketeers and hoarders who are not coming forward with their hoarded stocks and are playing with the lives of the people, these vested interests in the country have thrown a challenge to the Government and some of the political parties which are not co-operating on this question of foodgrains takeover are a challenge to you. May I know whether the Government is prepared to take up the challenge? If they co-operate take their co-operation, otherwise use the M.I.S.A. and the D.I.R. to fulfill the procurement target. That is the biggest challenge we have taken up after independence and if you fail here all your future programmes will fail. The political will of the party is required. The political will of the members of the Party, the Ministers, the Chief Ministers if they are really functioning and acting, a determination on their part is required. That is the basic question. And I would like Mr. Dhar to tell us what action they are taking. Have all the M.L.A.s, M.P.s, Ministers and Chief Ministers given their quota of foodgrains? *(Interruption)* I want even the landlords should be made to pay voluntarily. That is what I am asking. How are you going to deal with a corrupt bureaucracy which is standing in the way and is trying to sabotage, which is in league with the traders and farmers? Are you prepared to take action against them as Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray has done? Are you prepared to remove the corrupt officials? They are a challenge to the political will of the people. I hope the Government will face the challenge and will come out successful.



**SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was very much interested to hear my friend, young Mr. Krishan Kantji. I hope he is really worried about rising prices and the general economic situation in the country today.

Sir, not even a year ago, in June 1972, there was a document published by the Planning Commission called "Towards an Approach to the Fifth Plan". In that document it was stated that:—

"Unless prices of essential goods such as foodgrains including pulses, edible oils, standard cloth, sugar and cooking fuels are stabilised, it will be difficult, well nigh impossible to provide a minimum level of consumption for the poor. Ensuring stable prices at a reasonable level for these basic elements of consumption must therefore, be one of the dominant objectives of the Fifth Plan."

But what has been the actual position? How have the prices been behaving? In 1960-61, the index being 100, the price index in 1972 was 210 and in March 1973 it was 215. This is the position.

It has more than doubled in 12 years. That is how the prices have been behaving. The question is: can we really have any planning in the context of such rising prices and the inflationary pressures? All the time that the prices had been rising, Members of the Planning Commission, whoever was there, had been stressing the danger of not holding the price-line and had said that unless the price line was held, the plans would all go wrong.

But what has been happening. We took a decision in the Second Plan, well, towards the end of the First Plan itself that a certain amount of deficit financing was inevitable. All right. Having said that, we should have controlled deficit financing to a certain limit but we lost all control.

**SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated).** You were a member of the Planning Commission.

**SHRI T. N. SINGH:** Yes, I was a member, I am not ashamed of it. What are you talking?

**SHRI NAWAL KISHORE (Uttar Pradesh):** He always talks like that.

**SHRI T. N. SINGH:** He is unnecessarily talking, indulging in meaningless talks.

We were all opposed to any large dose of deficit financing when I was there. But the Govt. went on with deficit financing, with printing of notes at the Nasik Press and that is how the inflationary spiral has set in right earnest. Nothing is going to stop it unless we take drastic measures here and now.

We are playing with the future of the nation. I feel very acutely about the Government's indifferent behaviour in this matter. Now, side by side with this heavy dose of deficit financing, there has developed a parallel economy of what is called black money. That is also there in the country. Prices shown to rule in the market are only on paper in official documents. Most people pay very much higher prices. People ask what is it? The wholesale prices according to official papers have gone up by hardly 3 per cent or 4 per cent in these three or four months after the end of 1972. But what is the actual position? You go to any retail shop and try to purchase oil, fuel, textiles, they all sell at prices higher by about 10 to 20 per cent. So, the statistics quoted are wrong, are very misleading, and do damage to ourselves. Why are the Government indulging in quoting statistics which are not realistic in any way? So, I would request the Planning Minister, when he gets up to reply, to be realistic, in the sense that the prices as they touch the common man, they are quite different from the prices as indicated in the various publications of the Government. The wholesale prices indices

do not give you the actual indication of what the real position is, or what the real difficulty is.

Now, why has all this happened? Let us examine it at some length. Sir, according to me, the two principal reasons for this rise in price and the imbalance in our economy, existence of a parallel black money is (1) heavy deficit financing and (2) under-utilisation of the capacities already created.

We have invested thousands of crores of rupees in our industries. They are producing 50 per cent of their capacity. Now, this over-investment has also resulted in pressure on the money market. I will give you briefly what the position is in regard to the money supply. Money supply in 1960-61 was of the order of Rs. 2868.61 crores. In 1973 it was Rs. 9268.74 crores; that is, an increase of Rs. 6400.13 crores. Currency with the people was of the order of Rs. 2098.05 crores in 1960-61. In 1973 March it was Rs. 5420.15 crores; that is, an increase of 3322.10 crores. Now, deficit financing, printing of notes, more money in the market, more money in circulation in the market, all these tend to create pressures on prices. This should be known to the students of any economics primer even. So I want to know when all these years we have been indulging in such a large-scale deficit financing—even this year we have budgeted for Rs. 550 crores deficit financing plus whatever may happen as a result of the Pay Commission's report—it means we are continuing and persisting in the policy of heavy deficit financing, can the nation's economy stand all this kind of strain that we are indulging in? One may be optimistic enough to say, yes, we shall stand...

**THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI D. P. DHAR):** What is the remedy?

**SHRI T. N. SINGH:** I will tell you the remedy. Though it is your job, I have also to participate in it. I must

share your burden if I can to any extent even as a Member of the Opposition. There are two things: I think Krishan Kantji very rightly tried to remember Gandhiji. I wish we really sincerely remember Gandhiji and what he taught us. I am reminded of an article which a journalist wrote many years ago. I want to draw the attention of the House to what an economist wrote some years ago in our Economic Weekly: He said "Self-respect of the loin cloth we have bartered away for the sumptuous apartments and investments in foreign capital. We are running after the discredited clothes of the west to hide our shame instead of relying upon our own strength." That is what Gandhiji taught us. Gandhiji wrote to Pandit Nehru in 1947: "We are going in for British extravagance which the country cannot afford. I feel the Viceroy should be allowed to go into an unpretentious house and the present palace should be more usefully used." But what happened after Gandhiji died? I am sorry to say even Pandit Nehru moved to a bigger house from a smaller house.

**SHRI JOACHIM ALVA:** Even Chairman Mao is worried about the size of his house.

**SHRI T. N. SINGH:** You can justify sumptuous living. You are free to have that kind of opinion. I do not contest it. But so long as I am alive, I will plead for austerity and simplicity and Gandhiji's way of life, and I will fight for it. And I insist that we should go back to that way of life. Having said this, I will now try to diagnose the precise nature of the malady from which we are suffering. According to me, there is too much money in circulation and too few goods in production.

That is one thing. Too much money chasing too few goods. That has been brought about by large doses of deficit financing and heavy indirect taxes and also by under-utilisation of capacities created in industry as well as in agriculture. Is it not something to be regretted

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that we have got land which could be irrigated by plenty of underground water which is there already, but which we have not tapped so far? The fields are parched and production is going down. This is also under-utilisation of capacities of assets which nature has given us. Then what about under-utilisation of industrial assets which we have created under the Plans? Steel plants are running at 50 to 60 per cent capacity. It is not one year's phenomenon. It has been so far so many years. The Heavy Electricals at Hardwar are running at less than 50 per cent of the capacity. This is the position in almost every public sector project. In regard to private sector... (*Interruptions*). If he wants to speak, I will sit down.

If you look at the private sector factories, they are also not working to capacities. They have to import raw materials, spares and components and the production does not pick up. (*Interruptions*). If

AN HON. MEMBER: Why do you interrupt?

SHRI T. N. SINGH: So, what stares us in the face is this, there should be restraint on deficit financing. I hope that is one of the remedies which our Planning Commission will accept. Then, there should be insistence on production and utilisation of the full capacity already generated. All the assets that we have must yield full results. This is an ailment which has been there for many years. I would ask Shri Dhar to keep these in mind. I have great regard for him. I have known him since when he was a student in the Lucknow university—a bright student. I think he can apply his mind and find a remedy.

Why are we not able to utilise the capacities already created? Has anybody analysed the reasons? According to me, there are two or three basic causes for this situation. One is that the industries that have been created, whether in the private sector or public sector, are even today being spoonfed by foreign collabo-

rators. Leave alone private sector. We can accuse them and I will be one with Shri Dhar in finding fault with them. But what about our public sector, say for instance Hardwar. Here if they try to manufacture some heavy duty motor and our engineers prepare the designs and drawings for various components and parts, then some other engineers differ. When such a difference occurs, the man at the top, instead of trying to resolve the difference and decide the issue, says: "Let us refer it to Russia for decision". This is happening in every public sector plant in its day-to-day working which probably Shri Dhar is not aware of. We are being spoonfed. What is the harm if you take some risk, not always, and accept our own engineer's design? Without taking risk, we will never attain self-reliance and unless we are self-reliant our economy cannot run on even keel.

Then, in regard to deficit financing, I do not know whether my remedy will be acceptable to Mr. Dhar. I feel Sir, that deficit financing and printing of notes and issue of loans without parliamentary sanction give the executive too wide powers to land the country in an inflationary situation. If you have to print more notes, there must be a time when you should come to the Parliament and say that you have got to go in for such and such amount of deficit financing and if you want to print more notes, the House must be informed and if you want to borrow money from abroad or even from the Indian market, I think the sanction of the House should be taken. This will act as a great check on indiscriminate deficit financing and indiscriminate printing of notes and indiscriminate expansion of the money market. I do not know whether this will be acceptable to the Govt. because this amounts to a little curb on the very powerful executive. But we are all here to assist the executive and not obstruct it blindly. So, why should they hesitate to take the House into confidence in these matters? I am sure, Sir, wherever things are reasonably urged upon, we

shall certainly agree. But the very fact that you will have to come to the House for and sanction will put a restraint on deficit financing. So, Sir, this is the second remedy that I suggest.

Then, Sir, there is the question of black market economy to which I have referred. It is increasing. It came mostly after the end of the First Plan and onwards. I do not know, not being intimately connected with black marketeers about the black market money in circulation. But I am prepared to agree with whatever Mr. Krishan Kant says in this respect. I feel that the reason for black money that is being generated is that the rich people want to escape taxation and if you want to check it, you must have an honest administration. But the administration is dishonest by and large today and it cannot check more black money coming into circulation. It is in league with them. As a matter of fact, I think, Mr. Dhar is not unaware that even in Delhi, highly placed officials—and politicians also I am including—go to very posh hotels and clubs and there they play rummy and bridge and such other things and some of them have very easy winning. Now, Sir, have we woken up to the situation? But do you know, Sir, that all these winnings or earnings were treated as windfall income and were not taxable at all? That is how all this black money was brought into circulation. It became white money; There are several methods by which the man in business and others in high position were able to convert black money into white money. How are you going to stop that? Unless there is an efficient administration and an honest administration, we cannot do it. Sir, I have been seeing my country administered under Swaraj for the last 23 or 24 years and I have been perceiving the deterioration in the administrative efficiency and honesty. That is the position today? Sir, I am saying this with authority.

I was a Member of the Administrative Reforms Commission and we went into that question in depth. When I recom-

mended that the IAS officers must go and live and work in the villages for two or three years, no one seemed to agree with me. These people are trained in the sumptuous settings of Mussoorie.

They invariably are taught or are made to drink and lead a life of aristocrat. How can they understand the pangs of a poor man? The tragedy is that after Gandhiji's death we have lost the capacity to realise to be at one with the poor man. Jawaharlalji loved the poor men; I concede that. The poor man adored him. He adored Panditji from a distance like a god, and Panditji was happier in the posh places of the city. . . . (Interruption by Shri Joachim Alva) I have told him, Mr. Alva. I told Jawaharlal, What do you say? I had enough familiarity to tell him...

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: He talks without understanding anything.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: So, Sir, unless you change the entire mentality of the administration, make them honest and efficient, you cannot curb black money. I know we cannot expect all the 500 million people to become saints. There will be a percentage who will not be. They will indulge in black marketing activities. But what about the administration, and the politicians who are heading the administration? They have to see that black money is curbed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: I am winding up. Now, Sir, what is happening is very serious. If prices continue to rise as they are rising today, even at the rate of 10 per cent, per year your plans will not work. Take it from me. The best written plans will be mere paper plans. I will remind Mr. Dhar that in every plan document—Second Plan Report, Third Plan Report, I remember well—we had stated clearly that unless the price line was held these plans will not function. How is the 5th Plan going to function? I do not know

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why we have not discussed it. I wish we could discuss the entire plan document as a whole. I suppose it is Mr. Dhar's intention that people should be consulted at every stage of the preparation of the Plan. The Parliament has not at all discussed the approach paper up till now. But howsoever that may be, if you want the plan to succeed you must hold the price line. And we all know that deficit financing, under-utilization of capacity and inefficient administration, dishonest administration—these three—are the causes of the continuous pressure on prices. I will try to summarise.

If I am right in my diagnosis, what are you going to do about it? I will judge you by that.

Now, Sir, what are we going to do for the poorer sections of the community? Sir, I come from Banaras...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You must wind up now.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Just a minute, please. I come from Banaras and there is a very large weavers population in that district. They are the most honourable section of the population, that is, they are self-employed. What is their plight today? They are not getting yarn in order that they may earn their pittance.

Yet, all the secretariat is very keen to meet all the requirements of the large industrial sector, whether private or public, in the matter of imports. If challenge our industrial administration that has been going on all these years, though we have said that we take responsibility for keeping the large and organised sector fully supplied with raw materials, spare parts, components, etc., etc., we never took any responsibility of that magnitude in regard to the small sector. Is it not a fact? That is the policy of the Government which has been followed. I raised this question in the time of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and our friend Shri Manubhai

Shah who has now gone over to the other side. He was in charge of textile industry. He said: let us do something about it. I was given an assurance that it would be done. But nothing moved. It is the small sector which has been starved all these years. It is the farmer, the poor peasant, who does not get his fertilisers, water and pesticides. *(Time bell rings)* Mr. Krishan Kant spoke for a long time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He was the initiator. He spoke for half an hour. You were given 15 minutes. You have taken half an hour. You have taken double the time.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Sir, unless we assure a good life, a decent life and a decent standard of income for the poorer sections, particularly the self-employed sections, you cannot succeed. About 70 per cent of our people are self-employed. They are agriculturists, weavers, etc. What are you going to do about them? There must be a radical change in the policy. I am sure Mr. Dhar is taking down the points and he will, of course in his beautiful English, say something about them. I have read both these documents with great care and I am amazed at the difference in approach so far as the poor people are concerned. In the first Approach Paper, the main causes of abject poverty were unemployment, under-employment and low resource base of a very large number of producers in agricultural and small sectors. In the paper that has now been presented to us, the twin causes of poverty are under-development and inequality. Why do you talk different now? I am reminded of a story in which four blind men touched various parts of an elephant. The first one said that it was like a column. The second one said that it was like a snake and so on. There are various causes. Let us be very clear as to what are the principle causes and what are you going to do about them. Unless we know that, we cannot plan. My grievance is that the Planning Commission, by producing two different papers within a period of six months has

shown a far reaching change of attitude to the whole thing.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think that will do.

MR. T. N. SINGH : Five minutes more Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will call the next speaker. Mr. Z. A. Ahmad.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I do not want to place statistics before this House because I think Mr. Dhar knows more statistics than I can produce in this House.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I know less.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : At least he has got the machinery to know more statistics than I can produce.

The question is not one of producing statistics. The facts are there; they are recognised by this side and that side. The situation is serious : Prices have been rising and they are having their widespread repercussions on our whole economy; they will have far-reaching impact on our future planning and all that; that is not denied either by you or by us. The question is : What are the reasons, what are the causes of the emergence of this situation and what are the remedial measures, what are the policies that have to be pursued in order to save ourselves from this deterioration that is going on in our economy? On that point I would like to say something and on that point there are differences. Of course, on the question of privation, scarcity, hunger and such other things we agree but on the question of policies we have pursued, the remedial measures that have to be taken and also on the question of the causes that have led up to this situation, brought about this situation, there are going to be serious differences and I want that attention should be focussed on these differences so that a more mature understanding emerges. Obviously there are two types of understanding. One understand-

ing is represented by friends here of the rightist Opposition representing certain parties—*status quo* people—who are sorry at the fact that things are changing, things are taking a new turn; they would like things to continue as they would like—a *laissez-faire* economy to be maintained in this country. They would also like the policies that have been pursued for about 15 or 18 years by the ruling party to be maintained, to be reinforced. They would like that the State sector should not develop; they would like that ceiling should not be imposed on land; they would like that wheat take-over should not take place; they would like that coal mines take-over should not take place but want that the mines should be left to those people who have been the owners of the mines; they do not like any take-over to take place. These people represent the past—a past about which we are not very happy because, I feel that despite all the declarations that we have made in the past or the ruling party has made in the past—because the ruling party had power in hand—about a socialistic pattern of economy or building up of socialism and all that, our declarations did not come to much. All that we had done in the last two decades or so was, actually we have built up a powerful capitalist economy in our country—a powerful infrastructure of capitalism. From a weak, under-developed capitalism under the British we have developed a big, full-fledged, monopolistic type of capitalism in our country and given all sorts of incentives, all sorts of help-everything—to develop that type of capitalism. Billions and billions of rupees have been spent in order to strengthen the bigger of the monopoly houses. Land reforms have been carried out which have brought about large-scale ejection of millions of small peasants. In the name of Green Revolution subsidies and help have been given to the upper strata of society because we thought that they are the custodians of the Green Revolution and they would bring about more production. So, for about 18 or 19 years the ruling party has been following a conscious policy of building up a monopolistic economy in our country.

[DR. Z. A. Ahmad]

Although it is a recognised fact that not only is the capitalist economy disintegrating in the old traditional countries of the West and the old *laissez faire* policies are disappearing, more and more State intervention is coming even in those countries. Not only that. In the underdeveloped countries you cannot go forward, you cannot mobilise national resources. You cannot put together your national wealth, whether it is in the form of human labour or in the form of material wealth, you cannot put that together and bring about a regeneration of the economy without going more and more towards a system of production and distribution which will broadly characterise the socialist economy. I remember several years ago the emphasis was on production, production and production, produce more. Yes. When some of us who were considered, well, people who are crazy or who do not know India or who are foreign agents or who speak a language which cannot be understood by India, which is against the future of India, when we used to talk about distribution, they asked: "What will you distribute? Poverty? Do you want to distribute poverty? No, the first condition is production". But today I submit that we have come to a stage where we realise that without proper distribution even production will come to a standstill. Increased production becomes meaningless. In fact, the whole process gets halted if proper distribution of increased wealth in the country does not take place. Now, take the question of internal market of India. We are planning for huge production under the Fifth Plan. Naturally we have to depend upon our market mainly. And what is our market? Here again there is poverty. If the peasant has no money in his pocket to buy, who will buy your things? All the other countries are closing their doors on us. America, well, you have no market in America. The European Economic Community is also closing itself up. Socialist countries are your friends. They are giving you a little outlet for your goods. In Arabian countries, in Middle-East countries, West-Asian countries, well,

there are other competitors, very, very, powerful competitors in consumer goods. China is coming in competition. You cannot compete with China. I have been to all these countries. Previously Japan used to supply goods, but now China is taking its place and is attracting the market. You are not able to supply anything because your whole production system is not based on that efficiency, that collective wisdom, that removal of the profit motive and all that. Therefore, you cannot compete in those markets. And finally, you have to depend upon your own home market and the strength of your home market depends on how you distribute the goods that you produce. In this country you need to increase purchasing power of your people, and enable your industry to expand. This being so, we have retained our policies. We determine the policies adopted by rightist Opposition parties. There is again the question of social justice. Very often it is said, "Yes, production with social justice." No, social justice of course. Social justice should be there. But production along with proper distribution of wealth, that is the meaning. That helps production. The two are inter-connected. Production in isolation or social justice in isolation, that will not go. Production plus proper distribution should be there. Distribution helps production; production enables proper distribution. More production enables better distribution to be carried out. Now, that is the first part. Now, with the coming into the scene at the helm of affairs of Mrs. Indira Gandhi a turn has taken. Well, the steps that are being taken are welcome; it is a welcome direction that is being given. Our party is of the opinion that the whole policy is a welcome turn. But still our criticism is that the change is very halting. It is sort of vacillating, it is faltering. You do not feel that a decisive change is being brought about. Many measures are taken on the basis of some sort of compromise with vested interests. I can understand that in a democratic set-up—Mr. Shinde will argue or Mr. Dhar will say—some sort of understanding with the other forces has to be there. But your policy should be clear-cut; the direction should be clear-cut and firm. Take for

instance two important measures recently enacted. The question of ceiling for example is very very important. You cannot regenerate your agriculture unless you make the actual cultivator of land the owner.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA) : In Kashmir we have done it.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : There are so many things in Kashmir. Please do not provoke me to talk about Kashmir because if I start talking about Kashmir perhaps how many skeletons will come out I do not know. Mr. Om Mehta is a very good man but he knows very little about the agrarian set-up in Kashmir. You have come to a stage in Kashmir when the land records have to be confiscated by the Government. So let us not talk about Kashmir. Take the Kosi project for example. Large areas are lying uncultivated. Land is not properly utilised though the water is there because firstly the share cropper has not got interest in the land. If they are made the owners of the lands, they will turn the small patches of land into centres of green revolution. But now water is not being properly utilised, land is not being properly utilised. The whole question of ceiling has been reduced to a joke. I know the subject very well and I can say with confidence that your Deputy gave us an impression that 35 lakhs of acres of land will be available. Mr. Shinde will tell me later or you will tell me later how much will be actually available. Within ten to twelve years the land reforms have yielded about 24 lakh acres...

SHRI D. P. DHAR : They prepared the list in Maharashtra.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : Still the information is not complete. Why? Because you go on announcing 1 1/2 years in advance, we are going to impose ceilings on family basis, this and that and during that period division takes place, partition takes place and the whole thing disappears. You have given them enough warning.

ओ ए जी कुलकर्णी : अलग अलग कम्पनी का ड्रामा है आमने सामने पृष्ठले में कैसे होगा?

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : So ultimately you will get very little and whatever you get will be useless because the whole thing has been perfectly partitioned out and with the courts, Supreme Court and other courts, still there with their capacity to intervene despite the Ninth Schedule, you are going to face all sorts of difficulties. So, Mr. Dhar, don't be under any illusion that you are going to get much land for distribution with a view to increasing the purchasing power of the poor people. Now, take foodgrains. We are all in one camp fighting for the realisation of the targets but it sometimes staggers me. I compliment the wise man in the Agriculture Department who will not say marketable surplus but who will say marketed surplus. It is very significant.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Some wise men in the Ministry. Normally there is a marketed surplus and there is a marketable surplus on paper. The question is whether there will be any marketed surplus. You take it for granted that there will be a marketable surplus, but whether they will bring it into the market is the major question.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Government will see that it does not come to the market.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : Then, it has ceased to be marketable surplus. You should have decided that this much percentage of marketable surplus you will take. I am not for taking over the entire marketable surplus. Then you will have to supply everybody in the villages by rationing. I am not for that. You should have a clear estimate of the percentage of the marketable surplus. You know with whom the marketable surplus is. It is with the bigger landlords. Therefore, from the very beginning consciously a levy should have been imposed on the upper strata. Give them concessions for seed, this and that, but without a levy you want to bring the mar-



[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad]

marketable surplus under your control. You will not get it and you are seeing what is happening. Luckily if you get 6.1/2 million tonnes I will be very happy. In future when you are going to plan for the take-over and control of rice and other food-grains and cereals, bear in mind that it is a wrong distinction to make between marketed surplus and marketable surplus. It is wrong. The percentage of marketable surplus should be fixed and proper measures should be taken to acquire that. I do not want to go into the details because my time is up.

Now, Sir, my point is this. A more fundamental reorientation is needed. I am happy that a competent person like Mr. D. P. Dhar is there. He has the intellectual calibre and capacity. He has the courage also. He is at the helm of affairs of that Ministry. More bold steps will have to be taken and more firm guidance will have to be given by the Planning Ministry to the other Ministries. Along with that, I want proper political and administrative instruments to be forged for the implementation of the policies. I am not speaking on price rise because it is an expression of some deep-seated malady or malaise. Therefore, proper political and administrative instruments and weapons will have to be forged. Unfortunately today the ruling party does not provide those political instruments. It should provide it because it is the ruling party. I as a small party can only help you. We can only be along with you. We can go forward but the ruling party is largely property minded. What did Gandhiji say? Now, there are people who are advocating a policy in the name of Gandhiji. They are advocating the policy of the propertied-class in the name of Gandhiji. They are quoting Gandhiji for simple living, wear a loin-cloth or dhoti, live in huts, etc. This is another time. We are living in another stage of development. Gandhiji emphasised that the love of property should go. Today the property-minded people are controlling it. The moment you get into positions, you try to acquire property.

Unless you fight it out, unless you bring in people, recruit cadres who as I. P.M. missionaries will have to fight out the whole propertied class, fight the love for acquiring property and all that, you cannot move towards socialism. This may appear to be a platitude, but the reality is this. Your good policies are crumbling at the lower level because the political sanctions are not there, the political instruments are not there. I would particularly draw your attention to this because there are many leading members of the ruling party here and you have to face their opposition. I would definitely say that even at the cost of reducing your numbers, you must improve the quality of your political cadres and put them on the job. I ask Mr. Shinde : How many Congress workers are today actively working for or how many are sabotaging the wheat takeover? How many are helping the programme? There will be many, I do not deny, but there will be many who are also sabotaging it in States like Bihar. What is happening there? From top to bottom, everybody is sabotaging it. So, a political weapon has to be forged if you want to implement your Fifth Year Plan. If you cannot do that, if you do not go to the grassroot level...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : You are advising forgery?

DR. Z. A. AHMAD : You cannot understand. You are too old. You cannot grasp these realities.

Secondly, there is the administrative machinery. Many people have said about it. I think one of the major tasks that both the ruling party and the Government should undertake is that of reorganising the administrative machinery. Mr. Dhar, with all beautiful plans you go to the villages, see how those plans are reflected. Your plans just get broken into bits, disappear in between the stage of starting from Delhi and of reaching the village. You should not reorganise your administrative machinery on the pattern which Mr. Morarji Desai wanted to—it was the Administrative Reforms Commission—I do not know what

they did—but it should be a new perspective, a new undertaking, a new objective and a new outlook which should be there inducted into that administrative machinery. And you have to build a new cadre, give them incentives, give them promotions and not go by seniority. I am afraid, you have roused the retaliatory forces, the opposition forces. If a man goes into the villages and says that this Government is doing this, that this starving is there because of the wheat takeover or the takeover of this or that, the villager agrees because he is not provided with the elementary requirements of life. So, you have roused the retaliatory opposition forces without creating any base yourself to fight them. You are not building it up. The first and the foremost task is that the people should feel convinced that the measures you are taking are good for them, that those who are opposing them want to deprive those people of their elementary requirements of life.

My second point would be this. Mr. Dhar, have your big projects, plans, etc. But the test of your success will depend on these five or six essential items whose price-line you should hold—food, cereals, fuel, vegetable oil, kerosene oil, essential inputs for the agriculturists, fertilisers and diesel. These are the five or six things. Please cutout expenses on all sorts of big projects and concentrate on smaller ones. Build a whole machinery for this. Find out the hoarders and black-marketeers and the speculators who are controlling these commodities, the essential commodities. Capture the stocks. Stocks should not be allowed to go into the hands of the hoarders. Take to dehoarding, controlling the stocks, controlling production and bring about proper distribution of these five or six essential commodities. If you cannot do that there is no use your having fifty factories with foreign collaboration. You will not succeed to prove that you are doing something for them. Therefore, first thing should come first. Maximum attention should be paid to the question of holding the price line of essential commodities, essential requirements of life of the common man. Thankyou.

15 RSS/73—3.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the chair

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we have been discussing the price rise. I think the price rise indicates that the "massive vote", so often repeated, has been obtained under the false promise of *garibi hatao*. It is true that we have many factors coming in between, rightly or wrongly, to distort the Plan. The liberation of Bangladesh, which the whole House supported unanimously, also came in the way; that might have upset the Plan. But after that, are we going back to the programme of removing poverty? I do not see it in this Plan.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu): It is a dream.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Yes, to my mind, it is only a dream if things were to go on like this.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI ANNASAHAB SHINDE): You do not were to go on like this.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I do want to do it, but I do not think you are taking us in the right way. I think you are completely wrong in your way of thinking and doing. Gandhiji's name was quoted even by the mover. I hope Gandhiji's name is not used in this context. We have gone far away from Gandhiji. We have forgotten him. Why use his name unnecessarily? His name is used at the time of election. I hope this is stopped as early as possible. We are going

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

on a Soviet-type of planning and regimentation. Gandhiji was always against everything that you are going to do. In spite of that, why his name is being used again and again?

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : The planning has already failed and that is why they are going to America.....

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : That is what I was going to say next. The point is that Gandhiji was always against controls. Not that we are against regulations : a type of regulation and discipline is necessary. On the contrary, he said : People should develop that discipline and the real Swarajya will come only when people develop the quality of being able to resist the evil laws. I think what the hon. Minister sitting opposite has been telling is one for the evil laws. How can you deprive a poor farmer of his produce which he makes after such a hard work, through sweat and braving the weathers? You take away his produce with no hope of giving his family clothing and the other requirements which he will need later on. When you take away what he has produced, how will he live for full one year? What will happen to his clothing and other requirement of life? Don't you see steep rise in prices? What is the steep rise in prices due to? Ordinary law of economics will tell you that the prices depend on the supply and demand principle. If you fail to increase the supply of necessary goods, prices are bound to rise. We have been going on the type of Soviet planning and regimentation. They themselves have not been able to regulate prices and that is the reason, I am afraid, why they are approaching Canada and the United States for their own requirements after 60 years of planning. I hope, this country does not go in for that.

Sir, I am not against this sort of regulation. A minimum regulation, a minimum discipline is necessary but I think we should educate our people to that type of discipline. Our Government has entirely failed in doing so. How can you do it? The

first way to do it is as Gandhiji did, i.e. he preached simple living and he lived simple life.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : Ministers should set an example first.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Yes, they are setting an example by living on one lakh of rupees every month. That is the *garibi hatao*. Their *garibi* has gone it has completely gone. Look at their way of life, way of dressing, the houses they live in, the cars they move about in. Where is *garibi* for them? *Garibi* is for the common people. As long as this situation continues, your plans cannot succeed. I am afraid, the new Planning Minister has not taken this into account at all because his planning is : You regulate everything, you get everything. You cannot regulate everything. There is a limit to regulation. You can do things by law at a certain point only but then the human nature will resist and that is what Gandhiji also asked us to do.

Sir, in my State of Gujarat, I am sorry to say, there have been five to six times firings. Why?

SHRI ANNASAHEB SHINDE : Unfortunately, it was provoked by some of the parties.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : You say that the parties provoke but what do you provide for them? Sir the Food Minister provides one kilo of ration per head per month and he expects them to live on that. It is to that that Gandhiji said that common people must develop the power to resist if the Government makes unjust laws. And this law is unjust. The supply method of ration is faulty. In some places you give more and in some places you give less.

Do the peasants of Gujarat not need food? How do you expect them to live on 1 kg. of rice? When they protest or demonstrate against it, you use bullets and shoot them and then say that the opposi-

nion parties are doing it. How many times you have had shooting in Gujarat? Gujaratis are not rowdy by nature. They are very docile people. I have lived in...

**SHRI ANNASAHAB SHINDE :** And the hon. Member proves it by this speech.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL :** I have lived in Bombay and I know who are the rowdy people who said : "Let us fight, let us create bandh and organise strikes". I know who are the people, who do this sort of thing...

**SHRI N. G. GORAY ( Maharashtra ) :** That made it possible for you to get Gujarat.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL :** No. It does not. I wish it did.

I speak in this strain with deep anguish. It is no pleasure for me to speak like this. I do so because I feel that the situation is so bad. But it is the making of the Government which I must emphasize. In two years prices increased by 25.3 per cent. Last year the prices increased by 7 per cent. During the current year the prices increased by 18.2 per cent. It is an alarming situation. As between last year and this year prices have increased by 2-1/2 times. The index of food articles on 17th March, 1973 stood at 254.2 per cent and on 14th April, 1973 it rose to 275.4 per cent and even after large-scale procurement of foodgrains and the current harvest there is no trend of prices coming down.

Last year inflation was mainly due to the rise in price of food articles. There was no corresponding rise in the prices of industrial raw materials. This year there is further rise in the prices of food articles and also industrial raw materials. Therefore, inflation this year is likely to be manifold more than last year. The prices of industrial raw materials over a period of two years increased by 26.2 per cent. But during the current year prices have increased by 38.7 per cent. Last

year prices of industrial raw materials decreased while this year prices have increased tremendously and as a result added inflationary tendencies on the economy. And what are the inflationary tendencies? What is it due to? First is the greed of the Government. They go on increasing excise duties and taxes. I have very often quoted a very simple example. If you buy Re. 1/- worth of matches, 85 per cent of the cost goes to the Government by way of taxes. There is tax on wood, there is tax on paper, there is tax on printing there is tax on the sulphur that is used, then sales tax, income tax, and what not? If your tax rates are so high, what else will you get but inflation? The real remedy to this is to encourage more production. Encourage more production not this way. This is a wrong way to encourage production. To encourage production, one of the ways is by competition. I am not saying that we should have a completely free economy. We can have a regulated economy and still have a spirit of competition. Out of the increased money supply during this year, Rs. 1,391 crores were for additional government expenditure while expenditure on commercial sector increased only by Rs. 119 crores.

Thus, non-productive extra expenditure last year was Rs. 1,272 crores. This is the real trouble. This is what causes so much inflation. Your expenditure is non-productive and, therefore, you have this situation. The per capita income in the country during the year 1970-71 was 113.5 and in 1971-72 it has fallen to 112.6! We have had so much talk on land ceilings and what not. There is a way of imposing your land ceilings also. The only thing is that it has to be done efficiently. Two small countries have imposed land ceilings and I have mentioned them before in this House and Mr. Subramaniam at that time laughed it out. But we have to go there to learn to do the ceiling. Both Taiwan and Israel are examples of efficient enforcement of land ceiling. They have ceilings in their respective countries. There the ceiling is enforced and intelli-

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

gently pursued by the Government. The farmer is given the requisite information, the requisite inputs in time and encouraged to do the farming in such a way that the farmers there become prosperous. They have become an example others to follow. Can't we do it?

Sir, Japan offered to do this, offered to teach us this thing. We had a team of some Japanese friends who helped us in industry and in agriculture under the leadership of the old gentleman, Mr. Ikano and I do not know how many people saw him when he came to help us organise industry and also agriculture in the way in which they have done it in Japan in an efficient manner. Why don't we learn from them? We are talking of co-operation and collaboration with Japan and what not. Why don't we learn it from them? This is what we have to learn, to do things efficiently. Unfortunately, we lack in efficiency very much and every thing is delayed and delay means always more expenditure.

Sir, this morning I called the attention of the House to how public money was being spent on some people being sent abroad. In what manner it is done, no one knows. I do not know whether those people went abroad or they got the invitation from them and the ticket also came from them. But they have got the money and cash here also. Is it how they boost their party? These are the things which are irregular and when these irregularities are brought out, you say that the Opposition is criticising you. Why not? On the contrary, you should thank the Opposition for pointing out these faults because they give you an opportunity to correct your mistakes and if you correct your mistakes, perhaps the country will be in better state than what it is now.

Sir, I am afraid the honourable Food Minister gets angry with me whenever I refer to the food situation. I have reason to be angry because you give a ration of one kilo per month. . .

SHRI ANNASAHEB SHINDE : You may be angry with me, but I am not angry with you.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I am glad that you won't be angry. But I want to tell you that what you are doing now is going to drive the people to revolution. After all, a starving man will not keep quiet for long. You may have weakened the country and you may weaken the country financially, economically and morally. But you must know that you can do it only up to a point. After a certain limit the farmers will resist, because they have nothing to lose and when he knows that he has nothing to lose he will stand up and fight you. Why should he not? Remember that it is the farmer who made the British leave this country and if your policies are going to be like this, bureaucratic and undemocratic, and if you are not going to care for the needs of the people in the country side, but only going to care for the needs of a few people in the cities and towns, it is not going to help you at all. I would, therefore, request the Planning Commission to revise its Plans and make a reasonable and understandable Plan and not make any planning like this when there is everything for the Ministers. Sir, look at the working of the telephones. This is one small example I am giving you now. You cannot make a trunk call unless you say that you are such and such a Government Officer. Otherwise, you don't get the line, because trunk calls, telephones and other things are for the Government officers and Ministers and they do it at our expense while we sit quiet. We have to go on ringing and waiting ringing and waiting. Yet, nothing happens. Perhaps sometimes some officers come and say, 'We will try and try to help you'. But this is the situations in this country after the last 25 years of planning.

How have there smaller countries developed and why have we failed? It is because we lack efficiency. Why don't we put efficiency into everything that we do? That is why our plans are failing. That is

why our big projects, whether it is steel or cement or fertiliser, are failing. There is lack of efficiency every where. Regimentation for the sake of regimentation is not good. If you just punish people without any reason, it won't give you efficiency. Just punishment, just reward and just appreciation of work will lead to better results. The whole plan needs to be recast from this point of view if this country has to make any progress.

**SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh) :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are discussing price rise and its impact on the plan programme. Price rise is a symptom of the ill-health of the economy and not necessarily a cause. It is something like a temperature rise of an ailing patient and it is necessary that this high temperature must be brought down before a drug is administered for the disease as such. In the past, when people fell sick with high temperature in our country, they used to suffer. But in modern times we have drugs which can bring down the temperature immediately. That is how I view this problem of arresting the price rise. New techniques have to be employed and the beaten track should not be followed. Something drastic should be done and something immediate should be done. The pressure on the economy is tremendous and we are preparing the Fifth Five Year Plan at a time when the economy is passing through very difficult times. Sir, the evils of this inflation have been mentioned in the plan document, that is Approach to the Fifth Plan, and the document lists out six points or evils which spring out of this inflationary atmosphere. Inflation accentuates inequality. It induces avoidable imports. It pushes resources into socially wasteful uses. It enlivens speculation. It stimulates unnecessary and conspicuous consumption. It generates a climate of industrial strife and instability. These are all very serious evils.

Now, we shall analyse the causes. As everybody knows and it need not be repeated, it is because of excess of demand

over production. Then there is the money supply with the public for which deficit-financing is mainly responsible and above all, there is black-money. In all these matters, what action has been taken and what has been done. Very often it has been stressed on the floor of this House that the non-productive expenditure which is met by deficit-financing, has got to be curtailed considerably. The plan document does not say anything about the growing non-developmental expenditure and how it should be handled and curtailed.

We take the name of Gandhiji: we talk about high principles, of ethics and morals but when it comes to action, without regard to or without taking into consideration any of these all of us do falter. What we say in public and what we do in private do not go together; between what we say and what we do there is a big gap. Sir, the skies are not going to fall if the wasteful construction is stopped. Much of the needed steel and cement are going into such construction. Even our engineers and architects have failed to give an indigenous orientation to the construction of houses. Even in architecture we do not find any oriental taste. Leave aside aesthetics. In construction we can use inferior material; particularly the local material which does not need much of manufacturing process can go into it. We are not going to make these constructions for eternity. If a residential structure stands for 30 or 40 years it is sufficient.

**SHRI OM MEHTA :** We are using substitute material, not inferior.

**DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN :** You are using marble for the Delhi High Court.

**SHRI V. B. RAJU :** It is not a question of controversy here. In fact I know myself; I am myself a Civil Engineer.

**SHRI OM MEHTA :** All that is reduced now.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Why not eliminate it altogether?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : After Mr. Om Mehta has taken over the Ministry he seems to have reduced it.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Why should he talk about reduction; why should he not eliminate it altogether?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : We do not need a flat roof for single storied buildings. For flat roofs we need steel and cement. But if you have a lean to roof, it is a light roof and it can be built of any material. It does not require steel and cement. What I am trying to point out is these scarce materials, steel and cement, which should go for bridge construction and other erections is going for residential construction. We see these public sector agencies which make profits, particularly banking organisations, put up huge buildings. Why should they have these huge buildings? What is the necessity? It is a question of actual demonstration of austerity from the top. Yesterday I read somewhere—how far that would leave a real and substantial impact I do not know—that when somebody visited Mao's office he found only two or three wooden chairs, a wooden table and nothing ostentatious. The point is, it must start from the top. We always talk and also talk. I am very happy when I find that Shri Bhola Paswan Shastri continues to be in the Western Court even after becoming a Minister. When, as a Cabinet Minister, he is able to put up in one room in the Western Court, we do not want such palatial buildings either in the States or at the Centre. I am not making any criticism. It is a question of actually demonstrating austerity so that it will leave an impact on the mind of the masses. It should begin from the top.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : If he lives in that way he would not stay in the Ministry for long.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : One mistake which we are committing is we think that modernisation means westernisation. We mis-

understand that modernisation is westernisation. We have not been trying to discover our identity. Now the time has come. Anyhow it is good; it is a silver lining in the dark cloud and it is going to give a shake-up.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan) : At least you have realised.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Not I alone; even you, when your party is in the Ministry. I am speaking about all of us. I am speaking about the political tribe as such. Somewhere and sometime it must begin.

I am only referring to the main points now. I have taken much time on this. The main points are these. Firstly, deficit financing. Except for 1951 all through there has been deficit financing in the combined expenditure of all the States and the Centre put together. Now, the Third Pay Commission has observed on deficit financing:—

"The policy of deficit financing in India which has been responsible for generating heavy inflationary pressures in the economy has little chance of being halted or even checked in the immediate future. In the circumstances, it will be idle to assume that prices will be stabilised even at the present high level."

This is the observation made by the Third Pay Commission. If this rate of deficit financing is allowed to continue, what will be the fate of the rupee? Now, Sir, if you take the wholesale price index, you will find that what was 100 in 1961-62 is now 223. In these eleven years the rupee seems to have been losing five paise every year. It seems to have lost 50 to 55 paise in its purchasing capacity. I put it that between 40 and 45 paise is the real purchasing capacity of the rupee compared to 1961-62. Sir, if this is so, then what will happen to the size of the Plan? The Plan document that has been presented to us reveals that the investment part of it, will be about

Rs. 45166 crores. Now, this was on the basis of the 1971-72 price structure. What will happen to it when within the Plan period the prevailing purchasing value of the rupee further goes down? This may be double the Third Plan size, in terms of the 1961-62 prices. It will be a reduced figure. Sir, with this Plan, are we going to meet the deficiencies of the country?

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** Have you ever met the deficiencies of the country?

**SHRI V. B. RAJU :** Whatever it is, we are addressing the question to all, because the Plan has not been yet finalised. The rupee has got to be strengthened. It is not the size of the Plan as such. It is the value of the rupee as such that is going to make or mar the Plan. For that what can be done? Money supply with the public has got to be reduced. Firstly, by the measures that we take, we have to take back some money from the market. The money supply position is like this. In 1950-51 the money supply was Rs. 2016 crores. Now, in April, 1973 it is Rs. 9539 crores. The increase in the money supply in these 22 years is to the extent of Rs. 7523 crores. In this money supply let us take the currency circulation. The currency in 1956 was only about Rs. 1600 crores. In 1972 it is 5,000 crores. Now, let us see what we can do with this currency. On this sum of Rs. 5000 crores in circulation as currency the mischief is done by the one-hundred rupee note. The hundred rupee note constitutes fifty per cent of the currency, i.e., hundred rupee notes are to the extent of Rs. 2500. I have tried to study this aspect of the growth of currency. It is the circulation of the hundred rupee note that is growing. Now, Sir, can we not take away the hundred rupee note from the market? Can we not destroy the hundred rupee note? Let us not have the hundred rupee note at all. Let us have only the fifty-rupee note. Because of the recent legislation, and economic and political policies, resulting in agricultural land ceiling and ceiling on urban property the black money which used to flow into those sectors is not now

flowing. And even in construction also, it is not being employed. Sir, because of the urban property ceiling and also because of the new taxation Bill that is going to come up which will take such expenditure also into consideration, this black money is not now getting invested in lands or buildings which was being done formerly. So, the pressure of this black money is on something else. It was for some time on precious stones and gold but with the steps taken to prevent smuggling or because of the raids that are being made or for whatever reason, in my view, a part of the black money is going in for acquisition of the hoarded stocks, not directly but indirectly. Why is there shortage of procurement? In my assessment, the procurement should have been much more than what has been done because there is no private wholesale trade now. When there was private wholesale trade last year, we did very well. In spite of the private wholesale trade not being there, the procurement is not picking up because there is a conspiracy between the holders of black money and the big farmers. This black money is already distributed among the big farmers. The stocks are held by them as their own, they are not being brought to the market. There is going to be a grave danger. The months of August, September and October are going to be the crucial months for us. These traders with their black money, which they have invested in the hoarded stocks, will bring those stocks into the urban area where there is the purchasing power and the rural areas will be exposed to the gravest misery. There will be no foodgrains available in the rural areas for the landless or those who do not actually produce foodgrains as the rural areas will be emptied.

Therefore, my first approach is, withdraw about Rs. 1200 to Rs. 1300 crores from the market. We need not take the nation by surprise. Call for all the 100 rupee notes, take a pair of scissors, cut them into two halves, for the first half you give a new note of Rs. 50 and for the second half, give a 15-year bond without interest. Sir, I heard from friends



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that even the black money hoarders are ready to convert it into white money for half the value. Let the Income-tax Department have its checks. We do not interfere with their procedure of detection. Let them do it. But the idea is to draw about 50 per cent of the value of 100 Rupee notes, to the value of about Rs. 1,300 crores from the market and then invest that money on two things. You would be borrowing it without interest and in non-negotiable 15-year bonds. Put this money for power and irrigation 15-year bonds. Put this money for power and irrigation. The other day we had been given a document in which it is stated that the total cost of the 59 major irrigation schemes spilling into the Fourth Plan and still under construction is assessed now at Rs. 2,700 crores. When the plans were prepared, the cost was only Rs. 1,250 crores. Because of the delay in the execution of these projects, from Rs. 1,250 crores the cost has gone up to Rs. 2,700 crores. Similarly, about 50 continuing power projects when planned were estimated at Rs. 900 crores, now they are going to cost Rs. 1,500 crores. The increase in the cost is of the order of 112 per cent in respect of irrigation projects and 60 per cent in the case of power projects. I want to give one example of my own State. The Nagarjunasagar Project which was designed to cost of Rs. 91 crores now costs Rs. 250 crores. You can imagine. Sir, this sort of delayed of scarcity is making the rich people to that two purposes will be served. Withdraw Rs. 1200 to Rs. 1300 crores from the market and employ it on an emergency basis for the completion of the power and irrigation projects. The key items for the development of our economy are water and power for agriculture and industry. When we discuss about the Plan we can go into greater detail. But my suggestion is that about more than a thousand crores of rupees have got to be withdrawn from the market.

I make another suggestion to save the people in the rural areas from starvation. I would request the Minister of Food and

Agriculture to think in terms of introducing full rationing in all the major cities. It must come from now alone because delay is worsening the situation. The fear of scarcity is making the rich people to hoard. Every household is hoarding now. Therefore, rationing must come in the big cities.

Then the policy of wage price income must be enunciated.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Would you also say that the entire marketable surplus should be withdrawn through producer's levy?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I have got definite views about that. You must be very careful about emptying the entire rural market and taking it to the urban areas. I have some experience of the Food administration because I have worked as Food Minister and I know something about this. We cannot empty the rural areas. *(Interruptions)* I do not want to make hasty suggestions at the moment. Sir, the wage-price-income policy should be enunciated.

Imports are necessary of essential commodities. Let us not stand on prestige. Edible oils, foodgrains and pulses must be imported.

I am afraid the Fifth Plan period may have an increase of nearly 30 per cent. in prices. This is what the past experience shows.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Since only America has surplus today, you will be taking only from America.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I was in America at that when China and Russia were in the market. They purchased from wherever it was available. Where is the question of America or Australia? With us it is a question of purchasing foodgrains. It does not have any stamp of America or Russia. Our national interest is uppermost with us. In my view we committed a mistake in not going to the market earlier in America and Canada. Let food be not

mixed up with ideology. There is no question of ideology when it is a matter of national interest. Let us not bring ideology in every matter.

Then curtail unproductive expenditure. Let a House Committee be appointed. Unproductive and non-developmental expenditure must be brought down. Let us have a thorough examination. For various subjects House Committees shall be appointed. We should have some sort of rapport with the Planning Commission. We are discussing all this in a casual manner. Therefore, nothing is being done.

Lastly, cushion must be provided in the size of the Plan to meet the rise in the prices in the Fifth Plan period.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH:** Sir, I would first like to tell the House that I am unhappy that the Plan debate has been postponed to the next session. In my opinion there was absolutely no reason for that. The Minister, who was to have taken 45 minutes, could have had his say. But now when it will come before the House perhaps the situation would be beyond repair. It would be a post mortem examination. We would not be able to have full discussion taking the view that the Government listens to the points made during the debate which they generally do not. So, that is the first point that I would like to mention.

Now, Sir, I think it is proved by the Fourth Plan that the entire policy of the Government has been deliberately formulated and pursued to contribute to price rise in all commodities. That is the central point. So, as long as this Government pursues this policy, and they are determined to pursue this policy, the situation cannot be remedied. I will prove that point. Now, Mr. Raju, Mr. Krishan Kant and others have also made the point that there is a continuous rise in the prices of commodities, whether it is foodgrains or any other commodity. There has been a continuous rise from year to year, and this year, there is an abnormal rise. The Government figures are simply doctored in order to

hide the real situation. For, example, they say that last year there was a 12 per cent rise in the general index and a 15 per cent rise in food index, while in reality, there has been at least a 30-35 per cent increase. If you take the price index of 1939 and the price index of 1972 or 1973, the increase is 900 per cent. I would like to point out from my personal experience that I had bought in the restaurant a double omelette for 3 pice. Now it is more than 100 paise. That is the difference; that is the reality. It means that it is 20 times now. You say it is only 900 per cent where it is more than double that. That is how you have done it.

Now certainly this price rise will affect the Plan. It is almost an offensive against the Plan from three points of view. One point has already been made out, i.e. the cost of all projects will go up substantially. When you provide for Rs. 200 crores for a project, it will become Rs. 400 crores. You will find that this has been our experience since the First Plan. No single project has been completed according to the outlay first sanctioned by the Government. It has been our experience in the First Plan, in the Second Plan, in the Third Plan and in the Fourth Plan. It is accumulating and it will become an unbearable burden. Then everything will fall to pieces. That is one point.

Secondly, a deliberate policy of inflation is being pursued by the Government. Last year there was deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1.00 crores. When the Budget was presented, they said, "No, the gap will be less. We will try to do this and that. It will be only Rs. 200 crores or Rs. 300 crores." But when it was finished, it was found that there was Rs. 1,000 crores of deficit financing. Will it stop? This year you say you have planned for a small gap—Rs. 93 crores plus something which will not come to more than Rs. 200 crores. But even to give a major relief to the Central Government and State Government employees and to provide for higher overdrafts, there will have to be a big gap. There are deliberate gaps in the Budget

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which are not shown; they are concealed. For that also deficit financing will have to be resorted to. The net result will be that this year there will be more than Rs. 1,000 crores of deficit financing. It is the deliberate policy of the Government in order to create inflation and to create price rise at all levels and on all commodities.

The bourgeois press like the Economic Times have given the real estimate of the market price which does not tally with the Government prices that you peddle about before the Parliament and the country. If the price rise on food articles was by 35 per cent last year, I am abundantly and definitely sure that with the policies that you pursue the rise is bound to be 60 to 70 per cent. We know what happened during the Bengal famine and how in a matter of six months a maund of rice which was selling at Rs. 10/- came to be sold at Rs. 60/-, Rs. 70/- and even Rs. 100/-. That is the spectre that is haunting us. You are deliberately pursuing this policy which will lead to the breaking up of the entire social fabric.

If you had allowed the market to have its free and full play, there would have been shortage of foodgrains. Somebody quoted China. China had deficit, but it managed somehow and there was no price rise and nobody suffered and there were no deaths from starvation. They got food from Canada because you must not forget that they were feeding the Vietnamese people for the last ten years. Despite that they maintained a huge stock and maintained the price structure. Of course, there was some deficit here and there. But what have you done? You took over the wholesale trade in wheat. The first question I would ask is this: Why wheat only? Why not all coarse grains? Is it not a fact that the coarse grains are now selling in the market at double the price of wheat? Your price is Rs. 75/- at which nobody gives wheat. But you have not cared to touch the coarse grains. Is it deliberate or by oversight? I say it is deliberate. You expect the traders to cooperate with you. You have been nourishing a poisonous

serpant for the last 20 years. Who is this poisonous serpent? They are speculators, hoarders and black-marketeers. You nourished them with the blood of the people. Now you expect the trading community to cooperate with you so that you can get wheat at Rs. 75/-. Is it not fantastic? Anybody will tell you that it is fantastic. Rice, wheat and the entire foodgrains should have been taken over. Because you have not done that, not only the prices did not fall, but there was a sympathetic rise in prices in respect of all commodities. You should call upon the peasantry and you must call upon the people to seize the stocks. You must tell them openly, "Go out, seize the food stocks and deliver them to the Government." Millions and millions will come out. Then you will find where the godowns are and where the hoarding lie and they will fish them out. You know there was the Bolshevik revolution. There was no food available then Lenin sent squads, workers' squads with the help of the peasantry and the hoarded stocks were concerned and despite the fury of the rich and their resistance, he succeeded and the crisis was averted. Now, this is the crisis you have led the country to. You have fooled us with the green revolution. It is nothing. You have fooled us. At least Mr. Shinde and Mr. Dhar I personally accuse. I accuse them of having fooled us. They know that the green revolution is nothing and yet they went on talking about it. We pointed out that the green revolution cannot make for sufficient increase in food grains without touching the agrarian relations fully and wholeheartedly. Land should have been given to the peasantry. They should have been given the lands and they should have been given sufficient financial accommodation and inputs. Then it would have succeeded. China can talk of 250 million tonnes of foodgrains and of raising it to 500 million tonnes within the next few years. You cannot raise the production and if at all there was any rise in any year it was due to the rain God. Now, Sir, this is the situation that we are facing. Now, what will you do? I suppose you cannot procure even what you have said you will. You said that you would procure 8 million

tonnes. You cannot procure even 5 million tonnes. The new crop, the winter crop, will not come in before October or November and you are going to frame the Plan, going to give it a final shape, in the month of August or September or thereabouts. But by July the whole structure will crumble down. Nothing will be left. Already the country side has been starved of food and in 80 per cent of the villages there is no food and when you procure 5 million tonnes instead of 8 million tonnes above which you cannot procure in this way, the entire structure falls down and there will be skyrocketing of prices. Nobody knows what will happen. The entire social structure will crumble down and what will you have to think of formulating your Plan or making any approach to the Plan or drawing up a fresh Plan? Nothing. This is where you have gone now.

Sir, I have got reports and I do not know whether they are correct or not. A few days back, Sir, the Steel Minister had proposed in the Cabinet a price hike for steel which has been postponed because the Parliament is in session. If there is any hike in the steel prices, in the entire economy there will be rise at all levels, everywhere and at every stage. Coal and steel are the basic things. Why take steel? There is a talk about the price hike. But they have postponed it because our House is in session. This is the report and this is the information and this is what the Cabinet has done now. This is my information. Then, Sir, what about coal, another basic material? They say that coal is not available in Delhi. But what about Patna, what about Dhanbad? And what about the whole of Bihar? Perhaps coal is not even at the pithead. Nobody knows. Perhaps production has been sabotaged to some extent and the entire structure has been affected because of the dealings of the Government with that section of the society, with that parasitical section of the society. Now, in Patna, in Dhanbad and everywhere the prices of coal have gone up. Now, if the prices of coal go up and supply becomes difficult, that affects the power position in the country.

Sir, in our country, 10 to 15 per cent is hydel power and the rest is thermal power. The rest is thermal power. What will happen? The power crisis will 3 P.M. worsen and there will be 50 per cent, 75 per cent or even 90 per cent power cut and only 10 per cent of power will be available. There will be shortage in production and the prices will again further skyrocket. I know that in Kumintang in China, one would have to go with a basket full of notes to buy a pair of shoes. He said that 55 paise is the price of a rupee. I say it is not more than 30 paise a rupee. Erosion has taken place to the extent of 70 per cent. Now, a rupee is not more than 30 paise in real value. That is the real position today.

Take cement. There also you are contributing to price rise. Cement is available only in black market. I have heard that the Metropolitan Development Project, i.e. C.D.M.A. have slashed their budget from 60 crores to 20 crores because of shortage of cement. Cement can be had in the black market at 2 or 3 times the actual price. Coal, Cement, Power, Steel, Now, what remains of the economy and how can the prices be controlled?

About foodgrains, I know you will make every effort to give some ration in the cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras. You will give them something. But I dare say that in the coming months, thousands and thousands of people will die in the countryside due to starvation. You are not providing for them. You think that by controlling the press media and with the authoritarian weapons, you will be able to impose a blanket silence. I will give you some figures to show how you have contributed to price rise. In sugar, the estimated production in 1972 is 480.36 crores. Workers' earnings are 21.47 crores and the excise duty comes to 177.40 crores. The excise duty is 177 crores whereas the workers' earnings are 21 crores.

In cement, the total production is 213.57 crores. Workers' earnings are 9.45 crores and the excise duty is 56 crores.

[Shri V. B. Raju.]

In iron and steel, the total production is worth 1096.26 crores. Workers' earnings are 119.05 crores and the excise duty is 158.90 crores.

In cigars and cigarettes, the total production is 324.82 crores. Workers' earnings are 10.23 crores and the excise duty is 152 crores.

In textiles, the total production is 2299.16 crores. Workers' share is 304 crores and the excise duty is 319 crores.

In non-ferrous metals, the total value of production is 216.39 crores. Workers' share is 18.26 crores and the excise duty is 61.18 crores.

Therefore, you have given a boost to the economy and price rise because of this excise duty. Your policy as regards food-grains, essential commodities, basic materials and your entire excise policy are meant to divest the poor people of all necessities of life.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to wind up now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, so it is a device to transfer the wealth of the poverty-stricken people—I maintain that the percentage of the population below the poverty line is 70—to the top less than one per cent. You can say that it is blood transfusion in rivers; you take away blood from the weaker sections to give it to the less than one per cent. That is what you are doing. And you bring about strange theories: Spiral in prices and wages chasing the rising prices of commodities and so wages should be stalled, frozen. What economists! Is there any truth in it? Everybody knows that if there is a general rise in the wage level there is no rise in the price level. That is an axiomatic economic truth which at least Mr. Dhar ought to know. If the bourgeoisie economists do not know I can tell them; I at one time dabbled in Marxist economics.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I once dabbled in it; now I don't.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: If you dabbled in it you ought to know it. Their real earnings have fallen down. That is the difficulty. Real earnings of the workers compared to 1939 have fallen down. This is what you have done in 25 years. Inflation and transfer of wealth to the upper strata are going apace.

And what about black money? That is your creation. I accuse the Government of India headed by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi of deliberately creating black money in order to feed and nourish these parasites, the leeches attached to the society—the top few. All the tax. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you should end there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: All the tax which is shunted to the black market is due to the Government of India. Would any government worth its name do it? It does not happen in England; it does not happen in France. There too are tax arrears, only to some extent but not to this extent. It is only in this blessed country of Indira Gandhi's socialism that we find the entire country ruined only to enrich, enrich and enrich the 0.1 per cent and there is the price rise in this fashion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: So. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. I have called Mr. Kulkarni now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Can you give me one or two minutes more?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But I have been asking you to wind up. I have given you enough warning and if you cannot wind up within that time what can I do? You may kindly wind up now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: But I have not made any repetition.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nobody has made any repetition. Beginning from the morning every speaker has been speaking towards zero economic growth—towards stagnation and zero economic growth.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: So, that is why certain economists say that we are heading towards zero economic growth—towards stagnation and zero economic growth.

And employment. This is another bunkum that you have been saying: Rs. 125 crores for the engineers to be employed. All the lakhs of small businesses and small industries, cottage industries who employ 5, 10 or 15 persons are dying due to their policies, they are going out. We know that they cannot survive. You employ at least one or two lakhs of capital and support an engineer. In this manner the entire policy is to kill and destroy the small business. And you talk of reducing unemployment with these price hikes and giving employment. Your entire policy of *garibi hatao* is just like the bourgeoisie policy of saying one thing and doing just the other. There was a saying amongst the terrorists that if you are going west say that you are going east. That was the practice because the police must be evaded. Similarly it is the policy of the Government; if you say *garibi hatao* we know for certain that the poor are certainly done for and they will have no future. If you say that you are building socialism we know for certain it will be just the opposite and that you will be building capitalism and only the interests of a few persons, Indian and foreign, you will nourish and nothing else. What a ridiculous hoax Shrimati Indira Gandhi has played on this country? I am sorry, persons like Mr. Dhar should associate with her in this or persons like Mr. Kumaramangalam who profess socialism or like Mr. Shinde should associate with her in such a diabolic and Satanic policy. What is the approach of the Plan? It is nothing but capitalist planning. Take China and India; that is the comparison. They have also planning. Their entire level has risen and they will go on doing. We may have

our differences but the point is, among the underdeveloped countries they have made tremendous progress in all sectors whereas we in India in all sectors have slipped down the inclined plane and at the bottom is the abyss of which we have to be careful. If you want to save the Plan, if you want to put a stop to the rise in prices you have to overthrow this Government and instal another democratic Government. There is no other way.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir today's debate is of great relevance to the present conditions of price rise and shortages in the country and its impact on the Fifth Plan formulation. Sir, the Planning Commission itself has stated that inflation is inconsistent with the objectives and strategies of the Fifth Plan. They have further stated that it tends to accentuate inequality, discourages exports, induces avoidable imports and pushes resources into specially wasteful uses such as real estate, luxury housing, speculative inventories, bullion and jewellery and clandestine foreign exchange balances. It also stimulates speculation. The Planning Commission itself has accepted this in the Approach to the Fifth Plan and the cardinal principal in the Fifth Plan would be that inflation will be kept at a minimum. This is as far as the Planning Commission document is concerned. Actually the Fifth Plan formulation with an outlay of Rs. 51,000 crores has in itself an inbuilt price rise mechanism. At the time of the formulation the index was 188 but now it is 217; that is a 15 per cent rise has already taken place and what further rise will take place it is either for the Gods or for somebody in the Planning Commission to say. What I am saying is by this 15 per cent rise already there is a shortage in the resources which the Planning Commission would have to generate. Even taking for granted their own estimates of resources to be generated of about Rs. 14,000 crores out of which Rs. 7522 crores they are going to generate from current revenues and the balance from market borrowings etc., however this will result in a gap of about Rs. 2500 crores as per the present indications of the

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni.]

Plan. Sir, very recently the Reserve Bank of India has given some statistics about credit inflation as they call it. Credit inflation in the present period is three times what it was last year. Now it is roughly about Rs. 884 crores or, say, Rs. 900 crores. Having seen all these economic indicators I do not understand whether the Planning Commission would be able to achieve the physical target commensurate with the intentions of the programmes of the party as well as the Planning Commission.

It is said deficit financing is leading to inflation. Some deficit financing is required for developmental activities, particularly in a country like ours, but that must be always matched by production growth. I do not see that any serious attempts have been made to create an industrial infrastructure whereby there will be growth in industry and it will generate employment commensurate with growth.

My colleagues here have spoken much about agricultural production, procurement etc. I am limiting myself to the industrial side and the impact of inflation on industrial investment in the Fifth Five Year Plan. We have seen and many of my colleagues have stated that it is the scourge of black money which has accentuated inflation and it is going to accentuate the difficulties of the Planning Commission in achieving the targets they have set.

Recently, I saw a report of the excise collections made last year. We are told by Mr. Subramaniam, who is the Industrial Development Minister, that a 7 per cent growth has taken place in industrial production. If a 7 per cent growth has taken place, what happened to the excise collection which naturally goes up along with the growth in production? There is no increase in the excise collection commensurate with the increase in production or the growth in industry. That shows there is that much gap and it has again disappeared into black money. That is why I am suggesting to the Planning Minister that this growth is illusory because much of the growth has been accounted for by the surreptitious expan-

sion which was done by the monopoly houses and which has now been regularised. This might have accounted for that. Or, if there has been real growth, the money has disappeared in the black form because the excise collection commensurate with growth has not taken place.

Then, Sir, about industrial production I fail to understand really the policy of the Govt. I have got nothing against the mixed economy. We have taken to mixed economy according to the Industrial Policy Resolution which we adopted in 1956. Thereby mixed economy has been accepted as the policy of this Government and of this country for the development of industries as well as the economy. But having accepted that policy and having allowed the private sector to play its proper role along with the public sector, the private sector at present is enjoying all the facilities of a sheltered market in this country for the last 25 years after independence and before that for a hundred years under the Britishers' rule. The approach of the Government as regards protection to be given to industries is something surprising. I would suggest to Mr. Dhar, who is now heading the Planning Commission, that he should reorient his approach towards distribution of end product of the private sector industries as well as the public sector industries. The public sector industries have got certain discipline and norms and the policy is oriented to seeing that the consumer is not fleeced. I can quote one or two instances in the case of private sector. In the organised sector borne on the DGTD list they are given import licences for importing certain products out of which the final products are made and which are intermediates for the small-scale sector or other sectors. There is no control whatsoever on the distribution or pricing of these products.

Then, Sir, the Govt. in its zeal to give protection to industries and to convince the consumer and Parliament that a rightful pricing system has been evolved has appointed a Tariff Commission. I have got complaints against the working of Tariff Commission, but the principle on which the Tariff Commission has been working is

"cost plus basis". I am against fixing prices on the system of 'Cost Plus Basis' which has been laid down as a criterion for fixing prices of industrial products by the Tariff Commission. That is why we find that the price of nylon yarn, cement, cloth with regard to everything which is based on 'cost plus basis' is high. So naturally the industrialists are always tempted to import capital equipment which is very costly, especially when they can get a higher return on the 'cost plus basis'. Ultimately it affects the employment to be generated in this country. That is why I would ask the Planning Minister to look into this aspect.

Sir, Shri T. N. Singh referred to the raw material availability to generate employment and to keep the prices under check to small scale sector. The Small Sector industry is a viable sector, which contribute about 35 per cent to the production! Apart from the large employment which it is giving and also producing products at a low cost, it is checking the price rise and is really poised to help the Govt. to check the prices and keep the organised sector in control from exploiting consumers. Time and again I have highlighted their difficulties Sir, from the day I started, during the last six years of my tennure here, I have been assured on the floor of the House that equitable distribution commensurate with the capacity will be made between the organised sector and the small-scale sector. Four Ministers have gone."

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Four more will go.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: My colleague, Shri Dharia, is not unfortunately here. He might be busy at Poona.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: He has already gone.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Because of communal riots in Poona, he must have been pinned down there.

AN HON. MEMBER: Are you jealous of him?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not jealous of him at all, I am appreciative of his efforts in Poona. I am told that the senior secretaries did not agree on equitable distribution of raw material with what Shri Subramaniam or Shri Moinul Haque Choudhury had said. This is the condition of the working in this country.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Secretaries are more powerful.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: From the top to the bottom, everybody says स्माल स्केल सेक्टर की बहुत मदद हो जायेगी। This is the condition of the small-scale sector. But that is not the point. My point is about industrial production and the Govt's concern in the 5th plan to keep the prices under check. I think I would have an assurance from Shri Dhar here that the production of industry, when receives all the protection and sheltered market in this country, will be available to the small scale sector also at the prices which have got some relevance to the cost involved, but not passed on 'cost plus basis'.

Then the Planning Minister in his Approach Paper has also said that now he has decided to stop luxury production and reduce the consumption of the 5 per cent elite of the country. The Planning Commission has given a bold statement that the consumption by the 5 per cent elite will be cut and reduced and distributed among the 30 per cent below poverty-line people will be able to spend proportionately more. I made an exercise as to what it means. I am not an economist. But, Sir, I have found out some figures. Reduction in the consumption of the rich by 5 per cent and passing on to 30 per cent below poverty line means that the consumption figures of the smallest group will be improved from 23 to 26.80, and will be reduced in the richer sections on an average from 108 to 87 ! That means, if you are really serious about what you have stated, this means the transfer of Rs. 2,500 crores of production from the richer section to the poorer section. And this has been proved by various economists.



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This has been calculated and our famous journal 'Young Indian' has published it. I am quoting from it. The richest five per cent are sharing about 54 per cent of the total urban consumption and 12.38 per cent was consumed by poor 30 per cent.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:** All right. It is very good you are trying to achieve this. Mr. Dhar should be true to his intention and he should see that the speeches from topmost in the Govt. to the lowest, should conform to what he has said, namely that production of luxury items will be reduced, that more essential commodities will be produced and taken over and distributed through the Govt. channels! Mr. Dhar, please go through the licences issued during the last two years. I think he might be in the Planning Commission for the last 1-1/2 years. But before him there were leaders like Mr. Subramaniam. If you go through the licences issued, you will see that the capacity of the monopolies has increased to produce various items which Govt. does not encourage. Let him see that the capacities for staple fibre and nylon, face powders and luxury cosmetics, air conditions and others were increased! Have you ever seen what are the requirements of the masses who work in agriculture sector or in industry. While I speak of agriculture I mean fertilisers! My friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, has now gone away. I am sorry, Sir, that my friends in this country like Mr. Niren Ghosh and Dr. Kurian, are experts at creating confusion. I think this is their guerilla tactics. Perhaps they might have been trained in China.

**Dr. K. MATHEW KURIAN:** We are confounded by your funny policies.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI :** There was a long delay in clearance of the Tata Mithapur project. There are discussions on the creation of 11 fertiliser plants in 5th plan. We are importing fertiliser worth Rs. 150 crores. These radical friends are trying to confuse. In our party also there are some radicals. Per-

haps Communist and Radicals have received their training in China or Russia. The Govt. is pressurised from both the sides. Mr. Dhar is just in a boxing ring in between the two boxers trying shadow boxing and he cannot take a firm decision. Therefore, there is confusion. I want only to request Mr. Dhar with folded hands, ignore these Radicals and for Heaven's sake pursue all the programme which is really in the national interest. Let us be brave. We are brave while fighting Pakistan. Why are you not brave in taking right national decisions in the Government despite this ideological confusion. A man like you, Mr. Dhar, should have courage to take decisions that are in the interest of the nation. But I find the Ministers have no courage to oppose the friends opposite and radical colleagues inside. The other day while speaking here in the House, Mr. Borooah made the statement that the farmer's interest is near to his heart. In the meantime some bang came from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta on showing interest in Japanies offer for erecting fertiliser plant and he quietly changed the tenor of his speech. The Ministers have been pressurised from both sides. They cannot give real opinion. What has happened to them? That is my difficulty.

I want only to say that if you really want to change the pattern of luxury consumption from 5 per cent and increase standard of 30 per cent below. I do not know what is the basis for provision of 200 cr. for television in 5th plan. I do not understand how television is going to impact on our rural population for increasing their standard of living. Why is this happening? Mr. Dhar. I would tell you. We are just like a half-hearted nation. Neither we are communists nor we are capitalists. We are trying to be socialists but not going to the logical and adoption of socialism. Please see that you encourage only such production in this country which will be really needed by the down-graded 30 per cent Only. I do not want anything else.

Then Sir, along with these Communists, these capitalists in this country also are very funny people. Why do I call them 'funny'? Take this textile industry. It is the oldest industry.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: After a long time he is making a somewhat sensible speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is so unkind to Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am with the nation and with the people. I will give a funny instance about the textile industry. I do not want to name the Minister; please do not take it that way. During the last three years, the textile industry has been a rudderless industry, no orientation at all. One way or the other, they get concessions from the Govt. and then start production of luxury items, the prices of which have recently gone up by leaps and bounds. You are perhaps aware that the cotton prices have crashed during the last two years. We were all along my colleagues and I pressing the Minister, who was at that time Minister for Foreign Trade, to lower the price of controlled cloth. He made some heroic statement about the recommendation by the Bureau of Cost, and it is rumoured that there were no recommendation at all. So, the point is we are only living on slogans or some jargons, trying to please somebody here or there. The position here has become panicky because it is like boxing, the Communists on that side and the radicals of my party on this side, with the Minister in the middle; and no direction is given.

I will now come to the last two points. This is connected with the prices. Lectures are given from the top, by Mr. Dhar and Mr. Dharia, that planning will start from below. All right, let it come from below. Now, very recently I attended a Plan Review Committee meeting of the Poona Division. This is the book from there. They have mentioned some Centrally sponsored schemes. I want to give only one or two instances. I am not going to take the time of the

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House. The Poona division consists of five districts. It is written in Marathi, but I will translate it. For example, there is one scheme 'to train and encourage mathematicians'. I do not know what priority this training of mathematicians has got in the overall plan programme.

SHRI OM MEHTA: Intellectuals.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No, it is 'ganiti', mathematician, not intellectual. It is not like 'goonda' and 'goondai' of Madhu Limaye.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: These will help in cooking up facts and figures.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: The provision for that scheme is Rs. 10,000. I asked in the meeting—a senior Minister was presiding over it—what did you do with this amount? Then the Educational Inspector of the Poona Division—I think—said that Rs. 8,000 were spent on the clerks and others who keep accounts of how much money was given etc. and then they give Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 as scholarship to high school students. I had thought they were trying to produce mathematician like Einstein!

SHRI D. P. DHAR: It is basic mathematics.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: The another scheme is Fish Culture. The report says 10 lakhs of fish were produced. I wondered whether they have got electronic devices in the water to find out how many births take place. And this is a Centrally sponsored scheme. We are spending money on that. Even Mr. Dharia gives us lectures that planning will start from the rural areas. I do not know how these 10 lakhs of fish were produced and how they count them.

My last point is about the effect of price rise on employment. Sir, that is interesting subject. I have tried to study

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this problem from different angles. How do these employment schemes help Govt. to bring down prices? Here is a cutting which appeared in the Hindustan Times today about Bihar. It says: Engineering graduates angry with the malpractices in the employment scheme. Shri Dhar, I am not joking. These employment schemes are to be tailored to the total production programme of some type, such as ancillary industry or even end products which can be sold directly in the market. My colleague Shri Dharia is doing what is called in mythology, 'Aswamedh' unemployment and he has started from Kashmir. Out of Rs. 100 crores for employment schemes, he is giving Rs. 5 crores or Rs. 10 crores to this or that States. I do not mind Shri Dharia giving lectures on employment schemes. I have been making conscious efforts for last ten years to help college students to be entrepreneurs. And I have found out that it is not money which is with-holding entrepreneurship. It is your entire administrative system that needs to be changed and then only things will improve. Otherwise, to get electricity, to get raw materials and everything else, hands have to be greased. Shri Dharia is going round the country assuring unemployed that their future is bright! I am not worried he is doing good job. But my difficulty is that after his visit and announcement of assuring employment, every morning 10 parents come to my house and say "धरिया बोलत है कि नौकरी है, नौकरी दे दो".

Along with Rs. 100 crores, please supply every M.P. with 50 chits as to where employment will be found out for them. Really what I want to say is that for the last ten years in the Sangli District Congress Committee, myself and one Mr. P. B. Patil, who is a principal of the College, have been trying to put in 100 persons as entrepreneurs. I am telling so from my experience. As an M.P. I can walk into any nationalised bank and request them to give a loan to anybody. But what is the use? What are these employment schemes, their utility, whether

the Punjab Scheme, Kerala Scheme and Tamil Nadu Scheme? What is the scheme of employment in Tamil Nadu? They have started spending money by appointing MAs, BAs, and PHDs as Translators. It is a production scheme? What translation work are they supposed to do? They may be translating from English to Tamil because they are language fanatics. Or, they might be organising their own party people to create disturbances in the State to win elections. What are you going to achieve by that and what effect it will have on unemployment will have to be considered very carefully. Experience of people like myself and my colleagues is always at your disposal.

SHRI K. MATHEW KURIAN: Shri Dhar Shri Dharia—who makes more confusion?

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : श्री धर और श्री धरिया एक हो है।

SHRI N. G. GORAY: This discussion has really spilled over to a general discussion on the rise in prices and its effect on our Plan.

Sir, before I come to any figures or quote statistics, I would like to say in this House that never before have I seen this sort of frustration, disappointment and despair. Whether you go to Delhi or Poona or Bombay and whether you go to cities or villages or whether you go to working class or middle class, there is that feeling of something disastrous impending. It is not only the statistics, but also the feelings of the people, which are likely to affect the plan. Because if the people lose hope, then, whatever be the promise, you are not likely to succeed. Therefore, Sir, I started by referring to the general mood in the country, a mood of despair and exasperation. That is exactly why you are coming across these explosions. It may be in Agra one day, the next day it may be in Indore, the third day in Poona and the fourth day it may be in Bombay. It is not as if the Opposition parties are going to the peo-

ple and telling them that they must break open the shops or loot something or set fire to the houses or shops or factories. Sir, the people are so exasperated that they want to hit out at something and the slightest provocation is enough for that. Therefore, Sir, this particular factor of violence being in the air has to be taken note of and some probe will have to be made as to why people have become so desperate.

Now, Sir, so far as the price rise is concerned, so many people have referred to it and I do not want to take the time of the House by quoting figures because they are too well known. Today, Sir you must have noticed that so far as the Congress benches are concerned, none of them has tried to defend the present price rise at all. I am saying this because, Sir there was a time when from the Congress benches we used to hear that in a developing economy certain price rise was inevitable. But, Sir, now they have also realised that the present price rise is so abnormal that the plea cannot be made in any seriousness that this is due to the fact that our economy is developing or expanding, because the facts are to the contrary. Sir, had the economy been developing and had there been a sort of concomitant price rise, nobody would have minded it so much. But what is happening is that the economy is not expanding and still the price rise is there and the price rise is very steep, so steep indeed that hardly any economist or any Government official or any Minister is in a position to explain why such a thing has happened. The most curious fact about this price rise is that even in sectors in which we are making progress the price rise is there. It is a very curious fact. Somebody just now quoted the instance of sugar. What was our estimate? This year's estimate was that we would produce round about 31 lakhs of tonnes. Now, today, Sir, we know that it is 37 lakh tonnes and there is something in the buffer stock also, some five or six lakh tonnes, the carry-over. Now, with this 37 lakh tonnes *plus* the five or six lakh tonnes in the buffer stock, the total

comes to about four million tonnes. But, why then this price rise, this abnormal price rise in sugar? Take the case of coke. Again and again we have been assured in this House that the production of coke has not fallen. It has now been nationalised and still the price of coke is rising. Take the case of cloth. No less a person than the Finance Minister himself said the other day while we discussed the Finance Bill that he was really surprised that there was a rise in cloth prices, because there is abundance of cotton. Therefore, Sir, I am saying that this particular thing cannot be explained away. Unless all of us sit down together and try to find out what is going wrong, we cannot tackle the problem at all.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) in the Chair.]

It is the same thing about the foodgrains also. We were told that the rabi crop was so good that in spite of shortfall in the Kharif crop, the overall production this year will be of the order of about 100 million tonnes. I take it that it is round about that. If that is so, then why is it that even in a city like Delhi which is like an island in a sea of wheat, it is not possible to get suji or maida? Why is such a thing happening? Therefore, the effect of this price rise on the plan is that Shri Dhar and his colleagues will have to formulate a new plan altogether. No plan exists now. If you go through the Approach to the Plan, you will find that this document is based on three assumptions. One was that there will be a stability in prices. That thing has gone. The other was that there will not be any need for deficit-financing. That has also gone. The third assumption was that we are self-sufficient in food. It has been asserted very confidently on page 17 of the document, whereas the first two points are on page 25 of the document, that there will be no question of importing foodgrains. But the third thing has also gone. Now, with these three legs on which the whole approach stands having been knocked out, only one point remains and that is the desire that we

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want to have a plan and we want to fulfil it. But what is the material base? So far as the foodgrains are concerned, we are very complacent. You must have noticed that we are amongst the most vigilant members and till November we were told that the crisis is not very acute. The effect was that we never went to the American market to purchase wheat. In the meantime major share of American wheat was taken away by Russia and China. 28 million tonnes has been purchased by Russia and if my information is correct, Russia is again going to enter the market to purchase wheat. China too. Sir, in this House whenever we talk of purchasing wheat from America, ideological questions crop up. Why are you going to America? Unfortunately, America is the only country which has wheat to sell. There is no other country. Russia does not hesitate to try it. China does not hesitate. I can give you figures and I can tell you that in the East-European countries, there are 1000 industrial collaborations with the West. They do not hesitate. When one of my predecessors, Mr. Ashok Mehta used that unhappy phrase that India was willing to open her womb to American capital, he was ridiculed. People thought that he was an American agent. Now, what are they doing in Siberia? They are opening the entire Siberian belt to America and Japan and they are asking them to exploit the oil resources and other natural resources. Russia is not afraid. They want Siberia to be developed. They know that they are not capable of it. Therefore, they do not hesitate to call in western experts or their technical know-how. Here if we say: go and purchase wheat, or some other commodity or some technical know-how, there is an howl, about our going to America. The other day, I do not know whether you were here, when the Finance Minister was going to attend the World Bank Session, Shri Bhupesh Gupta said that he must not meet Mr. Rogers. I hope Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will now write a letter to Mr. Brezhnev and say that he must not meet Nixon. What are these ideological differences? Sir, many a time it has been stated here that Shri Dhar was a Marxist at one time.

I was a Marxist myself. The time has come when we must distinguish between the orthodox and the non-orthodox Marxist. The Marxists have got to keep their eyes open. I do not want Mr. Dhar to become an orthodox Marxist. I want him to be a modern Marxist, if that means anything. I do not know if there is something like that but all that I want to say is that so much water has flown down the river—call it the Ganges or the Mississippi or the river Volga. That the time has come when we keep our eyes open and try to absorb the new techniques. These new industrial techniques, agricultural techniques do not recognise any ideology and that is why you find that 50 years after revolution, Russia has yet to go to America and buy wheat. China has to go to America and buy wheat. That is because there are certain things which do not recognise ideology at all; these are techniques. The ideology comes in when you want to distribute the goods that you produce. Therefore, I would like to say that if really these prices are to be taken seriously, you must try to find out whether you are not yourself contributing to this scarcity.

I will confine myself only to what we have experienced in the House yesterday only. We asked the Minister of Commerce as to why before taking over the entire yarn trade he had not created the necessary infra-structure. And he was candid enough to admit that they took the step in full consultation with the various Ministers of the States; it was a unanimous decision and after taking this unanimous decision what did he find? He found that there was neither infra-structure nor the finances with the State Governments.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: Nor the experience.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: And the sad thing is that the victims of this failure are the starving weavers. This anomalous position is created because the necessary inevitable infra-structure and the apparatus is not created.

The same thing has happened about the takeover of the wholesale wheat trade. The

rice trade is yet to be taken over, but the wheat trade has been taken over. I do not know when this thing was discussed in the Cabinet, who voted and how, but this step was taken. Now, when you take a step like this, why did you not think it necessary to consider the levy also? You know that there were two prices. I have tried to point out in this House half a dozen times that you do not blame the Opposition leaders. There is no need for any Opposition leader to go to the peasant and tell him that instead of selling his wheat at Rs. 76 per quintal he should sell at Rs. 150. He is not a fool. He sees the difference. He sees that you have allowed him to sell at two prices. Naturally he will sell at Rs. 150 and that is what is happening. That is why the arrivals are too little. Even if all the arrivals were to come to the market, I have got the figures from the cell in the Lok Sabha Secretariat which gives us information on all these things. There, they say that even if all the arrivals were to come, the wheat arrivals in 1971 totalled 3 million tonnes and the rice arrivals were 1-1/2 million tonnes. Now, Sir, what have you done? You have said that you are not going to buy all the marketable surplus but the marketed surplus. You have left a big loophole through which all the people can pass. Now so far as levy is concerned, you are hesitating because your Chief Ministers are hesitating and that is because they have to fight elections. Do you expect that the Chief Minister of U.P. will go in for levy when the elections are there next year or at the end of this year? He has to keep the Kulaks with him and if that is so that kulak is not going to sell his wheat for Rs. 76 per quintal. This is the whole position. Then what about the distributive agency? Where are the fair price shops? The grain does not reach there; sugar does not reach there; it evaporates somewhere. So you had not the machinery; you had not considered this question whole hog. Once you decided to take over wheat, you should have gone to the end of it. There is a logical end to that. I agree with the critics of the Government that you have not made up your mind. Are you going to go the whole hog and take over every-

thing? Do it then. If you are going to do that, then those who falter those who misappropriate, their place is in jail. Are you going to send them there? Otherwise you should try to understand the implications of the step that you are taking. You are trying to secure wheat for the weaker sections but the result is the weaker sections are deprived of the wheat. They are not able to get wheat because the apparatus is not there. The same thing is happening to cloth; the same thing is happening to yarn. Yesterday somebody told us that yarn which is required in Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu goes to Uttar Pradesh and the weavers of Uttar Pradesh require a particular count but that is sent to Madras. Why? Because they have not the expertise. If you have not got the necessary experience and expertise then before you disturb the old established channels of distribution, think twice, think ten times. I think it is not necessary for you to take over the distribution. There are other methods by which you could have controlled the distribution of yarn, distribution of foodgrains. Therefore I am trying to submit that if at all you are going ahead with the Fifth Plan, if this Approach is really going to take us there, then you will have to do a lot of rethinking, a lot of house cleaning.

Look at the reports of the public sector undertakings. I have this report with me and you will find how many mandays are lost. The mandays lost in 1972 amounted to 1,79,21,000 days. Can any country which is trying to develop fast, can any country which wants to bring socialism, that is, social justice, afford to lose so many days? Has the Prime Minister or the Minister for Planning or any other Minister tried to take all the trade union people into confidence and tell them that this is the objective, that if the workers abstain from strike, if they give maximum production, this will be the reward for the workers? Have you tried to do that? Just imagine how much difference it will make by this one single item. If we could have

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a moratorium on strikes for two consecutive years we will be adding thousands of crores of rupees. This will have to be seriously pursued. Once when I had the opportunity to meet the Prime Minister I told her about this and she asked, will the trade unions agree. I said, those who do not agree, expose them to the people that this is what we want to achieve and when we try to make them understand this particular problem, this particular policy, the trade unions do not agree and therefore we have to go ahead without them. This sort of thing you will have to do. Sir, I have got here a pamphlet on Japan where it is said that Japanese workers produce 40 per cent more than American workers.

An American worker produces forty per cent more than a Russian worker. He produces more than the Russian because of the sophisticated machinery. The Japanese produces more because of his particular relationship with industrialists, the author calls that relationship paternalistic. Whatever you may call it the fact remains that Japan has given you a model which shows that within fifteen or twenty years they have outstripped the richest country in the world. This is also important. Do not suppose that there is only one model. When I was young and what I was in college, there were only two models. One was the capitalist model and the other was the Russian model. Now, there are any number of models. You create your own model. Why do you think that you have to choose between this or that? When Dr. Ahmad was speaking I felt that he was still thinking in the old ways, that you have either to follow the American model or the Russian model. Now, there are any number of models. There is the Scandinavian model. There is the West German model. There is the Japanese model which is neither completely capitalist nor completely socialist. They have tried to adjust their economy in such a way that there would be strikes but no harm would come to production. Let us see if we can do something like that. (*Time bell rings*). Unfortunately it is not possible for me to

squeeze in all the thoughts that I wanted to put across in a few minutes, but the main theme that I wanted to develop is this. If really you want to make the Fifth Five Year Plan a success, the sands are running out, not that we have got a long time to ponder over things. A crisis is overtaking us and if we lose four or six months more it is quite possible that the whole fabric of this democratic society will be torn. It is quite possible because the warnings are there. And, therefore, I would submit in this House that if we are serious about it and we must be serious about it, we should do these things. I was very unhappy when I found that only thirty or thirty-five Members were in the House when such a grave situation was being discussed. I was reminded of the fact that when any question relating to India came before the House of Commons, there would be only five or ten members present out of 600. I wonder if we are imitating the House of Commons here. It is a burning issue. The whole destiny of the nation depends on whether we succeed in this year. This is the most crucial year. This is the divide. We must succeed. I do not think the situation has become so hopeless that all of must throw up our hands and say "No, no, it is all gone. We cannot cope with the situation." I do not think so. But the right approach must be there. We must try to eliminate waste. Many times Gandhiji's name is brought in here. I do not like to do that. He was a great man and none of us is in a position to imitate him. Imitation is always bad. It is artificial. I do not want that, but let us evolve our own model in this country. Can you have, on the one side, people living like the American and, on the other side, people living in hovels? Can you have, on the one hand, people whose earning is Rs. 10 lakhs per month? I was told that some of the cine artistes for every picture gets Rs. 50 lakhs. I do not want to name them. I find in my Maharashtra there are women, young boys and old people breaking stone for eight hours a day and getting Rs. 2. Can this sort of economy survive? It just cannot survive. And, therefore, I would appeal to you and, through you to

the Treasury Benches to take a realistic view. If you want a green revolution, well, is it not necessary that all these river disputes should be solved within the next two or three months?

So that the work on the bunds or on the dams are completed within the next two or three years. How long are you going to continue with these quarrels between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra and Karnataka and Andhra? What is it? Are we a composite federal structure or are we sovereign independent States fighting over these things? I would like to ask Mr. Dhar: Has he got the courage, has he got the authority to bring these people together and say, whether you agree or not, we are going ahead with these river valley schemes which are national schemes, and they cannot wait any longer. The Pong Dam it was discussed here. It is hanging fire for the last 12 years and we have not been able to impound the waters of the Beas with the consequence that those waters are going to Pakistan and Pakistan is benefitting. Can you imagine a more foolish and absurd thing than this?

My plea is that the situation can be retrieved and must be retrieved. It can be retrieved provided we do not take any postures which are unnecessarily ideological, but we concentrate on organisation, we concentrate on discipline, and those who are ready to observe the discipline will be with you and those who are not, they may remain where they want to remain.

Thank you.

**SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA** (Uttar Pradesh): The Reserve Bank Report in its recent discussions about the price rise and the economy of the country have pointed out that there has been a large increase in the aggregate monetary resources in the hands of the public, both in the form of currency and in the form of bank deposits. As against this, the production of commodities has been fall-

ing. When these two factors co-exist anywhere, prices rise inevitable.

The fact of the matter is that within the last two decades, demand inflation in the country has assumed gigantic proportions. Increase in urbanisation, enhancement of money and wages, dearness allowances, etc., for all the categories of workers, brought a spurt in the demand. In a situation where the supply of goods did not match the demand, the unscrupulous businessmen took the utmost advantage. This created the black market in respect of the scarce commodities; they tried to negative any measures at control that the Government applied. Hearing and black marketing and artificially aggravating the scarcity, were the methods adopted by these people. For their nefarious purpose, they used the method of bribery and corruption of the administrative personnel and in consequence, the poor and the middle income groups in the country became the worst sufferers of inflation.

In the speeches made by other hon. Members, there have been references to price rise, the amount of rise, the percentage comparisons, and so I will not take up the time of the House in that. But in a reply which was given to this House on 22-3-1973 it was stated, as far as planning targets are concerned, that it is difficult to quantify the impact of price changes on plan targets as other factors like availability of inputs, timeliness in the implementation of the plan programmes, whether conditions also exert their influence. Now, we do not know how the Planning Commission is going about the business of getting a quantitative assessment made, which the price rise will bring in the plans.

But the Plan 1973-74 which we received only yesterday has not given—I saw it very roughly—the changes in the amount of investments which were brought about as a result of the rise in prices. In any case, Sir, it is obvious that for the Fifth Plan unless the prices are checked the whole planning will go into disarray.



[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya.]

It is no doubt that rise has been in prices everything in the world, even in some of the socialist countries, though not so markedly. In France the price rise was 19.6 per cent during 1961 and 1971. In U.K. the price rise was 22.4 per cent between 1961 and 1971. In New Zealand it was 28.2 per cent. But the price rise in India, as has been pointed out by many of our friends, has been abnormal. It is about 90 per cent during this period. The index number of wholesale price, with base year as 1961-62 was 100; today, within ten years, is 200.7. As a result, Sir, the purchasing power of the Indian rupee, compared with 1949, has fallen to 39.2 paise in December, 1972. In 1947, the year of our independence, wheat was selling at 30 paise per kilogram. Today it is Rs. 1.25 and even more per kilogram. The same is true of every foodstuff and edibles. For example, mustard oil in 1947 was selling at Rs. 1.75 a kilo. Today it is touching Rs. 6 per kilo and even higher. The price rise has shattered all our plans. Our planning has failed to make any dent in our poverty. Shri Mohan Dharía replying to a question in this House said that as many as 220 million of our people are below the poverty line, which is almost 50 per cent of our population. They have calculated the poverty line in the Document 'Approach to the Fifth Plan' at private consumption of Rs. 20 per capita per month at 1960-61 prices or about Rs. 40 today. People below this level of consumption may be considered to be poor and below the poverty line. This is the point made out in the Approach Paper.

Now, Sir, we have here the figures for the different States. For example, in your State of Andhra Pradesh the percentage of people below the poverty line is 48.50 in rural areas and 57.61 in urban areas. I have got the figures of all the States. I would not take much time. The conclusion is, therefore, inescapable that in official policy while too much attention has been given to planning, regulating and channelising production along the desired path, too little attention has been given to ensure that what was produced or could be

produced would also be consumed. When Plan production has not been matched by effective demand, production of necessities deviates from the Plan path. The fact of the matter is that the call for economic growth, albeit with social justice, without first attacking the structural mal-adjustments in our society which are agricultural and rural predominantly and also industrial and urban, it is like putting the cart before the horse. It is in many respects worse than preserving the *status quo* because it gets the worst of both the worlds. A process of economic development, without a positive and effective policy to ensure an equitable distribution of the gains of development inevitably benefits the richer classes much more than it does the poorer classes. I am afraid the Planning Commission has not taken, sufficiently well, cognizance of the movement of the rural poor into the cities. Sometimes I feel that the Planning Commission proceeds on the smug assumption that the pattern of inequality will remain the same as in the past, and all that has to be done is to bring about somehow a higher rate of growth, and that will abolish our poverty.

The Approach Paper has laid a plan for reducing the consumption of the upper stratum of society and raising the consumption level of the lower 30 per cent of the society. But how this will be done is not at all clear to me when I have perused the approach. It is a good idea, but I cannot understand how they propose to do it. The only way to achieve the desired end is to socialise the personal incomes of the handful of men at the top in order to finance the socialised consumption. The personal incomes, after tax, subsidies and transfer payment, have to be so distributed that everybody has a minimum income necessary to meet the nationality desired minimum need. It is inescapable, therefore, that a frontal assault has to be made on the monopolies in India. The price rise is very much to be attributed to the hold of the monopolists on the economy. Seventy-five monopoly houses control 53 per cent of the assets of the non-banking private corporate sector in our

country. The rise in their profits is unprecedented. I can give you the figures, but we all know it. The public sector has, no doubt, registered significant advances, but the share of the public sector in the domestic product and in the net value added to the domestic product has not increased substantially, in spite of the expansion of the public sector. Even now 86.4 per cent of the net domestic product is produced in the private sector and over 90 per cent of the net value added to domestic product originates outside the public sector. Our inability to deal with the monopolies, Sir, is matched by our ability to do nothing about the foreign private capital, investments and profits in India. The position of strength of Indian capitalism has been helped by the policy pursued in regard to foreign private investments. According to replies given in Parliament, foreign investments in the country at the end of March 1969 stood at Rs. 1,252 crores. Quick estimates for the next two years ending March, 1969 and March, 1970, show that this increased to Rs. 1,289 crores and Rs. 1,319 crores respectively. Gross profits of foreign companies in India rose from Rs. 33.2 crores in 1968-69 and Rs. 39.9 crores in 1969-70 to Rs. 52 crores in 1970-71. The annual sales of these foreign firms increased by Rs. 630 crores, from Rs. 1,258 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 1,888 crores in 1970-71. Now, instead of calling a halt to this, instead of keeping checks on them, we in all kinds of spheres including manufacture of cosmetics and luxury goods, have allowed foreign private investment which have nothing to do with our technological advance.

Sir, I would like to say that it is fairly very serious situation, and the solution to this situation can be found only by clear-cut policies. A bad situation needs radical measures. A boil needs an operation. In the circumstances, if the price spiral has to be checked, monopolies must be curbed and foreign capital must be prevented from growing at the cost of the Indian people. Apart from this, I would very much be in agreement with what Mr. Goray said in his remarks. Certainly I am

happy that Mr. Goray looked at the question not from a party point of view but from a national point of view. Other hon. Members have also pointed to the malfunction of our administrative machinery either in the sphere of licences or in other spheres. The incongruity in our policy of taking over of wheat trade only has also been pointed out. With the experience we have gained, it has become inevitable that we should extend it to coarse grains and other commodities and I would appeal to our Planning Minister to very seriously consider extension of this take-over to other foodgrains.

I believe that the steps which are most important are the following:

1. Money supply should be strictly balanced with the production capacity to assimilate.

2. Deficit financing should be rigorously curtailed.

3. Non-developmental expenditure which was now disproportionately high should be progressively curbed.

4. Black money or parallel economy of black-marketeers should be drastically dealt with according to the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee.

5. Wage rise must be regulated and co-ordinated by providing essential commodities at controlled prices.

6. Consumption of upper echelons should be severely cut.

7. Consumption capacity of the lower strata should be increased by increasing their purchasing capacity by giving them necessary employment or providing other income inlets.

8. All round austerity of non-essential consumption should be mercilessly pursued. This was a point which you, Sir, made out in your speech.

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya.]

9. Production of consumer goods should be given greater importance.

10. Agricultural and industrial production should be assured by developing a new technique of management relations and assuring a remunerative price to the agriculturists and ensuring minimum wage for the agricultural labour.

11. Wholesale trade in coarse grains, Vanaspati and sugar should be taken over by the Government.

12. Further, cotton price and textile price should be rigorously controlled and coarse textiles should be distributed by ration cards.

13. Uniform distribution of yarn to 75 lakhs of handloom weavers should be quickly assured.

14. Minimum wage for 27 million landless labour and partial agricultural labour numbering 50.2 per cent of land should be quickly enforced to ensure increasing purchasing power of the poorest, rural community.

15. Moratorium should be declared on the realisation of agricultural, fertiliser, flood and drought loans for at least two years.

These are very important steps. These are not merely some of the points which are being made out in other forums or periodicals and journals. I would request our Planning Minister to seriously consider them and not just to pass them on as of something which has no reality. They are in the realm of reality provided there is a way and will and for this purpose a national effort will have to be made involving all parties and groups and people who are as patriotic as we are because undoubtedly we are facing a very serious situation.

डा० भाई महावीर उपसभापति जी, जिस विषय की चर्चा करने के लिये श्री कृष्ण कान्ति ने यह प्रस्ताव किया है वह विषय आज देश के

आर्थिक जीवन के लिये, देश के लिये, जिन्दगी और मौत का सवाल बना हुआ है। सच बात तो यह है कि अर्थ-व्यवस्था का कोई भी पहलू हम ले वह दामों के साथ, मूल्यों के साथ किसी न किसी रूप से सम्बद्ध होगा। अगर उत्पादन ठीक नहीं होता, अगर वितरण ठीक नहीं होता, अगर होर्डिंग होती है, अगर हड़ताल होती है, यहाँ तक कि अगर प्रकृति भी साथ नहीं देती तो उसका प्रभाव भी दामों के ऊपर पड़ता है, यह हम लोग बहुत अच्छी तरह से देख चुके हैं और अनुभव कर रहे हैं। लेकिन क्या कीमते अपने आप में कोई रोग है, बड़ा रोग है। बढ़ती हुई कीमते क्या यही समस्या है। क्या यही एक समस्या है। और उनको रोकने के लिए एक हुकम जारी करना, एक समन दे देना, कोई एक नया कानून बना देना या किसी आर्डिनेंस के जरिये तय कर देना कि फलों चीज की कीमत इससे ज्यादा आगे नहीं जायगी, क्या यह समस्या को हल करने का तरीका है।

महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ बढ़ते हुए मूल्य अर्थ-व्यवस्था के अन्दर किसी न किसी विकार के प्रगट रूप होते हैं। किसी भी शरीर के अन्दर जब विकार आता है तो जैसे वह टम्परेचर के बढ़ने के रूप में दिखायी देता है वैसे ही अर्थ-व्यवस्था के अन्दर आई हुई कोई न्यूनता या कमी या विकार बढ़ते हुए मूल्यों के रूप में प्रगट होता है। इसलिए केवल मूल्यों को ही सब कुछ समझना, मिस्टम को बीमारी मान लेने के बराबर होगा। मिस्टम बीमारी तक पहुँचने का मार्ग तो हो सकता है, लेकिन मिस्टम ही बीमारी नहीं है। मिस्टम किसी बीमारी का प्रगट रूप है। कौन-सी बीमारी है जो कि आज हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को ग्रसे हुए है जिसके कारण हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था 26 साल के बाद भी यहाँ पर आकर के पहुँची है कि निर्धन वर्ग, पीड़ित वर्ग, जीवन के अंदर किसी भी तरह का समाधान, किसी भी प्रकार की सात्वना का अनुभव नहीं कर पा रहा है। कितने लाख लोग, कितने करोड़ लोग आज 20 पैसे में या 40 पैसे में या 50 पैसे में प्रति दिन गुजारा करते हैं इसके आंकड़े कई बार आया

करते हैं। उन आंकड़ों के अंदर कुछ अनुमान का अंश होना स्वाभाविक है, लेकिन उन आंकड़ों को देखने के बाद, उनके अंदर कुछ अतिशयोक्ति है या नहीं, केवल इसी तक अगर हम अपनी उधेड़-बुन को सीमित रखेंगे तो मुझे लगता है हम प्रश्न की तह में तब भी पहुंच नहीं सकेंगे। किसी भी रूप में आज आप गरीबी की परिभाषा कीजिए, स सप्रोच के अंदर ही आप देखेंगे गरीबी की परिभाषा दी गई है मानो कि आज तक गरीब की या गरीबी की परिभाषा देने में कोई कठिनाई थी। परिभाषा में कोई कठिनाई नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के औसत आदमी को, मेहनत-कश आदमी को, किसान को या किसान के यहां मजदूरी करने वाले व्यक्ति को, मड़क के ऊपर छोटा सा कुछ सामान रख कर बेचने वाले व्यक्ति को हम देखें—पेट जिसका पीठ के साथ मिला हुआ है, जिसकी एक-एक हड्डीयां गिनी जा सकती हैं, जिसके चेहरे में झुर्रियां पड़ी हुई हैं, गाल धंसे हुए हैं, आंख में कोई रोशनी नहीं है—उसे देखने के बाद विद्वान लोग गरीबी की परिभाषा क्या करें? किन शब्दों में करें? यह एक इन्स्ट्रक्शुअल लगजरी के सिवाए शायद और कुछ बाकी नहीं रह जाता। हमें दिखायी देती है गरीबी हमें दिखायी देता है देश के गरीब वर्ग के ऊपर आया हुआ संकट। लेकिन यह सब कुछ होने के बाद 26 वर्ष से जो आशाएं, जो दिलामाएं, जो मज्ज बाग, जो उम्मीदें किसी न किसी तरह से टालते आ रहे थे और लगता था आज नहीं तो कल, कल नहीं तो परसों, उन सब समस्याओं को हम हल कर पायेंगे, आज दिखायी देता है कि उन समस्याओं को हल करने की सामर्थ्य हमारी योजनाओं के अंदर नहीं है। दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि अपनी इस असफलता को भी हम लोग स्वीकार करने में हिचकिचा रहे हैं। हमनोग समझते हैं कि और दो-चार नागों की जरूरत है और दो-चार, *cliche* जिनको कहते हैं, वह रिपीट करने की जरूरत है, कोई दो-चार बलि के बकरे ढूढ़ने की आवश्यकता है और मारपी बलाएं उनके सिर पर डाल कर हम मुक्त हो जाएं। बहुत सारे लोग तो यह समझते हैं कि विकास हो रहा है तो कीमतें बढ़नी जरूरी

हैं। सरकार की तरफ से भी बहुत बार कहा जाता है कि डेवलपमेंट के अंदर कीमतों का बढ़ना अनिवार्य है, मानो दुनिया के अंदर ऐसा कोई देश नहीं है, जहां दाम बड़े वगैर विकास न हुआ हो और यही कह कर हम संतुष्ट नहीं होते बल्कि हम इसका अर्थ यह लगाते हैं कि विकास के लिए क्योंकि कीमतों का बढ़ना जरूरी है इसलिए जब कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं तो यह मान लिया जाना चाहिये कि विकास भी हो रहा है। इससे बढ़ कर उपहास और मजाक की स्थिति में नहीं समझता कि कोई और हो सकती है।

दुनिया के बहुत देशों में हमसे चौगुनी कीमतें बढ़ी, लेकिन उनका विकास दर भी चौगुना बढ़ गया। क्यों बढ़ा? क्योंकि वे अपने माधनों का उपयोग कर पायें हैं, उनकी योजनाएं व्यावहारिक बनीं और वे डोगमाज, क्रीड्स, फैंड्स को लेकर केवल अपने हीरोइज्म को प्रकट करने की कोशिश नहीं करते रहे, बल्कि उन्होंने देश की नब्ज को पहिचाना और अर्थव्यवस्था की बुराई को समझा। दुर्भाग्य की बात यह दिखलाई देती है कि हम अभी तक अपने आपको उस स्थिति में नहीं ला सके, जहां हम यह मान लें कि इतना विशाल देश, जहां 56 करोड़ लोग रहते हैं, उनकी गरीबी और दुर्जवस्था को दूर करता है और इतने बड़े महान कार्य में किसी फैंड्स, किसी क्रीड या किसी इज्ज को बाध कर रखने की जरूरत नहीं है। जिस मार्ग से, जिस तरीके से हम इन समस्याओं को हल कर सकते हैं, जिन उपायों से हम आज देश के दलित वर्ग को ऊपर उठा सकते हैं, उनका जीवन जीने लायक बना सकते हैं, वे सारे उपाय बरतने चाहिये और हमारे रास्ते में कोई क्रीड, कोई फैंड बाधक नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन अभी तक सत्ताशुद्ध दल अपने मत के अंदर इस तरह के भाव पैदा करते हुए नहीं दिखलाई देता है कि लक्ष्य बढ़ा है और बढ़े हुए लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के वास्ते किसी माधन के ऊपर हम लड़ते-मरते रहे, तो यह उस लक्ष्य के साथ अन्याय होगा। जिनने महान कार्य की जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार के ऊपर पड़ी है, उनको इतना बड़ा मानव मैनडे ट मिला है और यह

[डा० भाई महावीर]

मानिव मैनडेंट इस भरोसे के दिलाने पर मिला है कि देश से गरीबी को दूर किया जायेगा, यदि उस मानिव मैनडेंट के साथ न्याय करना है, अपनी अन्तरात्मा के साथ न्याय करना है, जिन महा-पुरुषों ने संघर्ष करके इस देश को स्वतन्त्रता दिलायी है, उनके प्रति अपने ऋण को चुकाना है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हमें क्रीड से ऊपर उठना होगा, फँड्स से ऊपर उठना होगा।

हम पोलिटिकल डिजीजन लेकर चलते हैं चाहे उसमें व्यावहारिकता हो या न हो और इस तरह से हंग ड्रम को बनाकर एक फैमला करके चलने है। जब उसमें व्यावहारिक कठिनाइयाँ आती है, समस्याएँ पैदा होती हैं, तो फिर अपोजीशन पार्टियों को गाली दी जाती है और कहा जाता है कि अपोजीशन पार्टियाँ विरोध करती हैं, ये ही सकट पैदा करती हैं। इतना ही नहीं, यह भी कहा जाता है कि अमेरिका अपोजीशन पार्टियों के माध्यम से इस तरह की बातें करवा रहा है या कोई और देश अपोजीशन पार्टी के माध्यम से यह बात करवा रहा है। इस तरह की बातें कह कर लोगों को धोखा देने की कोशिश की जा रही है। इस तरह की बात बड़े बड़े मंत्री कहते हैं और मत्तारुद्ध दल के अध्यक्ष भी कहते हैं और समझते हैं कि आज जितनी भी समस्याएँ हैं वे विरोधी दल के लोगों द्वारा पैदा की हुई हैं और उनकी इस बुद्धि के ऊपर हम बलिहारी जाते हैं।

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh):  
Why do you take it seriously ?

डा० भाई महावीर : मिश्र जी कहते हैं कि उनकी बातों को गंभीरता से क्यों सुनते हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर मत्तारुद्ध दल के लोग यह कह दें कि जिनको उन्होंने अध्यक्ष बनाया है, उनकी किसी बात पर गंभीरता पूर्वक ध्यान नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये, तो इसके बाद हमको इस बात की चिन्ता नहीं करनी पड़ेगी। जब वे किसी बात को कहेंगे तो हम समझ लेंगे कि उन्हें तो बिना किसी व्यावहारिक अर्थ के बोलने का लाडमेस है। लेकिन जब तक वे मत्तारुद्ध दल के अध्यक्ष हैं, जब तक हमारे देश के दूसरे नेता भी जो

कई बार इस तरह की बातें कहते हैं, चाहे उन बातों का व्यावहारिक अर्थ हो या न हो, लेकिन लोगों को बहुकावे में डालकर उसका राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने का उनका मन्तव्य दिखलाई देता है। इस चीज से ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि इन 26 सालों के अन्दर न योजना कमिशन ने और न ही हमारी सरकार ने कोई चीज सीखी है और न किसी चीज को भुलाया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज मौका है कि वह कुछ सीखे, कुछ भुलाये; क्योंकि अपनी गलती के बाद ही आदमी सीखता है। आज वह जिस हठवाद को लेकर चल रही है, उस हठवाद को भुलाये। कीमतों का बढ़ना इस तरह से अनिवार्य नहीं है जिस तरह से मौन का एक दिन आना है। बहुत सारे लोग यह समझते हैं कि मरने से कोई बच नहीं सकता है और उसी तरह से बढ़ती हुई कीमतों से कोई नहीं बच सकता है। वैसे यही समझा जाता है कि हर साल दो-चार सौ के नए टैक्स लगने चाहिए और इससे बचा नहीं जा सकता। क्यों टैक्स बढ़ाने की जरूरत पड़ती है, क्यों कीमतें बढ़ती हैं। प्रत्यक्ष कर है और परोक्ष कर भी लगते हैं और लोग चूँकि इनका अनिवार्य समझ कर स्वीकार करने लगे हैं इसलिए सरकार और मत्तारुद्ध दल के दूसरे साथियों को यह लगता है कि शायद उनको अधिकार है और उनको चिन्ता करने की जरूरत नहीं, जितनी भी कीमतें बढ़ें, जितने भी कर वे लगाना चाहें लगा सकते हैं। सच्ची बात तो यह है कि ऊपर-ऊपर से मौखिक रूप से लोगों को कुर्बानी के लिये तैयार होना चाहिए, कष्ट उठाने के लिए तैयार होना चाहिए, प्रारम्भिक कठिनाइयाँ हैं, थोड़े बहुत कष्ट तो होते ही हैं, इस तरह के प्लेटोड्यूड्स के साथ अत्यन्त कठिनाई की परिस्थिति जो सारे देश में गरीब और मध्यम वर्ग की जनता के वास्ते पैदा कर दी गई है, उसको ढकने की कोशिश की जाती है।

कीमतें क्यों बढ़ रही हैं? हमने जितनी योजनाएँ बनाईं उन सबका मुद्रा-स्फीति अनिवार्य हिस्सा था। जो हमने लक्ष्य रखे, खर्च के अनुमान लगाये, जिस खर्च के वास्ते हमारे पास उपलब्ध साधन कम दिखाई दिये उसके लिये डेफिसेंट फाइनेंसिंग

की ज़रूरत पड़ना स्वाभाविक था। घाटे की वित्त व्यवस्था के बगैर हम काम नहीं चला सकते थे और घाटे की वित्त व्यवस्था की गई। इतना ही नहीं, जो प्रोडक्शन का ढाँचा दूसरी योजना के बाद आनाया गया उसमें जो ऐसे उद्योग हैं जो जल्दी उत्पादन दे सकने हैं, जल्दी उपभोग की वस्तुओं को प्राप्त करवा सकने थे उनकी उपेक्षा होती गई, कृषि की उपेक्षा हुई उद्योग के मुकाबले में, उद्योगों में जो छोटे उद्योग हैं, जो उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं वाले उद्योग हैं उनकी उपेक्षा हुई भारी उद्योगों के मुकाबले में और इसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि भारी उद्योगों के विषय में हमने कुछ प्रगति हुई अवश्य की है, लेकिन वह सब प्रगति करने के बाद उनके ऊपर जितना खर्चा हो रहा है, आज भी उनके अन्दर जितनी अनयूटिलाइज्ड कैपेसिटी है जितना घाटा है उसको देखते हुये हम इस स्थिति पर शर्मा नहीं कर सकते। दूसरी ओर जो कन्ज्यूमर इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनके उत्पादन के अन्दर जो वृद्धि होनी चाहिये थी वह नहीं हो पाई और इस वामने मारे बाज़ार के अन्दर, सारे क्षेत्र के अन्दर वस्तुओं की कमी हो गई। पैसों की बहुतायत है। पैसा बढ़ता रहा है जिसके कारण इनफ्लेशन की जो परिभाषा की जाती है 'मन मनी इज चेंजिंग टु फिड गुड्स'। हमने मनी बहुत पैदा किया और गुड्स टु फिर पैदा हुई, इस तरह की कठिनाई की परिस्थिति हमारे कारण उत्पन्न हुई। कीमतों के बढ़ने के कारणों की गनती करनी हो तो 5-7 कारण में एक, दो, तीन करके उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा। सबसे पहले तो घाटे की वित्त व्यवस्था का अतिरेक, एक्सेसिव डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग। अगर हम गवर्नमेंट को दिये गये शुद्ध बैंक ऋण को ले तो एक साल के अन्दर 1,200 करोड़ रुपये की डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हुई। 15 प्रतिशत के हिमाब से जहाँ मुद्रा की मात्रा बढ़ी है, वहाँ पर राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन 3 प्रतिशत के हिमाब से घटा है। हमारी सरकार के बहुत सारे प्रवक्ता दो बातों को इसके लिये जिम्मेदार ठहरा कर निश्चित हो जाते हैं, एक तो बंगला देश और दूसरा पिछले वर्ष पड़ा सूखा। बंगला देश के पहले, महोदय, 70-71 के अन्दर डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग 424 करोड़ की हुई थी और

828 करोड़ रुपये की मुद्रा के अन्दर वृद्धि हुई थी। हम यह न समझे कि बंगला देश के पहले की नीतियों का कोई परिणाम नहीं है। यह ठीक है कि सूखे के कारण और बंगला देश के खर्चों के कारण कठिन परिस्थिति कठिनतर अवश्य हुई, लेकिन यह जो मोटा कारण था यह सबसे आधारभूत मानना चाहिये।

फिर योजनाओं के अन्दर जो नान-डेवलपमेंट एक्स्पेंडीचर है, वह 14 प्रतिशत के हिमाब से बढ़ता रहा है, जबकि चौथी योजना में तय किया गया था कि 2 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ेगा। चौथे प्लान के लक्ष्य में 21 प्रतिशत खाद्यान्नों में कमी रही है, 37 प्रतिशत पावर में कमी रही है, 27 प्रतिशत फर्टिलाइजर्स में, उर्वरकों में कमी रही है, 30 प्रतिशत तेल में कमी रही है, 25 प्रतिशत इस्पात में कमी रही है, 60 प्रतिशत डीजल इंजनों में और 15 से 30 प्रतिशत के बीच नकदी की फमलों में कमी रही है। यानी उत्पादन के अन्दर जो कमी हो रही है तो जब तक हम उत्पादन की इस कमी को दूर करके बाज़ार के अन्दर ज्यादा वस्तुओं के लाने का प्रयास नहीं करते, तब तक कीमतें नहीं घट सकती। केवल कुछ होर्डिंग्स पर अपना सारा गुस्सा उतारने से मैं नहीं समझता कि हम इस समस्या को हल कर सकेंगे। मैं होर्डिंग्स के बारे में सफाई देना नहीं चाहता हूँ, सफाई देना मेरा काम नहीं है, हालांकि मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि मे उनकी तरफ से बकालत कर रहा हूँ, किन्तु आपको अगर यह लगता है कि कुछ होर्डिंग्स को पकड़ने से कीमतों को रोका जा सकता है तो आपके पास पूरी शक्ति है, आप उनके विरुद्ध कार्यवाही कीजिये। यदि आपको नैतिक समर्थन की ज़रूरत है तो हम आपको नैतिक समर्थन देने के लिये तैयार हैं। लेकिन जहाँ पर आपकी नीतियों की विफलता से कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं, वहाँ पर आप केवल कुछ व्यापारियों के मिर के ऊपर मारा भाड़ा फोड़ कर समझे कि अब इसके आगे कल्याण ही कल्याण है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह अपने आपको धोखा देना होगा। आपके उत्पादन के अन्दर जो कमियाँ आई हैं, क्या यह कमी सच है या नहीं। जो सरकारी उद्यम लगे हुये हैं, जैसे स्टील के

[श्री० भाई महावीर]

उत्पादन में कमी आती है तो उसका कारण ब्लैक मार्केट होता है, कहा जाता है कि ब्लैक मार्केट करने वाले कीमतें बढ़ा देते हैं। लेकिन कौन ब्लैक करता है? यदि स्टील के ऊपर आपका कंट्रोल है, कोयले के ऊपर आपका कंट्रोल है, सीमेंट के ऊपर आपका कंट्रोल है तो ब्लैक कैसे होता है? पहले कोयले की कीमतों के बारे में कहा जाता था कि माइनिंग वाले प्राफिटियरिंग कर रहे हैं, बहुत अच्छा सरकार ने खदानें ले लीं। अब आप कहते हैं कि शिपमेंट करने वाले, ट्रांसपोर्टर्स, ठेकेदार जो हैं वह प्राफिटियरिंग करते हैं। रेलें कोयला ला नहीं सकती। रेलें कौन चलाना है? रेलों में क्या कोयला नहीं जाता है, बिहार के अन्दर गृहणियों को कोयला जलाने के वास्ते न मिले, इस सारी व्यवस्था के अन्दर जो अक्षमता है, जो निकम्मापन है, इसको अगर प्रकट नहीं करता तो क्या प्रकट करता है। लेकिन आपको जितने अधिकार चाहिये थे वह आपके पास हैं, आप जो हाथ में लेना चाहते थे आपने लिये, इसके बाद भी आप बहाने ढूँढ़ें और अपनी असमर्थता छिपाने की कोशिश करें, इसका अर्थ क्या है?

अभी हमारे माननीय गोरे जी का बहुत अच्छा भाषण हुआ। उन्होंने यार्न के बारे में कहा—कल मैं भी यहाँ इस सदन में था। सरकार ने यार्न का कंट्रोल लिया, क्योंकि कीमतें बढ़ रही थीं। क्या कीमतें कम कर ली गई? कोयले की कीमत कम करने के लिये कोयला उद्योग को हाथ में लिया, जब से सरकार ने हाथ में लिया तब से कोयला मिलता ही नहीं। जहाँ कोयले की खानें हैं वही नहीं मिलता है तो और जगह क्या मिलेगा। सीमेंट का कंट्रोल सरकार के पास है। सीमेंट सेल हो जाता है ब्लैक में। अगर आपके पास स्टेच्युटरी और ऐक्जीक्यूटिव पावर्स होने के बाद भी कमी है तो और पावर्स ले लीजिये लेकिन जो भूखा है उसको कारण मत बताइये। जिस गृहणी को कोयला नहीं मिल रहा है उससे बहाने मत बनाइये। मकान बनाने के लिए जिसको सीमेंट चाहिये, जिसकी छत चू रही है या जिसकी दीवार टूट रही है उसको बहाने मत बताइये। उसको पता है कि ब्लैक मिल रहा है। उसके पास लोग खुद आते

हैं और कहने हैं सवा 25 रु० बोरी लोगें, माढ़े 25 रु० बोरी लोगें? जो सीमेंट ऐसे देते हैं उनको आप क्यों नहीं पकड़ते? यदि आप नहीं पकड़ सकते तो आपके ढाँचे में इतनी अक्षमता है उसे आप मानिये। केवल अपने हाथ में ले लेने से समस्या हल नहीं होती। आपको किसी भी व्यवस्था को चलाने के लिये ईमानदार, कार्यक्षम ढाँचा चाहिये, एक मैटअप चाहिये। वह मैटअप जब तक आपके पास नहीं है, तब तक केवल आप नारों में, भाषणों में उस कमी को पुरा नहीं कर सकेंगे।

महोदय, विकास की दरे देश के आर्थिक जीवन में कम हुई है। राष्ट्रीय आय 5.3 प्रतिशत बढ़ा था 1969-70 में, वह गिर गया 10.3 प्रतिशत उसकी रेट आफ ग्रोथ 1972-73 में हो गई। इसी काल में कृषि का उत्पादन 7.1 से घट करके 5 प्रतिशत और औद्योगिक उत्पादन 7.2 से घट कर 2.0 प्रतिशत हो गया। इस तरह से ग्रोथ रेट में जो कमी आई, इसकी जिम्मेदारी किमके ऊपर है? क्यों हमारी योजनायें देश के अन्दर आर्थिक विकास की दर को बढ़ा नहीं सके। छोटे-छोटे देश, इजराइल जैसे देश 10 प्रतिशत, 11 प्रतिशत आर्थिक विकास की दर प्रतिवर्ष प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। वे समाजवाद का ढोल नहीं बजाते, लेकिन, महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि जितना उनके यहाँ समाजवाद है उतना हमारे यहाँ नहीं है। अगर आप बराबरी को समाजवाद कहते हैं तो इजराइल के अन्दर कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति नहीं है जिस का वेतन 17, 18 सौ रु० मासिक से कम हो और कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति नहीं है जिस का वेतन 25, 26 सौ रु० मासिक से ज्यादा हो। एक और डेढ़ के अनुपात के बीच में सारे देश के अन्दर लोगों की आय है। यहाँ एक और हमारे केन्द्र के मंत्री हैं जिन की 4 लाख 48 हजार रु० आय बनती है, अगर उनके सारे हिसाब लगा लिये जायें और दूसरी ओर 20 रु० या 25 रु० या सौ रु० के लोगो को अपनी जिन्दगी काटनी पड़ती है वर्ष भर। इनके बीच में क्या अनुपात है, वह आप इससे जान सकते हैं। वे समाजवाद का झंडा गाड़ कर के चलने हैं या नहीं, समाजवाद

के ऊपर उनका भाषण होता है या नहीं, इससे केवल सिद्ध नहीं होगा कि वे समाजवादी हैं या नहीं। आय की विषमताओं का अगर अन्तर देखना हो तो दुनिया के बहुत देशों ने कम विषमता रहने दी है, लेकिन यह अलग प्रश्न है। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन देशों के पास साधन बहुत कम हैं। इजराइल के पास रेगिस्तान के सिवा क्या है? कोई खनिज नहीं, कोई दूसरी संपत्ति नहीं, लेकिन उसी के अन्दर से जो पानी उनके पास है, उस पानी को उन्होंने जैसे पिघला, हुआ सोना हो उस तरह से बचा कर के इस्तेमाल किया। अभी तक हमारे यहां पर जितना पानी है उसका कितना बड़ा अंश समुद्र के अन्दर बेकार बह जाता है। उसका हम कुछ उपयोग नहीं कर पाते। कितना पानी ऐसा है जो पाकिस्तान जा रहा है, यह अभी गोरे जी कह रहे थे। कितना हमारा पानी है जिसका खाली हम बटवारा नहीं कर सकते। 15 वर्ष से नर्वेदा के जल का विवाद तय नहीं हो पाया। जब कि चारो तरफ सरकारें कांग्रेस की हैं, चारो तरफ श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का नेतृत्व माना जाता है, चारों तरफ यह स्थिति है कि वे जिस मुख्य मंत्री को चाहे उठा कर के डिब्बी में बन्द कर दे और जिस को चाहे उसको मुख्य मंत्री की कुर्सी पर ला कर के बिठा दे, तब भी 10, 10 और 15, 15 वर्ष तक हम जल के विवाद का फैसला नहीं कर सकते। प्रति वर्ष उससे पाच सौ करोड़ रुपये की हानि हो रही है या सात सौ करोड़ रुपये की हानि हो रही है यह तो शायद विशेषज्ञ बतायेंगे, लेकिन जितनी हानि हो रही है उसकी जिम्मेदारी किस पर है, कौन जिम्मेदार है उसके लिये? मैं इस वक्त उसकी जिम्मेदारी किसी व्यक्ति पर डालना नहीं चाहता, परन्तु मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हमने इन कमियों को दूर करने का कोई इरादा किया है जिनके बगैर हम न उत्पादन बढ़ा सकेंगे और न कीमतों को रोक सकेंगे।

महोदय, सरकार का जो परोक्ष कर्ज का बोझ है, वह 1972-73 के साल में 565 करोड़ रु० का लोगों के ऊपर डाला गया। यह परोक्ष कर जो है यह केवल अमीर आदमियों के खाने की चीजों पर नहीं लगता।

चाय, काफी, चीनी, तम्बाकू, टैक्सटाइल, वनस्पति, साबुन आदि जैसी जो चीजें हैं जिन पर यह टैक्स लगता है, क्या ये सारी चीजें अमीरों के इस्तेमाल की हैं? क्या सरकार अपने खर्चों के अन्दर कटौती कर के इन चीजों को सस्ता करने की कोशिश नहीं कर सकती और आज तक इस सम्बन्ध में क्या किया गया?

फूड कारपोरेशन के अन्दर जितना स्टॉक बना था वह कहा गया, कैंसे खर्च हुआ, यह एक अलग विषय है। परन्तु आज की बढ़ती हुई कीमतें एक बहुत बड़ा परिणाम, एक बहुत बड़ा पहलू है और इसके अन्दर से एक यह प्रश्न भी उठता है कि इस वक्त क्या कुछ कीमतें ऐसी हैं जो सरकार के नियंत्रण में हैं? सरकार के हाथ में हैं और उन कीमतों को सरकार ने बार-बार बढ़ने का मौका दिया है, बढ़ाने की इजाजत दी है। कोयले की कीमत, इस्पात की कीमत, वनस्पति की कीमत, चीनी की कीमत, दवाइयों की कीमत, रेलवे के किराये में वृद्धि, टेलीफोन की दर में वृद्धि, तार के दामों में वृद्धि, इन सब चीजों पर एक स्लो अफेक्ट होता है। एक चीज बढ़ती है तो उसका असर सब पर पड़ता है। आपने पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ाई, डीजल की कीमत बढ़ाई उससे सारा परिवहन, मारा यातायात मंहगा हो गया और उसके कारण बाकी चीजों की कीमतें भी बढ़ती हैं। महोदय, यह जानने के बाद कि इन कारणों से कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं, फिर भी क्या हम देखते हैं कि सरकार की नीतियों के अन्दर कोई परिवर्तन दिखायी देता है? इस दृष्टिकोण पर को मैंने पढ़ा है। प्राइम, वेजज और इन्कम के चैप्टर को मैंने देखा है। उसके अन्दर स्वीकार किया गया है कि हमने इस योजना के अन्दर लगभग 3,365 करोड़ रुपये के परोक्ष कर लगाने हैं और कुल मिला कर 6,615 करोड़ रुपये के कर लगेंगे, लेकिन 3,365 करोड़ के तो परोक्ष कर लगेंगे। तो क्या इनसे कीमतें नहीं बढ़ेंगी? आशा की जाती है कि नहीं बढ़ेंगी। क्यों नहीं बढ़ेंगी? जो विवरण दिया गया है इस सारे पैराग्राफ में, इस सारे चैप्टर में, उसमें पहला पैरा जो है उसमें इन्फ्लेशन का, कीमतों के बढ़ने का बहुत अच्छी तरह से चित्रण किया गया है और इन्फ्लेशन के कारण क्या दोष आते हैं यह सब हम अच्छी तरह से बना सकते हैं, लेकिन उसके आगे जो दसवां पैराग्राफ है, उसके अन्दर कीमतों पर जो टैक्सेशन का असर पड़ता



[डा० भाई महावीर]

है उसका जिक्र किया गया है। महोदय, उसमें से मैं कुछ पढ़ रहा हूँ :

"The market price of a commodity is built up of three components; cost of material inputs, wage and non-wage factor costs, and indirect taxes. An increase in the indirect tax component tends to raise the market price. The only way to offset the price impact of indirect taxes is through economies in material and factor costs. Cost reducing technical, managerial and other innovations have a vital bearing on price stability. This is all the more so in the context of the financing scheme worked out for the Fifth Plan. This scheme envisages additional resource mobilisation of the order of Rs. 6.615 crores. About half of this amount may have to be raised through indirect taxation. In order that this may not affect the absolute level of prices, steps have to be taken..."

और यह मैं अन्दर लाइन करना चाहता हूँ—स्टेप्स हैव टू बी टेकेन।

".....to achieve economies of production. The Fifth Plan, therefore, attaches great importance to cost reduction. It is assumed that measures will be taken to overcome factors and rigidities that inhibit this".

अभी तक यह आशा की जाती रही है कि हम कीमतों को नहीं बढ़ने देंगे। अब यह आशा की जा रही है कि टैक्स तो हम लगायेंगे, लेकिन खर्च उसके साथ कम हो जायगा और इस वास्ते कीमतें वही की वही रहेंगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि अपने आपको धोखा देने का इससे अच्छा उदाहरण शायद ही कोई और मिल सके। लेकिन इतना ही नहीं, योजना के अन्दर जो लक्ष्य दिये गये हैं, उन लक्ष्यों में आम आदमी के इस्तेमाल की चीजें बहुत कम बढ़ने वाली हैं और जो कुछ धनी वर्ग के इस्तेमाल की चीजें हैं उनकी कीमतें बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ने वाली हैं। इस वास्ते इन वर्षों के अन्दर भी यदि इस योजना को ऐसे ही चलाया गया तो आने वाले वर्षों में आम आदमी के इस्तेमाल में आने वाली चीजें और ज्यादा महंगी होंगी। अब कुछ अमीर आदमियों को

इन्कम को घटाने में सफल भी हो जायें तो उसके इस्तेमाल की चीजें हैं, उनके कारण दूसरी चीजों पर उसका असर पड़ेगा। फूड ग्रेन्स की डिमाण्ड बढ़ने का जो एस्टीमेट है वह है 63 परसेन्ट जबकि उसकी सप्लाई बढ़ेगी आपकी योजना के हिसाब से केवल 22 प्रतिशत। चीनी में 117 प्रतिशत का आपने अनुमान लगाया है कि उसकी मांग बढ़ेगी और उसका उत्पादन बढ़ेगा कुल 28 प्रतिशत। वनस्पति की मांग 123 प्रतिशत बढ़ने का अनुमान है और उसका उत्पादन बढ़ने वाला है कुल 30 प्रतिशत। कपड़े की मांग बढ़ेगी 105 प्रतिशत, ऐसा अनुमान है और 30 प्रतिशत उसके उत्पादन में वृद्धि की आशा की जा रही है। मिट्टी का तेल, उसकी मांग बढ़ने वाली है 111 प्रतिशत और उसका उत्पादन बढ़ने वाला है 60 प्रतिशत। क्या इतना उत्पादन बढ़ाकर हम समझते हैं कि इन चीजों की कीमतें घटेगी ?

आखिर मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि श्री धर की ईमानदारी के विषय में, उनकी प्रमाणिकता के विषय में या वे इस समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं इस विषय में कोई मन्वेहन प्रकट करते हुए मैं केवल इतना ही उनसे आग्रह करूँगा कि सरकार के ढाँचे में जो डिलेज होती है, जो ब्यूरोक्रेटिक डिलेज होती है, जो रेड टेप है, एक-एक प्रपोजल पर, एक-एक लाइसेन्स के बारे में जो वर्षों तक फैसला नहीं हो पाता है इस को आप देखें और समाप्त करने का यत्न करें। आप देखें कि आज स्कूटरो की कितनी कमी है। आज उन पर कितना ब्लैक है, लेकिन स्कूटर बनाने के लिए नये संस्थान खोलने के लिए या उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए वर्षों तक एप्लीकेशन्स पड़ी रही है और अभी हाल ही में स्कूटर्स का उत्पादन बढ़ाने की सरकार ने अनुमति दी है, क्या इससे कुछ देश का भला होता है सिवाय कुछ छप्पाचारियों के या कुछ ऐसे व्यापारियों के कि जो गलत तरीके से पैसा कमाते हैं। उनका तो जरूर भरपूर होता है और किसी का नहीं होता। इसलिए सरकार अपनी कार्यक्षमता को, अपनी चुस्ती को बढ़ाये और अगर ऐसा न हुआ और हम अपने फैमलो को ठीक तरीके से कार्य रूक न दे सके तो यह सारी चर्चियाँ और यह सारी कागजी कार्यवाही धरी की धरी रह जायेगी और आम आदमी का जीवन पहले से और ज्यादा कठिन होता चला जायगा। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि

यदि सरकार की नीति में कोई परिवर्तन आ सके तो मजदूरी की चर्चा का कोई लाभ होगा और इस चर्चा के प्रस्तावक श्री कृष्ण कान्त बघाई के पात्र होंगे।

**DR. V. B. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir since this morning I have been listening to the fragmented, subdivided talk on the Motion. The motion, according to the notice given to us is, "the effect of abnormal price on the formulation of the Fifth Five Year Plan". Generally the speakers have been obsessed by the rise of prices so much that they have not tried to see what exactly is the motion before us. Actually the subject for discussion is how will the rising prices affect adversely, it is assumed, the formulation of the Fifth Five Year Plan. Sir, it will be totally wrong to say that the growth rate will be affected in the same ratio in which the prices rise. Naturally, the rise in prices will adversely affect the rate of growth that is stipulated in the Fifth Plan, the Approach Paper, by 5.5, per cent.

It has been said that this Plan contains more of ideology than the mechanics of growth. Unfortunately, nowhere it has been pointed out, no one has pointed out what is the ideology and what is the mechanics or what is the relationship between the two. Therefore, I think it is proper to state that there are three or four basic objectives of the Approach Paper. One is growth and redistribution being clubbed together. The entire tenor of the Approach Paper is that growth is not possible without redistribution and redistribution is not possible without growth because what will you redistribute unless there is growth in the economy and when the growth in the economy is there, the redistribution should be such as will help the poorer sections of the society than the richer sections.

Then, the pattern of consumption of the poorer sections of society shall be raised not only in monetary terms but also through social services like drinking water, housing, education, compulsory education

etc. So the rise in the standard of living as a percentage of the standard, as it exists, may be low. But since the problem is so vast that a small benefit is better than the standard being stagnated.

Another thing that has been said is that our objective is national self-sufficiency. When people talk of the different models of growth they forget that national self-sufficiency is the English translation of the famous word 'Swadeshi' which was used in the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, this objective of the Fifth Five Year Plan, namely, self-sufficiency is nothing but a part of the heritage of the national movement which is to be shared by all the parties which were there before independence. I am not talking of the post-independence parties. If that is so, then what is wrong with slogans like "self-sufficiency". One might say there is contradiction in the speeches of Dr. Bhai Mahavir when he says that after the Second or the Third Plan agriculture was neglected. This complaint is not correct because the total outlay of the Plan and the expenditure on agriculture is increasing from one Plan to another.

—5 P.M.

Therefore, agriculture is not neglected. Factually it is wrong. Secondly, if the growth of agriculture has been retarded, it is because, as everyone knows, the peasant is not getting power, he is not getting fertiliser . . .

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Has the percentage of allocation for agriculture been increasing over the Plans, in the Second and Third Plans?

**DR. V. B. SINGH:** What I am saying is that the percentage going to agriculture, which includes power also, is increasing from Plan to Plan. You can see the outlay. It is just a matter of fact, not a matter of opinion.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Do you include power in agriculture?

DR. V. B. SINGH: Surely, because they consume power.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: What percentage?

DR. V. B. SINGH: My point is, power answer. When you dip into the Ganges, you pay nothing. But when you take bath in your bath-room, you pay. So is the case with power.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Dr. V. B. Singh, when we discuss the Plan, we can talk about these things.

DR. V. B. SINGH: My point is, power is a by-product of hydro-electric projects.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I think Mr. Singh knows—if he does not know, let him know now—that only 15 per cent of the power produced in the country is being consumed by agriculture. The Agriculture Minister is here. Let him correct me if I am wrong.

DR. V. B. SINGH: That is not the point. The point is that a part of power does go to agriculture. If you take the total outlay on agriculture, including the part of irrigation through power, the outlay is more and more in favour of agriculture. That is the point I am making. Therefore, agriculture has not been neglected. It is misleading and mischievous propaganda to say so.

The last point that has been made as criticism is that we should have our own growth model. We have our growth model. There is no country in history where democracy has preceded industrialisation. It was neither in England nor in America nor in Japan nor in the Soviet Union nor in China, nor even in Israel, because Israel is a special country to which I will refer later. In India the very fact that democracy has preceded industrialisation means that there are certain social and economic costs of industrialisation. Now, in every country, whether it is England during industrial revolution or it is the present-day Japan, the core industries

have been given priority because without that, agriculture cannot develop, the small-scale industries cannot develop. So I cannot see where the question of ideology is in the Approach to the Fifth Plan. If there is anything, it is only the mechanics of growth with the objective that there should be re-distribution of income in favour of the poorer sectors and the conspicuous consumption of the upper sector should be curbed.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: The proof of the pudding is in the eating. What are the results?

DR. V. B. SINGH: Sometimes it is also in seeing it from a distance.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Why are your results not up to the mark?

DR. V. B. SINGH: Because the Plan has not been started as yet. The motion is about the approach to the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: What about the other four Plans? The Fifth Plan is not in a vacuum.

DR. V. B. SINGH: Now, how is the rise in prices going to affect the Plan? It will affect in the following way: the rise will upset the consumption level of the poorer section; and the rise in prices will distort the cost of projects. From that point of view, there should be some mechanism, without going in for foreign aid, for correcting the imbalances caused by the rise in prices.

It is said that import of food is not a crime and China is importing and Soviet Union is importing. They are importing because they have exportable capacity. We do not have that. We have created imbalances because of imports. Various factors have been analysed in connection with the rise in prices, except one. And that factor is the impact of PL-480. We raised this point some years ago and then we were dubbed as progressives. Here

is an article by Professor B. R. Shenoy, published in the Times of India of April 9, 1973. I am giving three points from it.

Firstly, it says:

"The control of such large rupee funds by a foreign Government has indeed a political and psychological impact."

Then he calculates on the second page and says that PL-480 funds represent 40 per cent of the total currency in circulation in the country.

Lastly he pleads that PL-480 funds are inflationary and therefore should be frozen.

When we are talking of currency expansion, here is another type of currency expansion which people tend to ignore. I am sure the prices will rise, but not at this rate because of procurement and public distribution system. These are to be strengthened. It was very heartening to hear Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, Shri Goray and Dr. Mahavir who all supported the view that hoarders should be put in jail and punished. Then, there will be certain indigenous mechanism of our own without any import that can cushion the rise in prices and neutralise their adverse effect on the rate of growth. In my opinion it is this: Deficit financing should be reduced and channelised in productive sectors and these productive sectors should be of a short gestation period so that there is a matching commodity stock against the money that you are injected into the economy. Secondly, cost structure can be reduced by planning a rise in productivity of labour for which it is necessary to make the trade unions part and parcel of the Planning mechanism of the country. Thirdly, industrial relations should be smoothened and there should be collective agreements with the trade unions with regard to production and wages so that with the rise in productivity there is larger share for the workers. There is an ancient belief in our country starting from Kautilya's Arthashastra that the real wealth of the

country is its manpower. As I said the other day at the time of the debate on the Finance Bill that we have been thinking of resources only in terms of finance and this is an incorrect approach. Man-power planning a rise in productivity of labour banks for local projects which are not of productive nature, will boost up the economy not only in the agricultural and industrial sectors, but to the extent that there is rise in prices, it can be more than compensated by this rate of growth. This is such a huge task which is not merely that of the party in power.

It is a national task and, therefore, all those who are wedded to the welfare of the people have to join hands and it was very heartening to hear from the leaders of the three parties, whose names I have just now referred to, that they would be prepared to extend their hands of support in case the Government came forward with bold steps to curb those anti-growth elements who are social enemies. Thank you very much, Sir.

**श्री सूनन्द नारायण मण्डल (बिहार) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, विषय पर आने के पहले मैं एक बात का जिक्र कर देना चाहता हूँ कि यू०पी० में मंहगाई को लेकर और अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी के बन्द होने को लेकर, इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस में जो पी०ए०सी० दाखिल की गई थी उसको लेकर राजनारायण जी ने वहाँ पर अनशन किया था, जिसकी खबर अखबार में आने नहीं दी गई। हमने आज कालिग अटैन्शन दिया था लेकिन चेयरमैन ने उसको रिजेक्ट कर दिया, इसलिए मैं इसका जिक्र कर देना चाहता हूँ। चेयरमैन ने दूसरे आदमियों को कीमतों वाले सवाल पर बोलने का मौका दिया और मुझे इस सवाल को नहीं लाने दिया इसलिए मैं बहुत असंतुष्ट हूँ और चेयरमैन ने जो ऐसा किया उसके प्रति मैं अपना असंतोष प्रकट करता हूँ।

जो विषय इस सदन के सामने है उसके बारे में बहुत लोग बोल चुके हैं और मेरे कहने के लिए कुछ नहीं रहा है। मैं सिर्फ एक-दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। जो कीमतों के बढ़ने की समस्या देश को परेशान कर रही है और हमारे प्लान को सेबोटेज कर रही है उसका क्या कारण है। कीमतें क्यों बढ़ती हैं, क्या

[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मन्डल]

कीमतों के बढ़ने को रोका जा सकता है या नहीं रोका जा सकता है ? कीमतों को रोका जा सकता है । यह बात सही है कि दो-तीन कारण हैं जिन पर सरकार का कंट्रोल नहीं है, सूखा हो जाना, वेशी वर्षा हो जाना, फ्लड आ जाना, बार हो जाना, जनमर्या में वृद्धि हो जाना । इसके अलावा जो कारण हैं उनको सरकार रोक सकती है । डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करना, न करना सरकार पर निर्भर करता है, इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन सरकार के ऊपर निर्भर करता है कि वह इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन करे या न करे । मनी का एक्स्पेंशन सरकार के ऊपर निर्भर करता है । पी०एल० 480 फण्ड्स जो सरकार के जिम्मे हैं, उनकी वजह से भी मुद्रा प्रसार को बढ़ावा मिल रहा है । एडमिनिस्ट्रिव मशीनरी दिनांदिन बढ़ रही है और उसका खर्चा भी बढ़ रहा है और यह कन्वेंशन वाला एक्स्पेंडीचर है और इससे मुद्रा का प्रसार होता है और कीमतें बढ़ती हैं । सेक्टर और स्टेट्स दोनों के काम में समन्वय नहीं है और डिफरेंट मिनिस्ट्रीज में समन्वय नहीं है । इसको लेकर बहुत गड़बड़ी होती है और उसका भी प्रभाव कीमतों के ऊपर पड़ रहा है । मबिधान में स्टेट और मेन्टर का जो स्ट्रक्चर है उसमें स्टेट को पूरी तरह सेक्टर के ऊपर निर्भर करना पड़ता है और चूकि मेन्टर ने अपने ऊपर जिम्मेदारी ले ली है स्टेट के घाटे को पूरा करने की उसका नीतिज्ञा यह होता है कि स्टेट पूरी तरह निर्भर हो गई है मेन्टर के ऊपर । इसलिए जो एक रेस्पांसिबिलिटी रहनी चाहिए थी जो अपने से काम करने पर आती है उसका अभाव हो गया है और इस वजह से भी वेशी खर्चा सेक्टर को करना पड़ जाता है, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करनी पड़ती है और उसके कारण मुद्रा प्रसार की जरूरत पड़ जाती है । ये सब तो कारण हुए, लेकिन इन कारणों को दूर करने के लिए, सरकार को क्या करना चाहिए ? एक तो घाटे के बजट को खत्म करना चाहिए, अप्रत्यक्ष करों को खत्म करना चाहिए; क्योंकि अप्रत्यक्ष करों का सीधा असर पड़ता है हिन्दुस्तान के गरीबों के ऊपर । यह सरकार कहती है कि हम समाजवाद कायम कर रहे हैं । समाजवाद का अगर कुछ मतलब आज के सप्ताह में हो सकता है तो यही कि गरीबों की तकलीफ को दूर किया जाये । लेकिन जो डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग या जो अप्रत्यक्ष कर का सीधा भार उनके ऊपर पड़ जाता है, इसलिए हम समझते

हैं कि यह जो सरकार की नीति है, जिस नीति को ऐलानियां तौर पर सरकार कहती है उसके भी खिलाफ यह बात पड़ती है । इसलिए अप्रत्यक्ष कर को कम करके प्रत्यक्ष कर के रूप में सरकार को लगाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए । प्रत्यक्ष कर के ऊपर सरकार निर्भर कर सकती है । इसके लिए मेरा मुझाव है कि सरकार अपने मन में निश्चय कर ले कि अप्रत्यक्ष कर हमको लगाना ही नहीं है, प्रत्यक्ष करों को ही लोगों की हैमियन को देख कर लगावे । इनकम-टैक्स और दूसरे अप्रत्यक्ष कर न लगा कर एक ही टैक्स सरकार लगावे और वह लोगों की हैमियन के ऊपर । लोगों की क्या हैमियन है, इसके लिए सरकार एक सर्वे कराये और सर्टेन आमदनी से नीचे जिनकी आमदनी है, उसके ऊपर कर कोई न लगे और जो ऊपर के लोग हैं उनके ऊपर कर का भार पड़े और एक ही कर लगाया जाए उनकी हैमियन के मुताबिक और वह है प्रत्यक्ष कर । यह मेरा मुझाव सरकार से है ।

आज सरकारी यव भी बढ़ रहा है और प्लान के बाद से वह दिनांदिन और भी बढ़ता जा रहा है । इसको कम करना चाहिए । कैसे कम करना चाहिए, उसका भी उपाय हो सकता है । जो काम सरकार के रूटीन वर्क की नाई होते हैं, जो किसी बस्ती में या शहर में बैठ कर करते हैं, यदि गांव का बासिदा है तो वह अपना काम अपने घर पर बैठ कर कर सकता है । उसके लिए अलग से बहली की जरूरत नहीं है । इसलिए जो काम जनता से सरकार का लिया जा सकता है, वह काम उनके सुपुंर करना चाहिए और इस तरह से सरकारी मशीनरी का जो बढ़ावा हो रहा है उस बढ़ावे को कम करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए ।

आज जबकि यह प्लान चल रहा है, निश्चित तरीके से अधिक से अधिक आमदनी और कम से कम आमदनी कितनी हो इसको निश्चित कर देना चाहिए कानून के जरिये से । सरकार की पालिसी में यह बात जरूर होनी चाहिए कि जो कोई काम करने वाला आमदमी है, उसकी कम से कम आमदनी कितनी होगी और अधिक से अधिक आमदनी कितनी होगी । सरकार को देखना चाहिए कि अगर उससे कम आमदनी उसकी होती है तो सरकार उसके घाटे को पूरा करे । हमने लन्दन में सुना है, जहां तक मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि जिसको कोई काम नहीं मिलता है या 8 पौंड से कम सप्ताह में जिसकी आमदनी होती है उसको सरकार

की ओर से 8 पांड दिया जाता है। उसी ढंग से हिन्डुस्तान में भी एक मीनिमम ग्रामदनी लोगों की होनी चाहिए। अगर वह नहीं होती हो तो सरकार की ओर से उसको उतनी ग्रामदनी का इन्तजाम होना चाहिए। अभी मारे माधन सरकार अपने हाथ में ले रही है, तो मैं मञ्जना हूँ कि जहाँ मजदूर लगाने की जरूरत है, ऐसी जो इण्डस्ट्री है या खेती है यह सरकार अपने हाथ में ले ले। ऐसा काम जो उत्पादन का काम है जिसमें मजदूरों की जरूरत है उसको सरकार अपने कब्जे में रखे, चाहे वह केन्द्र लेवल सरकार का गांव का लेवल हो, डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल हो, प्रान्त का लेवल हो या सेक्टर का लेवल हो, यह दूसरी बात है, लेकिन सरकार को उसे ले लेना चाहिए। लेकिन एक फेमिली जो अपनी मेहनत से काम कर सकती हो, चाहे इण्डस्ट्री का काम हो, खेती का काम हो, ट्रेड का काम हो या जो भी काम हो उस काम को प्राइवेट सेक्टर में छोड़ देना चाहिए।

अभी जो अकाल बगैरह का मौमम आता है उसमें जिन लोगों के पाम माधन नहीं है उनको पूरी तरह सरकार के ऊपर निर्भर करना पड़ता है या पूंजीपतियों या जमीन के मालिकों के ऊपर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है, इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि इस निर्भरता को दूर करने के लिए जमीन का वटवारा इस तरह से हो कि जो फेमिली फार्मिंग हो मके और उसी ढंग पर इण्डस्ट्री या ट्रेड या प्राइवेट कारबार हो। ऐसा हो यह भी हम चाहते हैं जिससे कि अकाल बगैरह के जमाने में भी और जब कीमते बगैरह बढ़ जाये उस जमाने में भी उनको कुछ साधन रहे जिससे वह अपना काम कर सकते हैं। सरकार दाम के बारे में कोई एक नीति बनावे। हम लोगों ने बराबर मुझाव दिया है कि दाम को कैसे बांधना चाहिए। दाम बांधने के लिए ऐसा करना चाहिये कि इण्डस्ट्री की जो चीज है या शहरों में जो चीज बनती है और उसका जो खर्चा लगता है उससे डेवढ़े से नेशी कीमत कन्ज्युमर को नहीं देना पड़े। इसी तरह से खेती में जितनी लागत आती है और एक किसान परिवार साल भर में अपने खाने के लिए जो खर्च करता है उस पर कुछ मुनाफा देकर के खेती की जो पैदावार है उसके दाम होने चाहिये। दोनों में एक सतुलन कायम रहना चाहिए। जो आपका

प्राइस कमीशन है वह लोगों को इफेक्टिव तरीके से प्रोटेक्शन दे नहीं सकता है।

यह भी हम चाहते हैं कि अभी हर गांव में जो ग्राम पंचायत है उससे कहना चाहिये कि उस गांव के जो लोग हैं उनके फेमिली बजट को ले करके वह कमालिडेट करे। यह भी कहना चाहिए कि अगर उनकी ग्रामदनी काफी न हो तो कैसे अपने घर में रह करके ग्रामदनी को बढ़ाया जा सकता है, उसकी क्या सूरत हो सकती है, इसको भी वह अपने फेमिली बजट में मेशन करे। गांव के लिए जनरल क्या जरूरत है, इस बात को भी उसमें इन्क्लूड करके उसको ब्लाक लेबिल पर भेजा जाय। वहां पर भी ठीक उसी तरह से कमालिडेट करके ब्लाक लेबिल में क्या जनरल काम करना है, उसको उसमें इन्क्लूड करके जिला लेबिल पर उसको भेजा जाय। उसी तरह से वहां भी कमालिडेट कर के जिला लेबिल पर क्या जनरल काम करना है उसको उसमें मेशन करके स्टेट लेबिल पर उसको भेजा जाय। उसी तरह से स्टेट लेबिल पर उसको कमालिडेट करके कि वहां क्या काम करना है, उसको इन्क्लूड करके सेंट्रल लेबिल पर भेजा जाय। फिर सेंटर उसी को आधार बना करके अपने बजट या प्लान को बनावे और जनरल जो काम देश की सुरक्षा के लिए या दूसरे कोई काम करने हो उनको करे।

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) . उपसभापति महोदय, आर्थिक क्रांति लाने के लिए कीमतों की नीति का भी बहुत बड़ा हाथ होना है। नीरेन घोष जी बोले रहे थे तो उन्होंने पुराने जमाने की याद दिलाई कि पहले एक रुपये में कितनी चीज आती थी। उपसभापति जी, मैं उसी चीज से शुरू करना चाहता हूँ। एक जमाना था इस देश के अन्दर जब कि हम आज्ञाद नहीं हुये थे 17 रु० का जो तनख्वाहदार था, चीजों के भाव इतने मसने थे कि वह बहुत अच्छी तरह से काम चला सकता था, लेकिन उनकी तादाद देश के अन्दर बहुत कम थी। एक देहाती होने के नाते मैं जानता हूँ कि जो 17 रु० का फौज का सिपाही होता था उसके कुटुंब का रहन-सहन अलाहदा होता था और बाकी देहात में जो काम करने वाले भाई थे उनको बहुत

[श्री रणबीर सिंह]

बहुत मुश्किलता थी, उनके लिए यह सहूलियते नहीं थी। दाम बढ़े। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि दाम बढ़ने से जितने व्हाइट कालर्ड लोग हैं या तनख्वादार लोग हैं उनको काफी नुकसान हुआ है। उनको जितनी तनख्वाह पहले मिलती थी उसका हिसाब अगर आज की कीमतों को ध्यान में रख कर लगाया जाये तो यही कहा जायगा कि उसमें कमी हुई है। इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं, लेकिन सवाल यह है कि आया यह देश तनख्वादारों का देश है या 50 करोड़ लोगों का देश है।

मैंने देखा है कि 25, 30 साल की तब्दीली से काफी क्रान्ति हुई है। एक जमाना था कि फौज के एक जवान के कुटुम्ब का रहन-सहन बाकी गांव के कुटुम्बों से ज्यादा अच्छा होता था, उसका स्तर अच्छा होता था। अब एक कर्नल के कुटुम्ब का जो स्तर है उसके मुकाबिले में जिसके पास आज दस या पंद्रह एकड़ जमीन है और जिसके पास सिंचाई के साधन हैं वह कई दफा उसका मुकाबला कर सकता है। तो एक तरह से देश में हालत बदली है। गरीबों की बात कही गयी, आज हिन्दुस्तान के गरीबों में आप स्टेशन के कुली को देख लीजिए। 25, 30 साल पहले एक कुली की क्या हालत थी और आज 25, 30 साल के बाद आप नयी दिल्ली के एक कुली को देखें उस की औसत आमदनी आज 15, 20 रुपये रोज की है। इसी तरह से यह रिक्शा वाले हैं या आटो रिक्शा वाले हैं। उन को आज 15 से 40 रुपये रोज तक की आय हो जाती है।

डा० भाई महावीर : आप उन पर भी इन्कम टैक्स लगवा देंगे।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : मैं तो नहीं, आप जरूर लगवा देंगे। महोदय, इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि जो पढ़े लिखे भाई हैं आज उनकी कुछ मुश्किलता है। उनकी बेकारी दूर होनी चाहिए। कृष्ण कान्त जी को मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में ऐसी हालत आयी है कि...

श्री नवल किशोर : वह तो है ही नहीं।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : वह तो बेटे है। जब फसल की कटाई का वक्त आता है तो मजदूर लाने के लिए लोग कारो का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। पांच-पांच, दस-दस और पंद्रह-पंद्रह मीन दूर जाते हैं और उन को 15 और 20 रुपये रोजाना उस के लिए देना पड़ता है। तुं जमाना बदला है। एक जमाना था कि जिस दस्त जिन को हम पिछड़ा वर्ग कहते हैं, हरिजन कहते हैं, जिन के पास पहनने के लिए कपड़ा नहीं था, जिन को मजदूरी नहीं मिलती थी आज वे खाली नहीं हैं। जहां सड़कों का जाल बिछने लगा है, जैसे हरियाणा है, वहां काम में इतनी वृद्धि हुई है कि हम को उस काम के लिए मजदूर नहीं मिलते हैं और जो लोग वहां मजदूरी करते हैं उन के कुटुम्ब को आज दस और पंद्रह रुपये रोज मिल जाते हैं। और यही नहीं आज जो भाई हाथ पैर से काम करने वाले हैं उनके लिए आज देश में काम की कमी नहीं है।

श्री नवल किशोर : पूर्वी यू० पी० में क्या है ?

श्री रणबीर सिंह : पूर्वी यू० पी० की बात तो आप जानते होंगे। वहां का मुझे कोई ज्ञान नहीं है, लेकिन एक बात जरूर जानता हूँ कि पूर्वी यू० पी० के लोग बहुत बार हरियाणा में काम करने के लिए आते हैं और इसलिए हो सकता है कि वहां उनको काम न मिलता हो। लेकिन उस का कारण दूसरा है। यह पैसे के फैलाव की जो बिमारी है, दरअसल में इस के कारण इन्फ्लेशन के कारण चीजों की मंहगाई बढ़ जाती है और ऐसी नहीं होता कि जिसको ज्यादा आमदनी है या जिसको ज्यादा तनख्वाह मिलती है वह ज्यादा खाना खाता है या ज्यादा कपड़ा पहनता है। आज एक गरीब आदमी के पास भी आप को दो, चार या पाँच सौ रुपया दिखाई देने लगता है। पहले गांव में एक जमाना था कि जब जमीन का कर देने का वक्त आता था तो खेती करने वाला किसान अपना मुँह छिपाता फिरता था। अब वह नम्बरदार को सौ रुपये का नोट दिखाता और उसके पास वापस देने को पैसा नहीं होता,

तो समय बदला है। देश में आर्थिक क्रांति की तरफ हम चले हैं और जो आदमी मेहनत करने वाले है, उनको मेहनत के लिये जगह है। हाँ, यह बात सही है कि जो कागजों पर लेख लिखते हैं, उनके लिये जरूर मुश्किलात हैं और यह बात भी सही है कि जो आर्थिक क्रांति हमारी आ रही है उसमें हम स्मार्त या मानें हालात हमको मजबूर करेगे कि हम मेहनत करें। एक जमाना था जब कि 50 रुपये महीने पाने वाला मुलाजिम अपने घरेलू काम के लिए एक अपना नौकर रखता था और वह ही अकेला दफ्तर में काम करता था, उसकी बीबी काम नहीं करती थी, बच्चे काम नहीं करते थे और उसके मुकाबिले में जो खेत में काम करते थे, तो जो 70-75 वर्ष का बूढ़ा था वह भी काम करता था और बच्चे भी काम करते थे, बुढ़िया भी काम करती थी, नौजवान भी काम करते थे। तो देश के अन्दर, समाज के अन्दर एक अंग था जिसमें कि एक ही आदमी जो पुरुष था वही काम करने वाला समझा जाता था और वही सबको कमा कर खिलाता था और बाकी सब घर के आराम से बैठ कर खाते थे।

श्री नबल किशोर : प्रस्ताव पर बोलिये।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : प्रस्ताव मंहगाई का है और मैं मंहगाई पर ही बोल रहा हूँ। मंहगाई का नतीजा यह है, देश में जो आर्थिक क्रांति आ रही है, उसका नतीजा यह है कि वह भाई भी जिनकी तनख्वाह 500 रु० या 600 रु० है वह भी मजबूर है कि अपनी बीबी को कहीं नौकरी कराये, अपने बच्चों को नौकरी कराये, वह काम कराने पर मजबूर है। देश के अन्दर यह जो निठल्लों का जमाना था, एक काम करे और बाकी घर के आदमी निठल्ले बैठे रहे, सफेद कपड़े पहनें, अच्छा खाना खायें, वह जमाना अब नहीं है, वह वक्त अब नहीं रहा है।

डा० भाई महावीर : पीने चार करोड़ निठल्ले हैं देश में।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : पीने चार करोड़ आप जैसे लोग निठल्ले हैं और मेरे जैसे निठल्ले हैं जो कि हाथ से काम करना नहीं चाहते हैं। आज देश के अन्दर काम मौजूद है।

डा० भाई महावीर : यह योजना कमिशन को समझा दीजिए, कहाँ है काम।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : वह सब जानते हैं, उनको सब पता है। वह रोज बताते हैं कि इतने लोगों के लिये काम बना दिया आप नहीं मानते हैं।

(Time bell rings)

तो उपसभापति जी, मेरा मतलब यह नहीं समझा जाय कि मैं कीमतों के स्थिर करने के हक में नहीं हूँ। वह तो होना चाहिये, इसमें तो कोई शक नहीं, लेकिन इस देश की तरक्की के लिये असली समाजवाद तो यही है कि जहाँ आदमी मौजूद है काम करने वाला और जहाँ जमीन मौजूदा है, सामान मौजूदा है, तो नासिक प्रेस उसकी तरक्की में रोंडा न बने। यह कोई आर्थिक निति उचित नहीं है। कुछ भाई हैं जो अपनी सारी तालीम, विद्या और शिक्षा को इसी पर खर्च करते हैं, अपनी शिक्षा और अपने ज्ञान को इसी पर खर्च करते हैं कि रुपये का फैलाव बढ़ जायगा तो तरक्की नहीं होगी। मैं मानता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर तरक्की होगी, मगर उस तरह कि जिसमें पैदावार बढ़ती है, उन्ही के ऊपर खर्च करेगे तो देश की तरक्की होगी। हरियाणा और पंजाब के अन्दर सारे प्रांतों के, उत्तर प्रदेश के, पूर्वी या पश्चिमी इलाके के, मुकाबिले में ज्यादा खर्च हुआ और पैसे का ज्यादा प्रसार हुआ, लेकिन वहाँ उतनी मंहगाई नहीं है, मंहगाई आपके यहाँ के मुकाबिले में कम है। तो मंहगाई का ताल्लुक पैदावर से भी है। हम बढ़ाये और पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा जितना ज्यादा खर्च करने की जरूरत हो वह करें और रुपये का जो नासिक प्रेस है वह हमारे रास्ते में नहीं अटकने देना चाहिये। मैं मानता हूँ कि सरकार ने, खास तौर पर धर साहब ने और एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री ने, जो एक फैसला किया, इस साल में, पहले साल में, वह हालात की मजबूरी की बिना पर था कि पैदावार के किसी काम में रुपये की कमी को रास्ते में नहीं खड़ा रहने दिया जायेगा। अनाज की पैदावार, खेत की पैदावार या दूसरी पैदावार अगर बढ़ सकती है तो उसके लिये जितने पैसे की आवश्यकता है, देश उस पैसे को जुटायेगा



[श्री रणबीर सिंह]

और इसी तरह से देश की तरक्की हो सकती है। यह खरों के फैलाव का बुखार, यह बुखार कि देश के अन्दर मंहगाई का तूफान प्रारम्भ हो गया है, यह सही नहीं है। इससे क्रान्ति लाने में हमको मदद भी मिलती है। लेकिन फिर भी हमको कीमती की स्थिरता की तरफ कदम बढ़ाना चाहिये।

**SHRI SUHRID MULLICK CHOU-DHURY (West Bengal):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am not a person who always chatters like a busybird but I want to place my viewpoints in a nutshell.

The alarming price situation created by the bankrupt economic policies of the Government has virtually eroded the basis of the Fifth Five Year Plan Approach document. The entire policy of the Government is so bankrupt that it is a disgrace to any government in power but the Congress Government has no such sense of disgrace. They won the election on the false promise of 'Garibi hatao'. In fact, they have, after winning the election, increased the poverty, hunger and unemployment in the country. Garibi has been increased. Government should have had resigned on this issue alone. But instead Government blames the Opposition parties for all its misdeeds. Government owes an explanation as to how the Opposition parties can even remotely be held responsible for this huge price rise. The prices of essential commodities should be strictly controlled and persons responsible for it should be arrested under the MISA and not the political workers, which this Government does.

The *bona fides* of the Government are on test. These black-marketeers, hoarders and the conspirators are their masters, and they finance at elections, which they recover by increasing the prices in the post-election period. This is the secret of the price rise and is also the secret why the miscreants go scot-free.

Now, unless the Government has adequate control over the production mechanism, no price control policy can be effective. At present the major portion of

the commodity production and distribution is in the hands of the monopolists. And it is amazing that, the Congress speakers are also criticising about the monopolists. But the Congress Government gets its 'life-blood' from these monopolists. So, unless the power of the monopolists and the landlords is destroyed, the prices will continue to rise.

It would like to emphasise in this connection the need for taking over of the entire marketable surplus of foodgrains.

In this connection, I also want to give some points. The Government is not going to reach the procurement target of 8 million tonnes of rabi crop. Why? The assessment of yield is wrong. Even this year, the yield is much less, less by about 30 per cent than the last year. Secondly, the Government is protecting the landlords. They are not prepared even now to have compulsory procurement of the surplus with the landlords. In addition to wheat, there should be compulsory procurement of the entire marketable surplus of the coarse grains and pulses.

Regarding distribution, there also the Government has powers. They should open depots and fix the prices of foodgrains and ensure that the consumers get the foodgrains at the fixed prices. Secondly, they should take drastic steps against the hoarders, the blackmarketeers and the traders who try to sabotage the procurement operations.

In this connection, I also want to give by saying that crocodile tears will not help the nation to survive. So, you should implement your slogan and that will be the only remedy for the country; otherwise, the country will proceed towards the burial ground.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** Sir, after a heart-warming and a very sabre-rattling conclusion of today's discussions I deem it my privilege to draw the attention of this August House to a few important points which have been raised during the course of the discussion. Indeed we are grateful

to Mr. Krishan Kant for having moved this motion so as to enable all of us to deal with the various aspects of a very important, of a very urgent matter which is claiming the attention of millions of this country.

The discussions which I had the privilege to hear and listen to have, by and large, illumined our experience and will help us to formulate policies and take measures to deal somewhat effectively with this problem which at the present moment looks almost intractable. I must at the very outset acknowledge with gratitude a new dimension, a new direction, which was given to this discussion by the very able intervention of hon'ble Shri Goray. He asked a fundamental question and thereby raised the whole level of this debate, away from acrimony and controversy, to a stage where all of us not as persons belonging to one party or the other or subscribing to one shade of opinion or the other, but as the citizens of this country, as the sons of this soil, have got to evolve a common, a joint strategy to meet this crisis facing our country.

That it is a crisis, we do not deny. When some hon'ble Members hurled a couple of cheap jibes at us by saying that the Members of the Congress Party felt as much concerned about the rising prices as the hon'ble Members of the Opposition, it was forgotten that Members of the Congress Party are members of this country, of this nation, of this community and they are as sensitively aware—we do not claim to be more aware but we are as sensitively aware—of what is happening around us and in the country. I wish this common realisation were to arouse and emerge under the impact of this discussion that we are facing a situation which by no means is desperate, which by no means is incurable but which can be, by the common will of the people of this country, by the common faith of the people in the basic values of change and progress in this country, tackled and dealt with success-

fully. This is not the first challenge which this country has faced. This is not the first time that we are in difficulties. This is not the first time that we are facing enormous problems. Our whole history has been full of problems, has been full of difficulties, of travails, of troubles, most of them not of our own making even if some of us may have inadvertently made minor contributions. Therefore, we have to learn from our past experience. We have to learn from the totality of the experience of this nation. How did it survive these ordeals? It survived then by becoming jointly, unanimously conscious of the basic contours of the problem and facing it with a common will. I would not yield to despair. I would not yield to despondency. Will despair and despondency solve the problem of prices? Will despair and despondency and hopelessness bring about a good monsoon? Will despondency and despair bring about a change in the hearts of the horders and black-marketters and the blood-suckers of our people?

I heard Shri Goray's speech with the greatest attention, with the greatest respect; and, if I may say so, I was fascinated and inspired by what he said. Therefore, Sir, shall we go to the fundamental question which causes, and which has caused, the rise in prices? I am not pleading before this August House that they must forgive our mistakes. No. I do not wish myself to slur over some of our failings; there have been many. We are human beings. But we cannot divorce the question of prices from the entire philosophy of the social economy that your country has adopted as its aim, as its goal. I will give an example, Sir, In the Plan period from 1950 to 1962, the rise in prices, as Mr. Krishan Kant pointed out, was on the average, hardly 2 per cent, in certain cases less than 2 per cent, in a year. We were proceeding normally with a certain amount of faith, with a certain amount of courage, by making certain sacrifices, towards developing the economy of our country, not as a satellite economy, but as an indepen-

[Shri D. P. Dhar.]

dent, strident, vibrant economy of a free nation, of a free people. But since 1962, there has been hardly a year when the choice of our path was not impeded by extraneous and external circumstances and conditions. Is this not a fact of history? And how did it reflect itself? If figures are to be quoted, though I do not believe in quoting figures and statistics because I am not very competent in doing so, much less competent in juggling with them as one or two friends have done, at the time of the disturbance on our borders in 1962, we were spending hardly Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 crores on defence. And last year our defence expenditure reached a phenomenal figure of Rs. 1,600 crores. Was it our fault, was it the fault of this Government, was it the fault of this party, that we were forced against our will, against our wish, against our desire, to face the dilemma of making a choice between butter and guns? And this choice, this dilemma, has dogged our steps all along, even till yesterday. I was amazed when my friend, Dr. Bhai Mahavir, said "some trouble of Bangladesh". Was it "some trouble"? He is indeed a very brave person. I do not dispute that fact. He may have treated it as a flea-bite, but it is one of the greatest tragedies that this country has faced, that this sub-continent has faced. It was one of the greatest drains on our resources, both human and material.

I am not taking umbrage for the rise in prices under the impact of the conditions of war, strife and conflict which faced us on account of Bangladesh. I do not wish to trade on this as an argument. But it will be very unfair for the leaders of this nation like Dr. Bhai Mahavir to make our people forget this experience, to tell us that nothing happened and that it was just a flea-bite. I do not want to take advantage by way of argument in reminding this August House that we have had the most unprecedented drought in the last 100 years in our country. In many parts of this land monsoon has failed three times in succession. Shri Goray will testify to the fact that in his Maharashtra rains have failed for the third year last year.

He drew a pathetic picture—which everyone ought to know—of people owing 60 and 70 acres of land breaking metal for a wage of Rs. 2.50. Is this condition a part of tragedy which this Government or this party has invented? I do not want to say that this is one of the reasons of our misfortune. But it would be unfair if I do not venture to place before this House one of the main causes which have led to the very big inflation in the monetary system of our country. And those causes are obvious. They have been augmented and magnified by the drought relief measures and the cost of these—we do not have the exact computation, but our own feeling in the Planning Commission is—may go to over Rs. 400 crores. An hon. Member said that we must come to the House and seek their permission before we go to print notes. This is a very wonderful and novel idea. But it gives us no pleasure to have to go to Nasik and to have to print paper money. We are not such ignoramuses as not to realise that more money pumped into the market creates more demands and unless and until that demand is matched by a massive production of goods, there is bound to be price rise. I am not talking of the other countries in the world. They have their repercussions and effect on our monetary system. I am talking of my country. I am concerned with India, as you hon. Members are and as this August House is. These are some of the stark, naked causes for our having had to resort to deficit financing. Was there any remedy, I would ask. It is all right to condemn us for deficit financing. We accept the blame. But may I ask with all humility. Was there an alternative except dishonour and surrender? For freedom we have to pay a price and I am sorry to say—it is my misfortune to say—that this time we have to pay a very heavy, continuing price in terms of hike in prices.

But then, Sir, as I submitted, the one aspect of the basic cause which ultimately led to this process of the rise in prices was the very choice that you made of having and establishing an independent economy

in this country. And, Sir, this brought you international opposition; this brought to your doors international intervention; and this brought within the womb of the nation conflict and strife. But this international reaction unfortunately has its internal ugly face also and let us look at that.

We have today been accused of having been thoughtless, of having been foolish, of having been stupid and so on and all the words that can be strung together in this vein have been applied to our action of taking over the wholesale trade in food-grains. Now, Sir, I would submit for the consideration of the House one thing. You may like to produce heaven itself, you may produce commodities whether of mass consumption or of luxury consumption or of any consumption, whatever you produce, if it is left to the unconscionable class of the black marketeers and the hoarders, being the only vehicle for reaching the poor consumer and if you are not able to control the distribution system in this country, you can neither modernise your economy nor can you ever control the prices. This is not an economic question mainly, but this is a political question and we have got to face this as a political reality. We are sad—and it is a matter of regret for my party—that we did not take this step earlier. And, if the Prime Minister is doing this, is taking this bold step today and that too in the midst of shortages, has she to be pilloried? Has she to be made the subject, the butt, of ridicule by the Opposition, of character assassination? And, Sir, what is all this that is said against her today? We know that this element of reaction in this country, which has functioned through the ages, which has traded in the misery of the people, has the capacity to wear masks and today it is wearing the sympathetic mask. It goes to the consumer and says, “But for me you would have starved” and it goes to the cultivator and says, “But for me you would not have got higher prices”. May I remind them sum of one thing? Unfortunately, the honourable Member, Shri

Dahyabhai Patel, is not here, who pleaded so powerfully for the cause of these highly respected elements of our society, the gentlemen who run the black markets and the gentlemen who are the hoarders. He asked, “Why should not the cultivator sell it to them because they pay them a higher price?”. I would have reminded him—and it is our duty to remind the cultivator also—of what happened two years ago. What happened two years ago when the Government had to rush into the field, into the purchasing sphere, in order to enable the cultivator to sell his produce at reasonable prices? It is we who afforded a support price to him. The FCI did not come into being as a great symbol of nationalisation. The FCI came into being as a friend of the cultivators so that it could give them a support price for their surplus food-grains. What happened to cotton? Only last year we had hurriedly to create a Corporation—Mr. Goray would know from his experience in Maharashtra—so that the farmer would get proper prices. May I know what is happening to Dalda today? Who is distributing it? Is it the Government? People talk of black market in cement. Who is distributing it? Is it the Government? People talk of quite a number of things. Dr. Bhai Mahavir gave a long list of things...

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR :** Excuse me for my intervention. In Delhi cement distribution is under the complete charge of the Government. Every bag of cement is under the control of the Government. That is the position in Delhi.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I am talking of the country. I am not talking of Delhi. I am talking of the village from where you come and of the village from where I come. I would like to ask this direct question from Dr. Bhai Mahavir: Would you trust the distribution of these essential commodities to free market? I am aware of what your party wants. Would you ask me to close the shop today and not to operate in the food market and allow the free market to operate? Are you sure that the consumer will get his due?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: May I answer?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I would ask you a question more. Are you in favour of takeover of wholesale trade or are you against it? Are you demonstrating against it or not?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: May I answer?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I will answer it for you. If you are, then we know who is the friend of this policy and who is against this policy. Then we know where from the blackmarketeer and the hoarder draws his inspiration. We know from where he draws his sustenance and his support.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You have asked me certain questions. Am I permitted to answer?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: When I come to the end of it. I will ask you many more questions.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: We know from where he draws his money. It is drawn from you. I do not know about the inspiration.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Now, this is a very cheap jibe whether it is Moscow or London. Hon. Mr. Dahyabhai also said that our economy, our plan, this, that and the rest are regimented, Moscow-oriented and so on and so forth. May I tell you that I am grateful to Mr. Goray for having told us that we, who are in the Planning Commission, must not go after one model or the other? You will be glad to know that what we are trying to have in our country is an Indian model of planning. But we would be foolish—in spite of the derisive laughter I here from Comrade Niren Ghosh—if we do not take into account the experience of other countries.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: That you never do.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: When we do it, then we hear from Comrade Niren Ghosh

that we do not draw enough of inspiration from his models and we hear from Shri Dahyabhai that we do not draw enough of inspiration from his models. This perhaps makes it obvious....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You draw your inspiration from the trading hoarders of the top strata. You don't draw your inspiration from the masses.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: This perhaps makes it obvious that we are drawing inspiration from the soil of this country and from the genius of this country. I would be very happy if Mr. Niren Ghosh, who is a great friend of mine, should also become a part of that soil, a part of that genius and a part of that mainstream.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I stand on the soil. In my State, we stand on the soil.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Once he does that, I am sure he will see....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: For that, we do not have to be Members of Joint Commissions with other countries.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: For that, we have got to have a Joint Commission with your party!

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You rise from the soil. We also rise from the soil.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: That is why I embrace you even though not your policies.

And, Sir, the question as I was submitting for your consideration is that reaction does not have only an external face; it also has an internal face. Today we have said that we made certain promises, we made certain pledges to our people. Whatever promises we have made, whatever pledges we have made, we shall stand by them, we shall implement them; even if it means going under, we shall implement them. We shall not budge an inch from what we have said, what we have promised, what we have told our

people in solemn words. But, in this fight have we to be alone?—I ask. Is this reaction my enemy alone? Is this reaction not the enemy of the people of India? Is it not the duty of Mr. Niren Ghosh, Dr. Ahmad and all others? Of course, I am grateful to Mr. Goray who has already pledged his support to this measure and all those who wish this nation to flourish, who wish to release this nation from the shackles and the bondage of this parasitical class. Is it too much to hope, is it too much to expect from you that you lend us a helping hand in this gigantic fight?

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH:** If you had been fighting properly we would have been with you, but you are not.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** You put it rightly that this is a major struggle, this is a major fight. We cannot afford to fail in this. And, believe me, if we fail no one will succeed. And, therefore, it is in the interests of the democracy in this country, in the interests of building socialism in this country, in the interests of stability in this country, in the interests of every party of this country that has its roots in the soil of this country, to make a common effort to forge a common will, to forge a national will to meet this challenge.

The other question that has been raised with a certain amount of concern, which is implicit in the Motion which Shri Krishan Kant moved in the morning in this august House, is that the rise in prices is likely to erode into not only the basic postulates but also some of the essential contents of the Plan. I would submit that if we look at it technically—purely in technical terms—then this apprehension is not well founded. I do not say that the rise in prices is not going to have some effect on the planning process because we know that while the Approach Paper was being framed, the long shadows of rising prices were already apparent on the path to the Fifth Plan and we were aware of it to a certain extent. But I would like to in-

form the House that when we calculate,—when we make the accounting calculations—as I said I am talking purely on technical aspects of the matter—when we make accounting calculations of the Plan, we have got to take a base year for purposes of determining the price level and, therefore, determining the value, the total financial size of the Plan and, in this case, though unfortunately the prices of foodgrains have risen by 16 per cent or a little more, the prices of investment goods have not risen by a margin of more than 4 to 5 per cent.

And this is a saving grace. This is the present position.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:** Average?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** I am talking of average, except that in the matter of oil based industries the rise has been rather steep.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Are you aware of the rise in the price of cloth?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** Cloth does not come under investment goods. I am talking of cement for example. Cloth does not go into the construction of a power plant.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** I thought you were mentioning about industrial products.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR:** I was mentioning of industrial goods which have a bearing on the financial size of the Plan. As a matter of fact, while I am on this subject I would like, if I may, through you, Sir, and with your permission, to correct another misapprehension of Bhai Mahavir when he talked of the national income growing at 5.5 per cent. It is true that national income has been projected to grow at 5.5 per cent. Since saving will be growing at a higher rate than national income, total consumption will be growing at less than 5 per cent per annum. I could not understand how Bhai Mahavir reached the fantastic figure of the consumption demands in foodgrains, cloth,

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sugar, kerosene, etc. rising by 60 to 100 per cent. Over the Fifth Plan period. I might tell Bhai Mahavir that these figures which he has quoted have not been correctly represented to him. Perhaps it is possible the person who wrote it out may have forgotten to put the decimal because that would make a very big difference. Nevertheless....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: My difficulty, Mr. Deputy Chairman, is that questions are being put to me but I do not know whether I will have an opportunity to reply to them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have had your say; now let him say.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I did not ask a question.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: First you asked.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I may have put it in the interrogative form. I am prepared to put it in a very submissive way and say that perhaps the figures which Dr. Mahavir has quoted on the rates of consumption rise may not correspond to truth and will not correspond to truth. That was an aside; I am sure that Bhai Mahavir's thesis on this subject is based on wrong information.

In any case, the other factor apart from the price levels of investment goods which I would like to mention particularly for the kind consideration through you, Sir, to Shri Goray is that with the rise in prices will also have an impact on revenues, more so as even commodity taxation is collected, to a large extent *ad valorem*. This will be reflected in the financial size of the Plan. Nevertheless we have taken care to begin a fresh exercise on resources in the Planning Commission. We shall keep in view they advice that has been very kindly given to us by hon. Members here, particularly Mr. Goray. We hope that we shall not allow the financial size of the Plan to shrink in a way that might hurt the postulates of

growth that we have made so far. But may I, Sir, beg you to look at this question not merely from the point of view of the financial size of the Plan? •

The Plan, in order to be real, has a human content. It has a political content. It has a strategy, a strategy to reach certain objectives. And what are those objectives? Will those objectives be altered? Will that strategy be affected in an appreciable measure because of the rise in prices? What is the objective? The objective is to reduce inequality and to promote self-reliance. These are the two cardinal objectives of the Fifth Plan and, if I may say so, some of the grave maladies of our society today arise from the fact of growing inequalities. The remedy that has to be applied has necessarily to be directed towards a reduction of this inequality. This is one of the fundamental aims of the Fifth Plan. We cannot allow the present property relationship to continue. We cannot allow the present class relationship to continue. We cannot allow that a small section of our society, a very small segment of our society, should reap the harvest of all the investments, of all the labour of all the toil of our people. We have, therefore, to curb the consumption standards of this top segment of our society. It has to be done if our values have to survive, if our objectives have to survive. If all that we have stood for has had any meaning, this has to be done. I am full agreement with those hon. Members of the House who made this point with vehemence, with a degree of vehemence, with a degree of passion which is natural in this respect, though the leader of the Swatantra Party in this House felt differently. The Swatantra Party, of course, stands for the people, for the common man and for curing the woes of the common man by looking after the interests of the most down-trodden segment of our society, namely, the princes, the traders the hoarders, the blackmarketeers and the monopolists. When he said that Mrs. Gandhi's slogan of "Gharibi Hatao" is a

hoax, certainly it is a hoax to the extent that it will deprive those poor sections, who are poor in his conception, of their privileges, but it is not a hoax for the people of India. In the Fifth Plan for the first time and in the planning process in this country for the first time, we have quantified, we have concretised the problem of inequality and the problem of poverty. You cannot remove poverty unless you are able to define what poverty is. I claim, Sir, with all humility that under the direction of our leader, the Planning Commission has, for the first time, quantified, has determined the size, has concretised the content, the human content of poverty in our land. That is why it is the aim of the Plan to raise the consumption standards and to that extent it will lead to a redistribution of consumption, to a redistribution of incomes to the thirty per cent who are below the poverty-line. If it is more, I have no quarrel. It is a sorry state of affairs. But we are taking a figure; I am not swearing by that figure. It may be less. And having quantified that, we aim in the Plan to raise their standard of living. We are not promising them the moon, we are not promising them all the fruits in the heaven. No. All that we are endeavouring to place before them as a very humble, as a very small, objective, is to raise them from below the poverty-line to somewhere above the line, from below the subsistence line to somewhere slightly above the subsistence line. And I would submit, particularly for Comrade Goray's consideration, that this human aspect of the strategy of the Plan cannot be and will not be altered; this will remain unaltered. This has nothing to do with the size of the Plan, the financial side of the Plan. In any case, whatever the size of the Plan, whatever the financial outlays of the Plan, everything else may suffer, every other sector may suffer, but this objective will not be allowed to suffer because if this objective is allowed to suffer, then we shall not be true to our professions.

The second aspect is self-reliance. And it is being attacked in this House today by innuendos, and by subtle hints. We pro-

pose, as one of the basic objectives of the Plan, to be self-reliant, particularly in the core sector. And some hon. Members mentioned about the small-scale industry, and we know precisely where the small-scale industry is facing considerable difficulty. But I would submit for the consideration of the hon. Members, particularly the hon. Shri Kulkarni, that it is a misnomer that heavy industry develops at the cost of the small-scale industry. As a matter of fact, the core industries that we are thinking of are necessary for the development of the small-scale industry. Unless and until we develop the non-ferrous metals industry, unless and until we develop the steel industry, unless and until we develop power, we cannot sustain the small-scale industry. Therefore, there is no clash of interests between the two. I do agree...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I did not say that. I said that the small-scale industry is facing difficulty about raw materials.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I am sorry. I could not make my submission clear. I apologise, Sir, through you to the hon. Member. What I meant to say was that our emphasis on the core sector of industry—is one of the objectives of that—is to be in a position to supply the essential raw materials for the small-scale sector. And therefore, to the extent that we become self-reliant in the core sector, to that extent, small-scale industry will get a fillip and will also move on the path of self-reliance. Therefore, the other objective, the other strategy—other part of the strategy, I should say—of achieving self-reliance in our economy, particularly in the core sector and its development, will not be affected by these extraneous circumstances and phenomena like the extraordinary price rises. I would like to submit that at this stage we share the concern fully of the hon. Members from both sides of the House about the spiralling of prices of essential commodities. We know what distress and what suffering it is causing to our people and I would only like to submit that this is a temporary phenomenon. With good monsoons, we hope...



**SHRI SUHRID MULLICK CHOU-  
DHURY :** Believe in God.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I do believe in God occasionally and, at any rate, I do believe in the rain gods. It is no use making tall claims when we have not reached the stage that we could confidently say that Indian agriculture has been immunised against the vagaries and the caprices of weather; it has not been immunised yet. And, therefore, I would beg Shri Krishan Kant to go on praying to his Indra to be merciful this time. In spite of massive investment—it is a huge country; it is a continent; it is not a little village—in spite of these huge investments we have not completely immunised the country, as I submitted, against the vagaries of weather. Aberrant weather will produce aberrant consequences in agricultural production. But what are we trying to do? Here, again, a very positive, a very constructive suggestion has been made by some of the Members particularly Mr. Goray that we should utilise the waters which are available to us. I agree, Sir, that non-utilisation of these waters for the parched lands which are thirsty for them, which have been waiting for them for ages, is nothing short of a crime. We have got to get together and we have got to forget these barriers of State, these barriers of provinces, these barriers of region. But the whole trouble is that we should be united. Are we united on this that whatever is the award it will be fulfilled and implemented and not made a device for catching votes? When we ask the States to come to an agreement, is it possible for the various political parties—I say with all humility—represented in this House to say that this shall not be made a political issue, which will be exploited by any one and the dispute can be solved tomorrow.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR :** Votes are more important than solving the problem?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** If you give this assurance that the Jana Sangh will not exploit this, if the Congress gives the assurance—I am coming out of my skin; I am talking from the bottom of my heart;

I am trying to be absolutely detached—if the Congress Party of my hue, if the Congress Party of the other type, if all other parties come to this solemn agreement that claims about these waters will be settled either by negotiation or by arbitration where negotiations fail, no one will be exploited.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR :** Are we to understand that waters are flowing to Pakistan because some party is likely to exploit if the Pong Dam is completed?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I am only trying for the kind consideration of Dr. Bhai Mahavir to lift this question from above the narrow approach of Pong or Tong or things of that type. I am looking at it from the national point of view. I am looking at it from the point of view of the country.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR :** Where does your vehemence go when you peak against balckmarketeers? When you speak against corrupt why should you not speak against the corrupt also?

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I am coming to the corrupt.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** And I shall not spare the corrupt of any party. Now, is this possible? I agree hundred per cent with Mr. Goray . . .

**SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI (Nominated) :** Give it a trial.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I want to give it a trial, but not at my cost. Now, Sir, apart from this, what we have tried to do, and what we are trying to do—it may be of interest to hon. Members of this House—is that we have created a potential of nearly 5.7 million acres of irrigation...

**SHRI RANBIR SINGH :** Acre-feet.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** Not acre-feet of water. I know you have been a Minister

of Irrigation, but at that time Haryana did not have much of water. So I could claim to know the difference between the acre of land and the acre-feet of water. With due respect to your knowledge, I was submitting that we have about 5.7 million acres of land for which irrigation potential has been created. We are now in the process of establishing multi-disciplinary authorities for the development of these areas. In doing so, we shall take care that the development of the areas which these irrigation systems will command, will be total. And particular emphasis will be given for the amelioration of the conditions of the poorer sections of the peasantry, the share-croppers and others. This way we hope that a substantial quantity of water which has already been made available, which is already there waiting for utilisation, will be, in fact, utilised, will be, in fact, made use of for purposes of development. I would also submit for the information of this august House that we have decided to take advance action in the current year for the development of potential areas by way of providing irrigation, minor irrigation, medium irrigation and major irrigation, wherever we can hasten the completion of major irrigation projects in hand. This is one of the important things that we are trying to do. I would only submit that, as Dr. Bhai Mahavir has talked of corruption, I do not say that our society is a society of angels; I do not say that our administration is an administration which is composed completely of angels, of the purest of the pure. But it has also been said that our administrative apparatus is not fully attuned to the needs of change. I would submit that it is true, but what is needed is to attune, in the first instance, our political will for change. The instruments are small enough to be change and re-fashioned. Here I would like Dr. Bhai Mahavir to think over this a little more from his experience as the erstwhile ruler of Delhi.

Sir, I am aware of the limitations of time. I would only submit that at this stage to cast a doubt on the capacity of the country to sustain a Plan of the size

that we have visualised, the objectives which we have delineated in that Plan, the strategies which we have worked out for the attainment of those objectives, would be suicidal not only from a political point of view, but even from a factual point of view. There is no need to despair. I know and I agree with hon. Members that at the present moment there is difficulty, there is an element of dissatisfaction, there is an element of anguish, there is an element of irritation in the minds of the people. But as I said, this is a temporary phase and this is the time when we have got to renew our faith in the planning process. You are—I would submit to the hon. Member through you—the custodians of the philosophy of planned development. Let us not be forced by artificially created circumstances to go in for another plan holiday. Those forces which made us to abandon the process of planning and made us to have a plan holiday are, by and large, responsible for the lack of production for a particular period of time and that lack of production is reflected today in the high prices of certain consumer articles. Let us not be bullied by them. Let us not allow those forces to recreate that scene of national malady where we were forced into going for a holiday as far as Plan is concerned. Therefore, with all humility I would beg of those who have faith in planning, I would beg of those who have faith in the ideals of socialism and I would beg of those who have faith in destiny of this country, to renew their faith in the process of planning. If this faith is impaired, the future of this country will be impaired. Why should we lose faith? We have just slowly and gradually crawled to the hump. We are at the top of the hump and things in the distant horizon are looking bright enough. Steel is looking up. Fertiliser production is better. Power shortage is on the wane. In several other fields, production prospects are better. Organisational prospects are better. Let us bear with the situation for a little while more. Let us not lose heart when we are at the top of the hump and when we are going to cross it. God willing we will cross it with success.

[Shri D. P. Dhar.]

With these words, I would once again thank the hon. mover and all the hon. Members of this House who have enlightened me, educated me, with their ideas and with their suggestions and I shall endeavour my utmost to profit by them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned *sine die*.

The House then adjourned *sine die* at thirty-nine minutes past six of the clock.