

के विषय है—उन्होंने क्यों नहीं इत्तिला की, 29 तारीख से लेकर 31 तारीख तक। यह विचारणीय बात है और वह इन्क्वायरी आफिसर तय करेंगे। मुमकिन है कि वह कहें कि हमने यह किया वह किया। अब उनकी क्या सफाई है, मैं इसको एन्टिसिपेट नहीं कर सकता हूँ न उसके बारे में कोई रायजनी कर सकता हूँ

श्री नवल किशोर : प्राइमा फेसी लापरवाही का साबित होता है।

श्री राज बहादुर : यह तो इन्क्वायरी करने के बाद इस्टेब्लिश कर सकते हैं प्राइमा फेसी है या नहीं। यह सब बातें विचारणीय है। जहा तक इंश्योरेस वाली बात है यह आपका अन्दाजा है और आपके अन्दाजे का मैं कायल हूँ।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : आप यह बतलाये कि इंश्योरेस कितने रुपये का था ?

(*Interruption*)

श्री राज बहादुर : आपने यह बात अन्दाजे से कही है और मैं नहीं कह सकता कि यह कहा तक सही है, लेकिन मैं आपके अन्दाज का कायल हूँ।

श्री ओ३म प्रकाश त्यागी : देरी के बारे में कारण बतलाइये।

श्री राज बहादुर : देरी के बारे में उन लोगों को मौका दीजिये फिर यह बात मालूम होगी।

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : May I point out that in the absence of any permanent organisation charged with the duty of looking after accidents and coming to the rescue of ships in danger at sea like a coast guard service or life boat service accidents are bound to occur and such failures to go to the rescue of the ships in danger are bound to occur. Every maritime country in the world, England, America, France, etc., have got such a coast guard service which are charged with the special duty of looking after these accidents. Time and again in this House and elsewhere in writing I pointed out the necessity of constituting a coast guard service for India on both the coasts to look after such accidents at sea. I hope the Minister will consider this question of providing India with a coast guard service and life boats which will be charged with the special duty of going to the rescue of ships and sailors in danger on the high seas.

May I also ask whether there is any provision in our maritime law for the frequent examination of ships in regard to their sea-worthiness ? At what intervals are the ships examined in regard to their sea-worthiness ? I would like to know whether there is any such provision in our maritime laws.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : The answer to the latter part of the question is in the affirmative. There is a legal provision that the ships after doing a certain number of years have got to get periodical surveys, overhauls and repairs. That is the rule. Otherwise they cannot be allowed to undertake the voyage.

So far as the coast guard service is concerned, I would only say that we would certainly like to have one. This is a very costly affair. The coastline is really very long but we should like to have it. It is a very useful suggestion. We have got an air service organisation for ships in distress but that is not, as you have yourself pointed out quite adequate. For aerial survey and rescue operation the question is one of timely information.

DISCUSSION RE. STEEP RISE IN PRICES OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES IN RECENT MONTHS AND STEPS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT TO MEET THE SITUATION

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is a pity that a popular Government has to be made conscious about the rising prices in the country by a discussion in Parliament. They have thousand and one agencies presided over by the Planning Minister and the Planning Commission. That they have failed in their duties by not being able to curb the prices; to keep down the prices as yet, goes to show how callous they have been regarding the price rise in the country and the resultant inconvenience caused to every consumer. I felt that it was my duty, since the Government had failed, to indicate to them on the floor of the House through a discussion that the prices had risen, that they had failed, in spite of their slogans of socialism, of democratic socialism, democratic society and what not, in giving the common man, the consumer in the country....

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI) : May I ask the hon. Member to give in detail what he means by "and what not" ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : There are many other things said. For the information of the hon. Minister the definition given to socialism has been so many and so varied that I have forgotten it. For some time it was socialist pattern of society. For some time it was democratic socialism. For some time it was pure socialism.

For some time it was unmixed socialism. Then it was adulterated socialism. And now it is cent per cent socialism. Therefore, in the process...

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Sir, as a Swatantra-ite he appears to know more about socialism.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Evidently, he does not know much about socialism. Otherwise, he would probably be a socialist.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I expect that after the discussion in the House the Government would take serious note of the fact that the people have been very much affected by the price rise and that the Government would take all steps within their means to bring down the prices so that they are at least within the reach of the common man.

Now, our economy is in the grip of a serious inflation. Many people try to explain it in many different ways. Everybody has probably an explanation to give. The people who belong to the ruling party put up efficient economists to put forward the point of view that it is not because of the failure of the Government but because of various other reasons that the prices are rising. May be, the opposition in the country put the entire blame on the Government because they feel that the Government has the entire responsibility for curbing the price rise. But let us see what the non-party economists, the objective economists, the non-committed economists say about it. They say that the rise of nearly, 5 per cent in the index of wholesale prices between the first week of May and the second of July, according to these experts, cannot be ascribed just to seasonal factors.

The malady is largely due to the rising pressure on money supply. The Government

tried to give an explanation to this House that most of the rise in prices was seasonal and maybe that after a certain lapse of time it would come down again. It is not a fact. The reasons are so many for the price rise and I would hold the Government squarely responsible for this. The rise in prices, according to me, is due to this. The agencies responsible for this, which belong to the Government, are the budget, the non-Plan expenditure, the railways, the faulty economic planning, the heavy deficit financing, the decline in the industrial growth rate, overdrafts by the States and the last but not the least, the heavy losses incurred by the public sector undertakings.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Vagaries of nature.

AN HON. MEMBER : Black marketing.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Black market is a result of all these. Whenever there is a deficit, there is a short supply in the market. The Government knows about it much more because much of it is its own creation, even the blackmarket, indirectly though. Now, Sir, why do I hold these responsible ? I again quote the objective economists. According to them, after Mr. Chavan presented his Budget to Parliament on March 16, it led to rise in prices. The official price index advanced by 0.5 per cent at the end of the month after remaining more or less at a level during the previous so many months.

It goes to prove that immediately after the Budget there was rise in prices which could not be curbed by the Government. I do not quote it from my own authority. I quote it from the Government authority itself. The Government issued a press note or a handout which was published in all the daily newspapers. I quote it from the newspapers:—

"The economy measures are expected to reduce the expenditure of the Central Government by more than Rs. 115 crores in 1971-72."

According to the annual report of the Finance Ministry the savings would be Rs. 59 crores in the non-plan expenditure and Rs. 56 crores in the plan expenditure. The total amount involved would be Rs. 115 crores. We had been accusing the Government all the time that they could probably save a lot of money from non-plan expenditure. I saw somewhere some expert having said

that there are already 10 million government servants in the whole of the country, and whatever additional resources are being mobilised both from the poor and the rich, and more so from the common man than from the rich, are going in the shape of salaries and allowances for these ten million people. Whenever there is an attempt to mobilise additional resources the agencies for that eat away the money that is earned through these additional sources. Therefore, the non-plan expenditure is going up and rapidly too. Even their own report, their handout, their publications go to show that an endeavour would be made to bring down the non-plan expenditure. Nothing has been done. Even in the planned expenditure sector not everything that is being spent is worth while spending. Much of it is going down the drain. On that we shall have a discussion. I cannot go into the details of it now. But there have been tremendous objections from all over the country that a lot of money which is intended to be spent on Plan is going down the drain and nobody knows who is benefiting out of it.

The third is the railways. I would quote also another authority for that:—

"For some years Delhi has been facing acute seasonal shortages of coke. Non-availability of railway wagons has principally been responsible for the recurring shortages. A more satisfactory and durable arrangement in directing the coal movement instead of the present *ad hoc* arrangement which comes into force only during the crisis between the Railway Board and the Civil Supplies Department would possibly have offered a long-term solution to the problem."

So it is not Delhi alone which suffers from this. Delhi is the capital and I think that being the headquarters of the Railway Board Delhi would be getting more attention than other parts of the country get. I see from reports that Delhi is also neglected. If Delhi is neglected, then we can only imagine about other parts of the country whose voices would not reach Delhi and would not reach the Railway Boards and the Railway Minister.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : At least there is no charge of discrimination.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Wagons are not supplied in time. May be the railway authorities are hand in glove with the unscrupulous businessmen to see that wagons are not supplied so that there is short supply in some places out of which they will benefit.

I cannot say which level of government servants will benefit out of it. That is something to be probed. If it could be removed, proper distribution of foodgrains and other essential materials in the country could come about bringing down the prices considerably.

Now, Sir, so far as the other factors are concerned, I mentioned faulty planning. For 10 or 12 years, when our hon. lady Minister was not here, you would have seen, Sir, people thumping their tables whenever anything was said about rapid industrialisation and heavy industries. If anybody talked about the agricultural sector, he would be called a reactionary. I have been called a reactionary when I talked about agriculture, about giving priority to agriculture. Then either the Prime Minister or the Planning Minister would get up and say, "We are going to be a leading country so far as heavy industries are concerned; we are going to set up factories in Rourkela, in Durgapur, in Bhilai with an investment of Rs. 1,000 crores or Rs. 5,000 crores." Then there would be thumping of the tables from those benches. Those hon. Members have disappeared now. Many of them are not here. Now a new generation has come and they are also thumping the tables rightly or wrongly. But they did not imagine then that the policy that they were pursuing would pay them back dividends so early. The agricultural sector was completely neglected for the first 15 years or so. Now it has dawned upon them that they should give priority to the agricultural sector. And it was because of this faulty planning that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government has still to depend on Lord Indra for his mercy.

SHRISANKASEKHAR SANYAL (West Bengal) : Why not Lord Shiva, Lokanath ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : If Lord Indra is not merciful, then there is drought and there is a hue and cry in the whole country. Our Food Minister, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, who is a sickly person himself, comes with a sicklier face into the House saying, "I am undone. The drought has taken its toll in the harvest of the country. Therefore, I cannot do anything." All the time he was talking about the Green Revolution not knowing that the Green Revolution was not because of Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, but it was because of

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Lord Indra. Therefore, Sir, it was faulty planning all through, and God alone knows how India would get out of this faulty planning. The same faulty planning is going on even now. The only mistake which they are trying to undo now is that they have given a little priority to the agricultural sector.

Then, heavy deficit financing is also a great contributing factor to inflation and rising prices. I will be brief. I think I can speak till 1 O'Clock.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Try to be as short as possible.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : As I said, deficit financing is also a great contributing factor. I had a note with me.....

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Sir, the hon. Member just now mentioned about some Minister wearing a sickly face. I do not think he could have literally meant it. Since all of us, I think, do not know the art of wearing a permanent smile as Mr. Lokanath Misra does, I do not know how far he meant that. It is not a very good remark.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : You do not know, Madam, he was a cinema actor. He knows how to put it. He was a flourishing cinema actor.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, as I was saying....

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : लोकनाथ जी, उसमें क्या है उसको छोड़ो। You are really not prepared today. That is a fact.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI (Bihar) : Actually he is only doing mimicry.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, the honourable Member. (Interruption)

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : आप टाइम निकाल सकते हैं और बात करके।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : The honourable friend said that I was making a mimicry...

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I said I wish you could impart that art to others also.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, as I was saying I do not have the figures ready here. Deficit financing has been going on at

a rapid pace, and the decline in the industrial growth has its contribution. Then come the overdrafts by the States. The minimum that any State has now taken as an overdraft is probably Rs. crores. And if it is a State ruled by the Congress Government it can go up to Rs. 84 crores. There are some States which have already had an overdraft of Rs. 84 crores. Therefore, these overdrafts have considerably contributed to the rising prices. The last but not the least, as I said, is the public undertakings. Hundreds of crores of rupees are poured into the public undertakings. I would have been very happy if they had been manufacturing things, producing things, and giving dividends to the public exchequer. That they are not doing, that they have not been able to do. There may be thousand and one reasons for not doing so. But that they are not doing has its impact on the price rise also. Certain undertakings are given as a monopoly to the public sector. And when the production is not there, in the market naturally the prices rise. Apart from the reasons I indicated, there are some other factors also for the price rise. The expectation for production of foodgrains in the year 1971-72 was 7 million tons more than that of the previous year. But when it came to the actuals there has been a shortfall of 2 million tons and by now it has already the revised estimate and according to weather conditions if there is drought in some parts as is being published in the newspapers, probably there would be a shortfall of 10 million tons in the year 1972-73. This is because, as I said, even in the Plan sector much of the money has gone down the drain. Wherever there was a minor irrigation project, it was not taken up properly; it was washed away probably two or three years after and in some cases where the State Governments were corrupt and belonged to the ruling party here, it was not started at all. But the money was disbursed. So, whatever has been shown on record to have been there does not exist in many places. The irrigation facilities that are shown on paper do not exist in many places. So when Lord Indra does not become merciful, there is immediate drought. Since foodgrains are the biggest contributing factor to the recent price rise, the shortfall would naturally have a direct impact on the rising prices further. There was some explanation given to us that the Government would not allow any price rise because they have the Food Corporation of India. A lot has been said already in the other House about

the Food Corporation of India and its Chairman. I do not want to repeat all that because my time is limited. We were told that the Food Corporation of India had a buffer stock of about 9 million tonnes according to some and about $9\frac{1}{2}$ million tonnes according to some and about 9 million tonnes according to some others, and the buffer stock was primarily meant to hold up the prices by distributing the foodgrains through fair price shops in deficit areas. I would show from the figures available with me how the distribution has been done. It has been done this way.

In 1969 the total foodgrains distributed through ration shops and fair price shops was 9.6 million tonnes. In 1970 when the price further rose, the distribution was only 8.9 million tonnes. It came down. In 1971 when the price still rose, the distribution came down to 7.7 million tonnes. The argument was that the buffer stock would be distributed through fair price shops to bring down price. How was the distribution done when the price rose? The total amount of distribution came down year after year. This distribution pattern again is confined to the urban areas and to some of the big cities. Two-thirds of the ration shops and fair price shops were located in towns and cities.

There is no effective channel at all in the rural areas for distribution through fair price shops.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : Apart from foodgrains, what about other particles?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Prices of other articles were also rising.

So far as industrial growth is concerned, in the last three years it has gone down. In 1969-70 it was 6.9 per cent; in 1970-71 it went down 3.5 per cent. In 1971-72 it further went down to 2.2 per cent. According to the present indications, the growth may be still less in the year 1972-73. Government seems to think that control will be the remedy. They had been imposing control after control and they have been nationalising one industry after another. Still they have not taken any lesson from that. It is this Government that has led the country to this deficit and to all the malpractices resulting out of this deficit. There is a lot of money going through the plan expenditure, through drought expenditure, etc. This money has naturally to be spent and therefore one

section in the society takes advantage of this money. They have the purchasing power and when there is any shortfall in the market or deficit of supplies in the market, naturally the prices rise. What is the Government going to do so that this price rise is curbed?

One word about Government employees. The Pay Commission had in their interim report recommended that as soon as the price index rose by 10 per cent Shri Ganesh is sitting here....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) : Yes, this is one subject of which I am so sure.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : You will have your say when you will be intervening.

In their interim report the Pay Commission had recommended to the Government that if it goes beyond 10 per cent, then the question of Dearness Allowance should again be referred to the Pay Commission.

Now, in one month, Sir, that is, in the month of July, it has gone up 1 P. M. to $\pm 10\%$ and there is no doubt that in the month of August it would go beyond 10% . Therefore, Sir, the matter has to be referred to the Commission and the Government servants who are now half dead under the pressure of this inflation and the rising prices have to be given additional dearness allowance. So also are the workers, both in the industrial sector and the agricultural sector. These people also must have the advantage of dearness allowance. Now, the last thing that I would like to say, Sir, is about....

AN HON. MEMBER : Say something about interim relief.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, the last thing that I want say is this : I would request, Sir, our countrymen, the common man, through you and this House, to mobilise resistance and organise resistance committees. Otherwise, this Government would not be able to do anything. The Government have failed the people by pursuing all kinds of wrong economic policies and by pursuing such wrong policies, they have brought the economy of the country into a mess and they cannot now retrieve the country out of it. Therefore, Sir, the people have to mobilise public opinion and arrange for organising resistance committees and

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through these resistance committees they must bring pressure on the Government and, if it is necessary, change this Government in order to have a better economic policy so that we can do away with the rise in prices and this deficit financing and all that has resulted out of the Government's policy. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The first speaker after, Lunch will be Mr. Krishan Kant. The House now stands adjourned till 2-00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for Lunch at one minute past one of the clock.

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

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : Sir perhaps this is the 15th or the 20th debate, after Independence on price rise. If I refer to the Congress manifesto in 1952, about the price policy it said :

"It is of the highest importance to keep prices rising and to endeavour to reduce them."

Then, coming to 1971, we said :

"A clear mandate to control prices and ensure to the people the supplies of essential commodities at reasonable prices",

This is what we have committed. Sir, not only the party, in the *Economic Review* which was given to us this year we find what the Government itself has said on prices :

"While the situation over the year has been more or less under control, there cannot be any complacency in the matter, nor can the Government afford to relent its effort to hold the price line ..."

The result is obvious before us.

"The impact of the war has yet to be fully felt in the economy and the diversion of real resources which the conduct of war, howsoever brief, has implied cannot sooner or later but add to a certain

strain. Monetary expansion may also, in the absence of regulatory measures, lead to unwholesome consequences. Besides the speculators can scarcely resist the temptation of exploiting a situation of excess demand, however marginal...

Not only that. But the Government have warmed themselves :

"Moreover, given the developments in the agrarian front in recent years, the holding power to both traders and the relatively more affluent sections of the peasantry has of late risen enormously. These groups can turn into their immediate advantage any temporary difficulties in supplies. As the kharif marketing season drew close, prices once more started declining and the trend continued till the beginning of December ..."

Perhaps the Government of India will bring another Economic Survey next March and give us an analysis but the difficulty is they do write but never listen. If they had taken the necessary precautions earlier this present situation would not have arisen. Sir, prices, in our economy, depend upon three factors, (1) production and its regulation; (2) deficit financing and money supply and (3) black money. Have we got a price policy ? We talk of a war on prices and like the 14-day last Indo-Pakistan war, we make some distribution arrangements and the whole thing is forgotten till again the prices engulf us or embarrass us. Then we take it up again because the people want us to look into it. As far as production is concerned there are three categories; (1) those items we have enough production; (2) where we have scarce production and (3) where we have to import. I am dealing with the first, two. Where production is sufficient there should not be any scarcity; the prices should not rise. At least the people should be able to get such things at reasonable prices. If we are not able to get such commodities at reasonable prices then it means there is something basically wrong in the distribution system of either the Government or of the private channels. Where the commodities are scarce the distribution system must be so developed that they are rationed out and given to the needy people. Regulation of the economy is very much essential. Whether it is by the socialist method or by the capitalist method the regulation has to be there.

Leaving out the socialist countries where they have regulated the economy even in economies like Europe and Japan there is control over things and it is very interesting to see how prices have risen in many countries. According to the ILO Report in Kenya they have risen by 18.6 per cent, Somali 29.5 per cent, Thailand 19.2 per cent, Iran 17 per cent, Mexico 28.4 per cent, Pakistan 45.1 per cent, and then developed countries Canada 30.2 per cent, U. S. 32.4 per cent, Australia 32.5 per cent, Japan 58.2 per cent because of many things and India 90 per cent. These are the figures. The whole purpose of regulation is that those who have excess should get only the necessary amount and those who do not have must have the required amount. Now have we evolved any policy up till now? We have heard Mr. Chavan talking of price and income policy for the last three years but have we evolved any policy up till now? I do not think we have done anything up till now.

Coming to the present situation an abnormal spiral of prices has taken place and the essential items have contributed much to that spiral. Mr. Lokanath Misra referred to the figures of industrial production and many other things but the rise in prices in industry where production has lagged is not that steep as in food products and sugar. So it means that production and prices have no relation to each other in our economy. I will take two basic essential commodities, foodgrains and sugar. As far as foodgrains are concerned Mr. Shinde said the other day in the House that in the worst period when we were facing the most difficult times, we had to import 10 million tonnes and now we have a stock of 9.5 million tonnes. Then why have the prices risen in food-grains? Something is basically wrong. The way the FCI or the traders are behaving is callous. Has any action been taken against them? Only when prices rise there is some noise made in newspapers and in Parliament and then we wake up and we are now thinking of having some distribution system. The basic question is when we have enough foodgrains why there should be scarcity and a price rise? It is manipulation.

A few days back the F. C. I. released *bajra* at Rs. 75 a quintal, and just four days after the trader were selling it at Rs. 95 and Rs. 100 a quintal, and some officials of the F. C. I. and some traders minted money. Is this the way the traders and the F. C. I. are to function? I read in the

papers today that the Government is thinking that the F. C. I. will release only to the Government agencies and the fair price shops. This could as well have been done earlier. Now, whenever there is trouble, you try to establish the distribution system, but the moment one or two months are over, the distribution system is demolished. In this very House I have asked questions many times, "Are we thinking of establishing the distribution system in the matter of essential commodities?" And every time both the Minister for Industrial Development and the Minister for Food and Agriculture said, "We are not thinking so." To the same Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, when he was the Minister for Industry, I put the question. And the answer was, "No". And when he was the Minister for Food and Agriculture the answer was again, "No". And what was the Congress Resolution and the Congress programme? The Economic Panel, which had submitted its report in Bombay, said that the wholesale trade in foodgrains should be in the public sector. But nothing happened because the Chief Ministers were opposed to it at that time and we succumbed to that opposition. We are thinking of it again. But are we sure that the Chief Ministers will support us again? And if they do not support, are we to give up the distribution system? Unless you have a central distribution system in the different States for all the essential commodities you will not be able to achieve the object. This is about food.

Now about sugar and the price spiral in that commodity. They say lack of production. Sir, I think this is a very erroneous impression that they are creating. It is true that the production of sugar fell from 42 lakh tonnes to 31 lakh tonnes. But, with the 31 lakh tonnes we had the carry-over balance of 14.5 lakh tonnes. It means we had 45.5 lakh tonnes available for consumption in this year. Even if we export one lakh tonnes, even then our consumption is only 36 or 37 lakh tonnes. So, why should its price rise? It is manipulation by Government, politicians and businessmen together. And if this is not sorted out, this country cannot have a sound economy. The price of sugar is getting double because it is going to the black market and is not available to the consumer at a reasonable price. You can understand the price rise because of the factors of war and of defence. I shall deal with it later on. But you cannot understand the price rise in respect of all those

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commodities which are in ample supply, and in respect of sugar, even after the year is out, you will have still 6 lakh tonnes as the balance, which you can carry over to the next year. So, Sir, my charge is that this price spiral is man-made, Government-made and politician made. And if the price spiral is not put down, the people will not have any faith in either the politicians or the Government officers or the businessmen or in the discussion that is taking place on the price spiral. People will be thinking that next year there may be lack of production in sugarcane and now today Professor Sher Singh has said that "we" shall fix a higher price for sugarcane" and all that. You go on doing that but when actually there is lack of production, then only there can be a price rise. Now, at this very moment, the Sugar Federation people are saying, "Import some". We have seen this cycle, this crisis of pinning down sugar production, and this game of hide-and-seek of the sugar magnates, of the businessmen and of the Government, of how sometimes the prices rise and how sometimes the prices come down, of how sometimes production goes up and of how sometimes it goes down. The basic thing is that we are not clear in our policy.

You speak of nationalisation but you don't nationalise.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Because everybody is linked up, so it cannot be cleared. When everybody is linked up it cannot be cleared; this is your argument.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : This vicious circle has to be broken and it has to be broken by you. Who else can break it ? I hope the Minister would have understood this thing, and we want to break it, and that is what I am putting before you.

If we do not put before you a clear picture, who will do it ? The people are shouting. Everybody is shouting. You are saying it is a vicious circle. Let us not ignore it. If we are to blame, let us know where we are to blame and then only we can solve it. Mr. Ganesh has said that there is no way out, because it is a vicious circle.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I did not say it, but I just quoted your argument. It is a basic argument in the link.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : If it is a link-up, it has to be broken. Let us break the link rather than counter the question.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : We would like to have the details of the link-up.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : That he knows much better. He should know it. On the one side we say nationalisation of the sugar industry but then you do not nationalise it. You are vacillating between one policy and another and because of that the sugar magnates can play with the lives of the people. If this is the method, I do not know what you are going to do. Now, take textiles. The prices of cotton have gone down, but the prices of cloth have gone up. Mr. Babubhai Chinal gave a warning two days back that textile production is going down in this country. He wanted to know the reasons. He has warned us that if no action is taken, there is going to be a textile famine after six or eight months. What are you going to do about it ? The cotton is there. The machinery is there, but you do not produce. Ultimately an artificial scarcity is created. What are you going to do about it ? I want to know it. This is a man-made spiral of prices. What are you going to do about it ? Something has to be done to break it.

Sir, deficit financing. If we had a distribution system for essential commodities as GDR has, it would have been better. Even people from West Berlin come to East Berlin to take cheaper food. If you control the price of food, clothing and basic amenities and give them at a cheaper price, wages will not rise. Then, the spiral of giving more wages and resorting to deficit financing will not arise. Last year the Economic Survey gave us a warning. I was told by some economists that one can always predict that if there is deficit financing, after six months or four months it is going to have an effect. If that warning was given in the Economic Survey, were no steps taken to take hold of the stocks of all the essential commodities and distribute them, so that the common people could get them ?

Savings have decreased. If deposits in the banks have increased by Rs. 650 crores, a sum of Rs. 700 crores has been borrowed by the Government from the Reserve Bank. So, there is no saving. If the savings were there, the rise in prices would not have been there. There has been a contraction

of money supply in the commercial sector, but in the public sector and the governmental sector it has gone up by Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 crores. That being so, the Finance Minister had promised that there would be a ten per cent cut in the non-Plan expenditure. Has that been done? Nothing. The Government comes out with various figures. They say that they will control by not giving credit, by not giving security to bank advance and all that, but the black money is going on. No security is needed. The real security is black money. Black money is produced by all forces, by a whole complex mechanism, by the import-export mechanism. By making Rs. 1500 crores worth of imports, Rs. 1500 crores black money is being generated every year. The same thing about exports. Another source of black money is in respect of sales tax. It has been said many times that the sales tax should be deducted at the source, but nothing has been done up till now.

The difficulty is not about planning, as Mr. Lokanath Misra has said. The difficulty is about determination. I was a member when a delegation of scientists, under the leadership of Prof. Kothari, went to the Soviet Union. We met the Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Soviet Union. After the discussion, the Chairman of the Planning Commission said: "Prof. Kothari, there are various mechanisms and formulae for planning but the basic requirement is determination". Planning without determination is worse than a free economy, *laissez-faire*. What we are finding today is that we want to go towards the public sector, the socialist sector, but without determination. What is happening? Steel is produced by the public sector. Hindustan Steel is running at a loss, but the public are getting steel in the blackmarket. Who takes away the money?

Who is taking away the money? What is happening? Cotton is imported at controlled price and given to the mills, but there is no control over the cloth price. Who is gaining? No action is taken against anybody. All of us know that the emergency is still there the Defence of India Rules are there in the Statute Book and the Internal Security Act is there in the Statute Book. Today the newspapers say that some action has been in Delhi. When I talked to some people, they were making a fun of it. The real hoarders have not been caught. One quintal, two quintals, one bag, two bags—what is this? Is it not a mockery?

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : It is not a mockery. It is really giving a warning to the big fish.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : I agree with you. This was exactly what I was told by a person in Naya Bazar this morning. He said that this is giving warning to them. He said that nobody can be caught. All these laws are on the Statute Book. When Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri was there, we passed a law for sentence of six month's imprisonment. Why no action was taken? Are there no hoarders? Pandit Nehru said he would hang the hoarder by the nearest lamppost. He could not do it. (Interruption) The whole democracy is going to hang itself and is going to die if we do not take the right action in the right time, the whole of parliamentary democracy. The basic thing is the immediate taking over of the wholesale trade in essential commodities and the distribution system from top to bottom and the production of consumer goods in the public sector.

Then demonetisation. Why are you afraid? It is one step but you should be sure as to what you are going to do. Let there be a central agency to regulate the whole thing. Let you take action against the hoarders and black-marketeers, and do not spare anybody, politician, businessman or anybody high-up. Then people will have faith in you that you are really serious.

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have listened with interest to the two previous speeches on this very important question with the attention that they deserved. It is true and I agree with my young friend, Krishan Kantji, that there is no seriousness on the part of the Government to enforce and implement the policies which have been accepted. There is lip service paid to democracy, to socialism and to all kinds of high ideals. Yet action is lacking. I entirely agree with Shri Krishan Kant there.

Now, let us examine a few figures in regard to the performance of the economy for the last two decades. In 1950-51 our food position was very bad, and I very well remember that one of the members of the Congress party with the support of some other members of the party in Parliament sent a telegram to the USA asking for

[Shri T. N. Singh]

food-grains. Then Nehruji took them to task for begging for foodgrains, from another country. Since then unfortunately we have been importing foodgrains under PL 480, which is almost a gift. In that year *i. e.* 1950-51 the total foodgrains production of all kinds including cereals and others was 55.25 million tonnes.

Now, in 1960-61, that is in the ten-year period of the 50s, from 1950 to 1960, it went up to 82.2 million tonnes, that is an increase of about 49 per cent. But now during this Green Revolution period after 1960, what has happened? Has anybody examined the figures? In this decade 1960-1961 to 1970-71, foodgrains production went up to 107.8 million tonnes, which is an increase of 31 per cent in this decade only. And mind you, the year 1970-71 was an exceptionally good year. In the previous year, the total foodgrains production was not more than one hundred million tonnes. What has happened?

Now let us examine the position item-wise. Wheat has shown a remarkable progress I concede. In 1950-51, total production was 6.83 million tonnes only. In 1960-61, it was 11 million tonnes, that is an increase of 61 per cent. In 1970-71, it was 23.25 million tonnes, that is 211 per cent increase in wheat production. All credit to the farmers of Punjab, West UP and parts of Rajasthan. But what has happened in regard to other items of foodgrains? Rice—it was 22.11 million tonnes in 1950-51. It went up to 34.64 million tonnes in 1960-61, an increase of 56.5 per cent in the first decade. But in the decade 1960-61 to 1970-71, the increase was 42.5 million tonnes, that is an increase of 22 per cent only as against an increase of 56 per cent in the previous decade. Pulses increased from 9.22 million tonnes to 12.75 million tonnes in the 50s, that is in the first decade there was an increase of 38 per cent. But in 1970-71, the production went up by 11.58 per cent only, in other words, a decrease of 9.2 per cent. Oilseeds production also has remained more or less constant. They did not show much of an increase.

Now, take industrial production. In the years 1961-65, that is in the first quinquennium of the 60s, the average rate of growth of industries varied between 8.3 per cent and 9.7 per cent. But in the period 1966 to 1971 that is during the period the ruling party under the leadership of Indiraji has

been in power, what was the position? The industrial production varied from minus .7 per cent to 7.1 per cent, an average annual increase of 3 per cent, only.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : It was the result of the policy which you pursued...

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I know you are pursuing....

SHRI K. R. GANESH : ... which we are trying to avoid.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Why do you pursue his policy? Will you pursue my policy?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I am coming to that. Have patience. Listen to me. He has provoked me. It is on record for anybody to see that planning has no meaning if the prices are not kept stable. Keeping the prices stable is the duty of the Government. In my time as a planner I gave that warning that you must stabilise the prices.

In the Fourth Plan, that is Mr. Asoke Mehta's Plan I had some say. I pleaded for priority to agriculture. When Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister, an humble and simple man as he was, addressing the National Development Council he said, "I want to attach the highest importance to agriculture; agriculture has been neglected." That is my childhood friend's verdict. That was my verdict also. In the Planning Commission I was alone.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : That is what the World Bank also says.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : And as the most obedient servant of the World Bank Indiraji's Government devalued the Rupee. This is the relationship between your Government and the World Bank. Please do not provoke me unnecessarily.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : We know that.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : The truth is coming out from both sides. Sir, it is difficult for me to understand the difference between the tweedledom and the tweedledee.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Please wait. You will understand the difference. After the death of Lal Bahadurji every attempt has been made to reverse the policy that he wanted to follow. And this is the cause of all trouble. Every effort is being made to reverse his policies. I make this charge, s

that people may forget his memory. This is the position. I feel it and I am saying it in all sincerity and with the sentiment that I have in this regard. I hope people will not mistake me. I pleaded before the Planning Commission single-handed, in a minority of one, not to pursue 'giganticism'. I pleaded for a modest approach. But what is the position today? We are again pursuing that discredited theory of 'giganticism.' It is not going to help us and the country. I claim to be as much of a patriot as any one on those benches. I claim to be as much a socialist as any one on those benches. I say, if you really went to serve the poor people who, even up till now, have not been touched by whatever development has occurred. Please change your policy drastically. Follow in the footsteps of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I am saying it with all the emphasis at my command. Unless you do that, unless you take to the changes that he advocated during the short period he was the Prime Minister you will lead the country to ruin. This is what is going to happen.

Let me come to price index figures. According to official figures, with 1949 as 100, the price index has been steadily rising and in 1970-71 it was 233. It has gone up still further by 7 or 8 points in the last three months. This is the position. We are unable to control the continued rise in prices. I have been reading the papers to see if some new ideas have been thrown up by the present Government which claims to be a socialist Government as to how we are going to meet the situation of spiralling prices.

Sir, I have returned only recently from my own village. I am also a small farmer. I know how heart-rending it is to see crops drying up when we have sweated and invested our money on them. Some people are talking of sowing some intermediate varieties. They know very little of agriculture or what impact all that can have. The paddy crop which was transplanted has dried up. I come from Banaras. Wherever tubewells are there, they are trying to keep it alive. But in my own area the tubewell was not functioning. This is the state of the administration.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : For lack of electricity ?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : For lack of proper maintenance and repairs and all those things.

Lack of electricity comes next. Electricity is there. But there is no proper maintenance. There is no proper maintenance even in the areas which are administered by the Central Government. In the Union Territories also, the record of performance in irrigation by tubewells is no better. So, that is the position. Now what will the cultivators do? You are asking them to sow another dose of seeds. I happen to be born in a poor family. I am yet a poor man. I have just got a letter from my nephew asking help for more investment so that we may have another sowing of what is called late paddy. You do that, then the seedlings will have to grow and then transplantation will have to take place. There is hardly time left for that. Even assuming that it is possible—and I do not believe it is possible—what will happen? He will invest another Rs. 300 per acre. And supposing that also fails, then he will go bankrupt. Who is there to rescue the poor cultivator, the millions of cultivators who will go bankrupt, who are already bankrupt because they do not have the capacity to meet the situation? It is easier to get industrial loans than to get loans for the agriculturists. This is the position to-day. Sir, I was Minister of Industry for one year. Shri Chavan, the other day, had the hardihood to accuse me that all these things that are there are due to whatever I did when I was there. Sir, I have hardly been a Minister for more than two years or so and that, too, in two different Ministries. You may blame me. I am prepared to take all the blame. The blame is ours. I was there in the ruling party in the beginning. I am prepared, I am humble enough, modest enough, to accept all blame on myself. But is that going to help us? Why can't we think constructively? If I am pointing out all these things, I am not pointing out with a view to running down any Government. I am past that age. I do not speak often either. Shri Ganesh is a young man. He is liable to get excited. He can have repartees with me. But I think he is too young for me to hit back.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I only....

SHRI T. N. SINGH : No, no. Now you should keep quiet.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Only one clarification.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : No, please do not interrupt. For God's sake, do not interrupt me.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Please let me continue.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : One clarification, if you permit me. You are such a humble man, please permit me...

SHRI T. N. SINGH : No, let me finish first. You can have the clarification later on if the Chair permits you.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : So humble as not to allow any interruption !

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Why have I said this ? I am reading in the newspapers that Government are thinking of opening fair price shops in larger numbers; the FCI will make direct supplies; there are enough stocks of foodgrains, and all that. Now, I have seen a fair price shop in Delhi. I went there myself. I want to another fair price shop nearby. Once I purchased pulses at one shop. Then suddenly I felt suspicious that it was probably costlier. I went to another shop. There was a lower price. Two different prices in two fair price shops, which are not more than a furlong apart. This is the performance of the fair price shops.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN (Tamil Nadu) : That means there are unfair price shops also.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : This is what is happening. Now, do you think you can bring about the millennium, you can bring relief to the people through such corrupt agencies ? I say—and I am saying it with bitter experience—this is what is happening. I unfortunately have not been a very vocal Congress party man. I have always kept myself in the background. I have never sought permits or licences and I refused to help people getting licences. But I have seen the ruling party functioning at close quarters. Now you are all in the ruling party. Let there be more fair price shops here and in the States but I hope I shall not hear that this or that particular Congressman of the 'R' variety has approached this or that Minister or official for allotting a fair price shop for a particular individual. This is what is going to happen. First remedy that. See that there are no approaches by politicians. You are quite right, Krishan Kantji. It is the politicians who have great responsibility for all that is happening all these years.

After 25 years of Swaraj, to find that we are unable to stabilise price, to find that we are unable to become self-sustaining, self-reliant, to find that we talk of a big green revolution when the green revolution has really touched only the fringes of the cultivating classes, it is only in wheat if anything has happened. In all the other things practically no green revolution has taken place. Dr. Minnas—I think he is an unfortunate Planning Commission member—has written out openly that the green revolution has touched only the fringes of the cultivating classes. He has said it. But the administration and the Government have pooh-poohed him. His voice has been drowned by the crescendo of the flatterers that surround the Government. This is what has been happening. (*Time-bell*) Just a minute, please, I will be brief. Now, unless you do that, stop corruption among the politicians, unless you make your administration efficient, all this talk of more fair price shops, releasing of—Krishan Kantji has a pathetic face—more foodgrains to the consumer by our so called nationalised FCI—Food Corporation of India etc.—will not take you anywhere. The Food Corporation of India deserves a probe into its affairs. It is the worst managed Government undertaking. It will open the eyes of many people to find the truth about what has been happening before their very eyes in this Central organisation. We have invested large sums in our public sector projects. It is not a matter of great sorrow and pain that having invested nearly Rs. 7,000/- crores in these three or four Plans, we find that the production in the majority of these public sector units is not more than 60 to 70 per cent of their capacity ? Is it not a misuse or a bad use—let me use a milder word—of public funds collected from poor people ?

I was talking of the so called "Green Revolution". It has hardly touched the fringes of our cultivators and people sitting here in their air-conditioned rooms think that the cultivators have become rich and all money for bigger and bigger plans will come from these cultivators. I am telling you that you are all mistaken. 80 or 90 per cent of the population in the villages is even now at subsistence level. I welcome land ceiling. I want it. But land ceiling without a system of collective or joint farming will not succeed. This is my warning

Otherwise, there will be only fragmentation of holdings and there may be reduction of production.

Unfortunately our Administration is unfit to administer collective farming. I was a member of the Administrative Reforms Commission. I have been signatory to some of the reports. What has happened to those recommendations ? What has been their fate ? They are pigeonholed in the Secretariat. Even the Lok Ayukta and Lok Pal Bills which were drafted before the last Parliament was dissolved have not been revived yet. Why ? Are Ministers immune to charges of corruption ? Why was this measure not given the highest priority ? Are there not people who are known to be corrupt ? Have they not amassed wealth ? Why is not a single step being taken against them ? I hold myself responsible for two years. I was a Minister. Unfortunately I am one of the four persons alive today of that old team. Lal Bahadurji is dead. He is not here to defend himself. Shri Ganesh can well accuse me and Shri Chavan can well accuse me for my mistakes of those two years. Lal Bahadurji is not alive to defend himself I will single-handedly defend him and myself. You cannot get away like that. It has hurt me. Every time somebody goes out of the Ministry, he is asked : "What has happened in your own time ?". Every Minister, who is a Minister today, think that he will remain a Minister all the time. That never happens. Let me tell you, it never happens. We will all come and go. That is the way of the world, as Fitzgerald or Omar Khayam rightly said. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, I am coming to a close.

Sir, I will not speak much now because there is a time restriction. You have been very kind to listen to me with a great deal of attention and I am very much obliged to you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, for showing me some indulgence. But, I say, Sir, that unless there is a definite and drastic change in the thinking that is going on in the Government circles today to meet the price situation, to meet the inflationary situation, to meet the pressure on prices, etc. nothing will move nothing will really happen.

Sir, our rupee has depreciated and from 100 in 1949 it has come to 42.4 in 1972. That is the position of our rupee ? You tell the poor classes, either a poor weaver or the poor worker in the fields, that you are paying him new Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 a day and

you are telling this to a poor man, a poor worker, working on the streets of Delhi, living in slums. You say that they are earning so much. But, what is the value of this Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 that you pay ? What things can he purchase ? What things has he to purchase and at what cost ? Let us not say like Marie Antoinette that if you cannot take pulses—because pulses are in short supply—take meat ! Let us not repeat what Marie Antoinette said, "I cannot understand why the people of Paris cannot have cakes if there is no bread available." This is not going to help us. These are all palliatives and they will not help. You will have to think in a revolutionary way. You have to think in the way of a real socialist. Bring about real socialism and just do not indulge in pseudo-socialist talk. This is my advice. Sir, in the humblest way I say that I do not want to show off and I am prepared to plead guilty to the many sins of mine. If Shri Ganesh levels charges against me, I think I have got humility enough for that purpose. But, Sir, let the Government also admit where it is wrong and what it should do to rectify the matters. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr Sakhalecha.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Sir, just one minute.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Sir, if he says something now, I also will have to say something.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I am not saying anything more than this. I heard with great respect a very seasoned, veteran parliamentarian, a former member of the Government, putting across this very important problem that the country is facing today. Sir, I have not been able to get one suggestion from him. I am surprised that I have not been able to get one single suggestion from him and we as the Government are interested in finding out what is the way to solve this problem is...

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I will give you the suggestion....

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Just one minute and I will finish.

Sir, I have not been able to get one single suggestion from him. If the food distribution system is bad, if the green revolution has benefited us only marginally, if the Food Corporation is bad, if the public

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sector projects are bad, if land ceilings cannot be introduced because land ceiling will lead to collectivisation, then, Sir, where are we to go and how are we to solve the problem? What is the solution to the problem?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Ganesh, Mr. Singh has said what he wanted to say and you will have your turn later. Yes, Mr. Sakshalecha.

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सकलेचा (मध्यप्रदेश) :
उप-सभापति जी, अभी हमारे माननीय मित्र श्री टी. एन. सिंह साहब यह कह रहे थे कि श्री गणेश साहब की गवर्नमेंट की कुछ फेलियर्स हैं, जिन्हें वे एडमिट करे। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि प्राइम राइज की जो सिचुएशन है उसमें यह एडमिट किया गया है कि गवर्नमेंट इसमें पूरी तरह से फेलियर रही है।

मैं श्रीमन् का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाऊंगा कि श्री गणेश साहब ने इसी के बारे में कुछ दिन पहले लोकसभा के अन्दर कालिग एटेंशन मोशन के समय जो स्टेटमेंट प्राइम राइज के सम्बन्ध में दिया था, उस समय उन्होंने कहा था, दिस इट सैल्फ शोज—यह इस बात का प्रतीक है कि किस प्रकार सरकार प्राइम राइज को ठीक स्तर में करने में असफल सिद्ध हुई है और उनकी असफलता पूरी तरह से सिद्ध हो चुकी है।

उप-सभापति जी, उस समय श्री गणेश जी ने कहा था :

"In the main reply to the Calling Attention motion, Mr. Ganesh, Minister of State for Finance, said that governmental measures for restricting non-Plan expenditure, additional resources mobilisation and tightening up of controls, will have a perceptible impact on the price level in coming months."

यह 17 नवम्बर, 1971 का आपका स्टेटमेंट है। 17 नवम्बर को आप कहते हैं कि नान प्लान एक्सपेंडिचर को कम करने के हमारे कदमों से या प्राइस कंट्रोल करने के बारे में तथा कंट्रोल को टाइटनिंग करके कमिग मन्थ्स में जो प्राइम राइज हुई नवम्बर के अन्दर वह अब दिखलाई देगी। अब मैं माननीय मिनिस्टर साहब से उनके ही

वर्ड्स में पूछना चाहता हूं कि जो आपने तीन मैजर बातें बतलाई, क्या उससे कोई असर हुआ? नवम्बर के बाद पिछले 8 महीनों में लगातार प्राइस बढ़ती ही गई और स्वयं चन्हाण साहब ने इस सदन के अन्दर 31 तारीख को स्टेटमेंट दिया था कि जिस प्रकार से प्राइस इंडेक्स बढ़ रहा है, अन्य सारी इंसेंसियल कम्पोजिटीज की प्राइस बढ़ रही है। इस सदन के अन्दर 31 तारीख को जो उन्होंने स्टेटमेंट दिया था क्या वह यह स्वीकार नहीं करता कि क्या कोई भी कदम, इन चार कदमों से आपका सफल हुआ है? गवर्नमेंट को इस बारे में साहस होना चाहिये क्योंकि उनकी सीट जाने वाली नहीं है और उनकी यहां पर मेजरिटी है। अनलैस यू एडमिट यूअर फेलियर आन दिस पाइन्ट, अब आप इसको करेक्ट नहीं कर सकते हैं। क्या आपने कंट्रोल करने के लिए स्टैप्स उठाये हैं? क्या आपने नान-एक्सपेंडिचर को कंट्रोल करने के लिए कोई कदम उठाया है? मेरा आपसे यह निवेदन है कि उसी रोज आप लोक-सभा के अन्दर कुछ कदम उठाने में असमर्थ रहे क्योंकि यह चन्हाण साहब ने खुद एडमिट किया था। जिस समय सरकार से यह मांग की गई थी कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने से क्यों नहीं रोकते, आज क्यों आपका नान-एक्सपेंडिचर बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है और उसको रोकने के लिए स्टैप्स क्यों नहीं उठाते हो? इसके उत्तर में हमारे चन्हाण साहब कहते हैं कि मैं कोई ड्रिल मास्टर नहीं हूं। दिस इज दी ऐन्सर विच चन्हाण हैज गिवन। यह बात उन्होंने उसी दिन कही। अगर आप ड्रिल मास्टर नहीं हैं, देश की इकौनौमी को कंट्रोल करने की आपके पास क्षमता नहीं है, आप कोई स्टैप नहीं उठा सकते हैं, तो फिर जनता को काहे के लिए मुगलता देना चाहते हो कि हम प्राइस कंट्रोल करना चाहते हैं, रेस्ट्रिक्शन करना चाहते हैं ताकि साधारण जनता को उचित मूल्य के अन्दर जीवन की वस्तुएं प्राप्त हो सकें। आप इस तरह की चीज के लिए कोई भी कदम उठाने में सक्षम नहीं हैं, यह बात स्वयं उन्होंने एडमिट की है।

हमारे मित्र श्री कृष्ण कान्त कह रहे थे कि मैन्यूवैरिंग के कारण फूडग्रेन्स का उत्पादन बढ़ा है, तो फिर देश में प्राइस राइज क्यों हुई? आप

क्या तथ्यों को अस्वीकार कर सकते हैं ? हमारा एक्सपैंडीचर जिस रेट से ऊपर बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है, नान-प्लान्ड एक्सपैंडीचर बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है, फालतू खर्च बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है, मनी सप्लाई इकॉनॉमी के अन्दर बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है, नोट छाप छाप कर आज देश में इन्फ्लेशनरी ट्रेन्ड बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है, तो क्या ये सब प्राइम राइज के कारण नहीं है ? क्या सरकार इसके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं है क्योंकि आज केन्द्रीय तथा प्रान्तीय सरकारें सब इस तरह के कार्यों में लगी हुई हैं और नान-प्लान एक्सपैंडीचर को किसी तरह से रोका नहीं जा रहा है ।

उप सभापति जी, यह स्पष्ट है कि डैफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग जो हमारा पहले 222 करोड़ रुपये का था, वह अब 705 करोड़ रुपया हो गया है । यह एक्सपैंडीचर जो 705 करोड़ रुपया हो गया है उसको आप रोक नहीं सकते हैं । नान-डेवलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर जो 1970-71 में 751 करोड़ रुपये का था, वह 1971-72 में 903 करोड़ रुपये का हो गया है । 69-70 में 725 करोड़ था, यह बढ़ता चला जा रहा है । हम करेन्सी छापते चले जा रहे हैं । मनी मार्केट के अन्दर आ रहा है । जितना प्रोडक्शन बढ़ना चाहिए उसके परिणाम में मनी सप्लाई बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ती चली जा रही है । उसके लिए गवर्नमेंट रेस्पांसिबिल है । एक तरफ तो आप यह करते रहे और दूसरी तरफ जनता को मुगालते में रखने के लिए कहते हैं कि फेयर प्राइस शाप बढ़ा देंगे, कन्ट्रोल रिजिड कर देंगे । ब्लेक मार्केटियर्स के बारे में जो उन्होंने कहा उससे मैं सहमत हूं, लेकिन आप उनके खिलाफ कोई एक्शन नहीं लेंगे, बड़े लोगों के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करेंगे, जो होर्डिंग करते हैं उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही नहीं करेंगे । उनका भी कारण है प्राइम जे के बारे में । लेकिन सबसे बड़े आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि आप अपनी कार्यवाही सब उसी प्रकार से चालू रखना चाहते हैं, अपने खर्च में किसी प्रकार से कमी नहीं करना चाहते हैं । इस प्रकार के जो ट्रेन्ड हैं करेन्सी के बारे में, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के फालतू एक्सपेंडीचर के बारे में उसके बारे में आप कोई कदम न उठाते हुए दोष उन लोगों के ऊपर डालना चाहते हैं, जो कि आज की परिस्थिति का सही विश्लेषण नहीं है ।

बड़ी चर्चा की गई थी । अभी मेरे मित्र मिस्टर टी. एन. सिंह साहब चर्चा कर रहे थे ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन के बारे में । कैसा संयोग है कि एक ओर काश्तकार के पास आपके ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन के कारण पैसा, आमदनी बढ़ गई, गेहूं का उत्पादन जहां पहले 5 क्विंटल था अब 15 क्विंटल हो गया आपके ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन के आधार पर तो यह समझकर कि काश्तकार के पास पैसा हो गया है, सारी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने टैक्सों का भार उनके ऊपर डालना शुरू किया । दूसरी ओर अकाल के कारण, अभी टी. एन. सिंह साहब कह रहे थे कि मैं किसान हूं, किसान ने खाद डाली, वर्षा हुई नहीं और उसके खेत में पड़ा खाद बीज बेकार हो गया । फरदर इन्वेस्टमेंट की केपेसिटी नहीं और उधर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट द्वारा इरीगेशन का टैक्स बढ़ा दिया गया, बिजली का टैक्स बढ़ा दिया गया । लैंड रेवेन्यू जो चुनाव जीतने के लिए हटा दिया गया था फिर लगाया जा रहा है । भ्रम पैदा करके चारों ओर से काश्तकारों के ऊपर संकट डाले जा रहे हैं यह समझ कर कि उनके पास काफी पैसा हो गया, उनमें काफी समृद्धि आ गई और इस आधार पर जो कुछ उत्पादन करने वाले काश्तकार थे उनको भी समाप्त करने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है ।

इंडस्ट्रियल उत्पादन बढ़ा नहीं, 3 परसेंट आप कहते रहे, बहुत मुश्किल से 3 परसेंट बढ़ा और दूसरी ओर इन चीजों का उत्पादन, किसान ने बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न किया तो उनके ऊपर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स और सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट टूट कर पड़ीं और परिणाम यह है कि किसानों को आज मुश्किल हो रही है । ज्वार का भाव जो किसान खाना है, आसमान को छू रहा है । ज्वार 90, 100 रुपए क्विंटल उपलब्ध होना कठिन हो रहा है । इसी प्रकार से उर्द आदि के भाव बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं क्या फेयर प्राइम शाप्स से गांव में रहने वाले लैंडलेस लेबर या छोटे किसान को कुछ प्राप्त हो सकेगा । जिम समय ज्वार की फसल आई थी उस समय यह स्थिति नहीं थी । जिम समय फसल आई थी । उस समय 65-70 के भाव पर किसान का ज्वार खरीदा गया । आज क्या हालत है ? आज किसान ज्वार लेना चाहता है तो उसे वह उस भाव फेयर प्राइम शाप्स से मिलने वाला नहीं है । आपने कहा कि स्ट्रिक्टर कन्ट्रोल से और एसेशियल

[श्री विरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा]

कमोडिटीज एक्ट के द्वारा सारी कमोडिटीज की कीमतों को रैगुलैट करेंगे । उससे सिवाय भ्रष्टाचार के कुछ होने वाला नहीं है । शक्कर की हालत क्या है । गाँवों के अन्दर शक्कर पहुंच नहीं पाती । 4 रुपए किलो उन्हें शक्कर लेनी पड़ती है । ग्राम पंचायतों या डीलरों के नाम से जो कोटे जाते हैं वे जिला या तहसील में नहीं पहुंच पाते । मुझे एक उदाहरण मालूम है, उत्तर प्रदेश की शक्कर का कोटा मन्दसौर जिले के लिए हुआ । उस कोटे की शक्कर कानपुर से मन्दसौर पहुंची ही नहीं, कोटा कानपुर के अन्दर ही बेच दिया गया । उस पर असेम्बली में क्वेश्चन हुआ, एडमिट किया गया कि कोटा कानपुर के अन्दर बेच दिया गया, लेकिन बड़े दूकानदारों के ऊपर जिनके नाम से परमिट दी गई थी, जो फेयर प्राइस शाप्स को सप्लाई करने वाले थे । उनका आज तक प्रोसीक्यूशन नहीं हुआ, उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही नहीं हुई । यह फेयर प्राइस शाप्स की हालत है और आप कहते हैं कि 1 लाख 25 हजार फेयर प्राइस शाप्स के द्वारा जनता को जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुएं उपलब्ध करा देंगे । पोलिसी ही गलत है और उस नाते से जब तक सही इकानोमिक पोलिसी को आप एडाप्ट नहीं करते, फालतू खर्चों को रोकते नहीं, नान-डेवलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर के ऊपर प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाते, जब तक स्टेट गवर्नमेंट और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट—वजाय टैक्सों के भार से कमर तोड़ने के—जो प्रोडक्शन करने वाला है उसको कुछ उत्साह नहीं देती तब तक प्राइसेज को बढ़ती हुई मंहगाई को रोकना नहीं जा सकता और उस नाते से मेरा यह निवेदन है कि जब तक सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट मिलकर देश की इकानोमी को ठीक करने के लिए स्टेप्स नहीं उठाती तब तक इस संकट से मुक्ति नहीं पा सकते ।

आज भी चर्चा होती है । कार्लिंग अटेंशन मोशन के द्वारा इन सदन के अन्दर और लोकसभा के अन्दर बल्कि देश भर में ही चर्चा होती है ।

अभी कैबिनेट की इकोमिक कमेटी में इसकी चर्चा हुई । मि० सुब्रह्मण्यम् का मेरे पास स्टेटमेंट है जो उन्होंने दिया था कि प्राइसेज रोकने के बारे में क्या करना चाहिये । नथ्रे प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर

धर साहब आये । उन्होंने भी एक मीटिंग बुला कर के इसकी चर्चा की । लेकिन जब तक एक निश्चय के साथ एक डिटेर्मिनेशन के साथ कुछ स्टेप्स नहीं उठाये जाते तब तक आप इस प्राइस राइज को रोक नहीं सकते । इसके बारे में मेरा एक मुझाव है । जब तक आप फूड ग्रेन्स के प्रोडक्शन के सम्बन्ध में किसानों को सहायता देने का निश्चय नहीं करते, तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता । जब तक आप बिजली का टैक्स, इरिगेशन का टैक्स बढ़ाते जायेंगे और खाद के ऊपर सेस लगा करके उसका भाव बढ़ाते जायेंगे, तब तक प्राइसेज को रोकना संभव नहीं है । बार बार चौहान साहब यह कहते हैं और यह निश्चित इकानोमिक प्रिंसिपल है कि जब तक प्रोडक्शन नहीं होगा और केवल मनी मार्केट के अन्दर आता रहेगा तब तक प्राइसेज किसी हालत में रुक नहीं सकते । आज जो प्रोडक्शन करने वाला किसान है वह प्रोडक्शन करके आपकी इकानोमी में हेलप करता है । लेकिन आप इसका इरिगेशन का रेट बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं, उसका लैंड रेवेन्यू आप बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं, उसकी खाद के ऊपर तीन चार रुपया हर साल आप बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं । स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स भी उसके ऊपर सेल्स टैक्स लगा रही हैं और आप अलग से लगा रहे हैं । ऐसी हालत में आप कैसे अपेक्षा कर सकते हैं कि किसान प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने में सहायता देगा । यदि किसान खत्म हो गया तो क्या स्टेट गवर्नमेंट या सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट उसकी सहायता करेंगे । अगर किसान तीन चार साल में खत्म हो गया तो क्या आप उसको कम्पेंसेट करने वाले हैं । उसकी फसल के बारे में क्या आप इन्श्योरेंस स्कीम लागू करने वाले हैं । देश भर में बराबर इस बात की मांग हो रही है कि फसल को इन्श्योरेंस स्कीम लागू की जाय, लेकिन उसको लागू नहीं किया जाता । फिर भी हम टैक्सेज बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं । लेकिन जब तक प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ता तब तक मंहगाई की समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है । जब तक अनेक डाइरेक्ट या इंडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज लगाना हम बन्द नहीं करेंगे, जब तक बिजली, इरिगेशन और खाद पर और टैक्स लगाना हम बन्द नहीं करेंगे, तब तक देश की वर्तमान स्थिति में कोई सुधार कर सकता हमारे लिए संभव नहीं है । इसके अतिरिक्त जब तक आप सख्त कदम

नहीं उठाते तब तक मंहगाई बराबर बढ़ती चली जायगी ।

दूसरे, मेरा यह निवेदन है कि जहां तक स्पेकुलेशन का सवाल है स्पेकुलेशन को रोकने के लिए आपने विभिन्न कानून बनाये हैं, फिर भी स्पेकुलेशन की सारी कार्यवाही बराबर चलती रहती है । आपको अच्छी तरह ज्ञात है कि तेल के भाव साढ़े चार या पांच रु. किलो हो गये थे, लेकिन फिर वे बढ़ गये हैं । मैं आपकी जानकारी के लिये बतलाना चाहता हूं कि फार्वर्ड मार्केट के द्वारा देश के विभिन्न स्थानों पर कारोबार होता रहता है, लेकिन उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होती इसीके कारण तेल और दूसरी चीजों के भाव बढ़ जाते हैं । इसीके कारण मंहगाई का एक वातावरण खड़ा किया जाता है । जिनके पास स्टॉक नहीं है वे सीदा करते हैं और उसको आप रेग्युलेट नहीं कर पाते हैं । इस स्पेकुलेशन की कार्यवाही को जब तक आप ठीक प्रकार से नियंत्रित नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप भावों के ऊपर नियंत्रण स्थापित नहीं कर सकते ।

इतनी अनएकाउन्टेड मनी के बारे में चर्चा की जाती है । वहाँ साहब का स्टेटमेंट है कि उसकी एक पैरेलल इकानामी है, पर मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि उस पैरेलल इकानामी को कंट्रोल करने में आप समर्थ हैं या नहीं ? इसी प्रकार डिमोनीटाइजेशन की बात जब आती है तो पता नहीं चलता कि आखिर गवर्नमेंट का इस बारे में क्या विचार है । तो इस सारे ब्लैक मनी को, अनएकाउन्टेड मनी को लेकर जो हमारे साथ इस प्रकार का खिलवाड़ किया जा रहा है उसको नियंत्रण करने के लिए आप क्या कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं यह हम जानना चाहते हैं । यह एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है । लोक सभा के पिछले सत्र में इस पर चर्चा हुई थी, लेकिन सरकार केवल बंबई के दो चार स्थानों पर रेड करके ही इस समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकती । आप जब स्वयं कहते हैं कि उसकी एक पैरेलल इकानामी हो गयी है तो उसको कंट्रोल करने के लिए आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं इस बात को स्पष्ट रूप से आपको बताना चाहिए ।

दूसरे, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग जब तक आप पूरी तरह से रोकेंगे नहीं तब तक ठीक से काम नहीं चलेगा । अगर आप कहते हैं कि डेवलपिंग इकानामी में यह इंफ्लेटर है तो भी उनकी कोई सीमा होनी चाहिए, उसको एक नियंत्रित रूप में रहना चाहिए । इंफ्लेटर है केवल इस बात पर उसका प्रयोग नहीं किया जा सकता, और आज देखा जा रहा है कि आम रूप में आज डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का प्रयोग किया जा रहा है, वह चल रही है 80, 80 करोड़ तक की । इसको नियंत्रित करने के लिए जब तक आप कुछ नहीं करेंगे तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा ।

इसी तरह से टैक्सेशन के बारे में हैं । स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स चाहे जिस प्रकार से टैक्सेज लगाती रहें उनको उसकी छूट मिली हुई है । यह जो विशस सफल चला हुआ है इसको रोका जाना चाहिए । अभी मध्यप्रदेश में 12 करोड़ रुपये के नये टैक्सेज लगे और वह सारा पैसा मंहगाई भत्ता देने में चला गया । मंहगाई भत्ते के कारण फिर मंहगाई बढ़ेगी और मंहगाई बढ़ने के कारण आपको फिर मंहगाई भत्ते को बढ़ाना पड़ेगा, यह जो विशस सफल चला हुआ है कि वेजेज बढ़ें मंहगाई के कारण और उनके कारण फिर मंहगाई बढ़े इसको तोड़ना चाहिए और उसका एक ही तरीका है कि आप लोगों को ठीक मूल्य पर आवश्यक सामान उपलब्ध करा दें । जब तक आप लोगों को आवश्यक सामान उचित मूल्य पर उपलब्ध नहीं कराते, आप उसके लिए जब तक आवश्यक मशीनरी नहीं बनाने और प्राइसेज को कंट्रोल करने के लिए प्राइस बोर्ड बनाकर देश में उचित मूल्य पर लोगों को आवश्यक वस्तुएं उपलब्ध नहीं कराते तब तक हम समस्या का हल होने वाला नहीं है और इसके लिए आपको सख्ती से डिस्प्लिन स्थापित करनी पड़ेगी, आपको स्वयं के ऊपर भी कुछ नियंत्रण स्थापित करना पड़ेगा ।

रिसोर्स के मोबिलाइजेशन के नाम पर चाहे जितने टैक्सेज स्टेट और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट्स थोप देती हैं और यह एक लम्बी समस्या है । यह एक साधारण आदमी की समस्या है, एक गरीब आदमी की जो 120 या 150 रुपये कमाता है महीने में और इस मंहगाई के कारण उसका 40,

[श्री विरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा]

50 रुपया व्यर्थ ही खर्च हो जाता है । क्या वह भूखा रहकर, अपने बच्चों को न पढ़ा कर अपना जीवन निर्वाह करे ? तो इसके लिए आप उत्तरदायी हैं । केवल यह कहकर कि हम ड्रिल मास्टर नहीं हैं, हम उनको पूरी तरह से डिस्प्लिन में नहीं रख सकते, यह कह कर ही आप छूटकारा नहीं पा सकते क्योंकि आप कुर्सी पर बैठे हैं, आपकी यहां पर मेजरिटी है । आप अपने फेलोस को स्वीकार करिये और उसके बाद जब तक आप पूरे डिटरमिनेशन के साथ कोई कदम नहीं बढ़ाते तब तक मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूं कि आप देश की 80 प्रतिशत जनता को जो आज उससे बुरी तरह व्रस्त है उसको आप कोई राहत नहीं दे सकेंगे ।

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this latest price increase or the spiral in the price increase will, I am afraid, upset our plan calculations if necessary correctives are not applied. In fact, there is no dispute about the causes that are leading to the price increase. I am only sorry that Members in the Opposition take pleasure in criticising the policies of the Government as though they are responsible for this price increase. A policy is not actually made overnight. In fact, in all Plan documents certain basic principles have been actually enunciated and reiterated.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : 25 वर्ष से यह चल रहा है और ओवरनाइट की बात कर रहे हैं । सिलवर जुबली ईयर चल रहा है ।

श्री बी० बी० राजू : यह मैं पोलिटिकल स्पीच नहीं कर रहा हूं, यादव जी । अभी आपकी पार्टी के जो साथी हैं उन्होंने स्पीच किया है ।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : किसी ने अभी तक पोलिटिकल स्पीच नहीं किया है और जिसने भी स्पीच दी है वह फैक्चुअल स्पीच दी है और ठीक स्थिति बताई है ।

श्री बी० बी० राजू : अभी हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट ने सही कहा कि कोई एक भी सूचना नहीं है जो कि अमल में लाने के काबिल हो और रैलेवेंट हो ।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : माफ कीजिये, गणेश जी ने कहा था कि अपोजीशन की तरफ से कोई तजबीज नहीं आई जो कि कंस्ट्रिक्टिवली प्राइसेज को घटा दे । मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूं । एक नुस्खा है । अकेले इन्फ्लेशन की वजह से यह होता है । आप इतना करिये कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग बिल्कुल रोक दीजिये । इसका एलान करने के साथ ही मार्केट पर जादू का असर होगा ।

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : त्यागी जी इसको इतना सीधा समझते हैं । वह कह सकते हैं ।

SHRI V. B. RAJU : I wish that through this debate and discussion we make certain suggestions to the Government which are capable of being actually implemented and which will really bring about the result. That should be the motivation. But only making a sweeping remark...

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया इतने दिनों से आपके हाथ में है....

श्री बी० बी० राजू : थोड़ा मदाखलत न कीजिये तो बड़ी मेहरबानी होगी ।

This is a national problem. This is not a party problem. This is not a new phenomenon. This is a feature of our growing economy, of our developing economy. I fact, as has been stated by the Finance Minister previously, in a developing economy a certain measure of price rise is inevitable, but we are worried only because it has risen beyond a particular point and beyond a particular level. Now, we are debating on that point. We have got to fight not only the symptoms. We shall not worry about the symptoms. We should fight the disease and its causes. Now, we should be able to help the Government in unearthing the causes. There are many factors which are responsible for the price rise. In fact, we have to make a multi-pronged attack. It is not enough to say, just take away deficit financing. Can the Opposition assure us ? Does it realise that if law and order is maintained at a particularly peaceful level, a sum of Rs. 100 crores being spent on the Central Police could be saved ? Today can the opposition take the responsibility that there will not be any border trouble or no insecurity at the border ? This is not possible. No sweeping remarks will break the ice. We have to allow certain elbowroom or we must allow freedom to the Govern-

ment to take to a certain amount of deficit financing because deficit financing, to a certain extent, will accelerate economic growth. It is not by saying, collect Rs. 10 spend Rs. 9 and save Re. 1/- you can balance the budget and save Rs. 1 and produce a surplus Budget

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : May I know...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please, let him go on with his speech.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Is it his contention that the price rise is not due to inflation ?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : We are all worried that this price spurt has taken place in the months of June and July and compared to the previous year it has risen by 7.3 per cent. I do not agree with friends who say that the present failure of the clouds is responsible for the price rise. This has happened earlier than the monsoon. The impact of the failure of the cloud may be felt in the months of November or December and, therefore, I am afraid that in the future we have a more difficult time to face. So, we are debating it seriously. We would like the Government to consider our suggestions carefully and see that something radical is done. There are about a dozen causes. I do not want to go into the details and it is no use repeating them. As I have said, shortages are a continuing feature. Shortage of foodgrains, shortage of industrial raw materials and even shortage in certain services will be a continuing phenomenon in a growing economy and we have to put up with them, but is the right wing Opposition ready if the Government goes all-out for full control ? I am sure again a hue and cry will be raised that the free economy has been interfered with, that freedom has been interfered with. Now, I may remind the Government that our *ad hocism* is always dangerous. Controls are an accompanying factor in a planned economy and controls are necessary. It is not merely regulatory control in terms of price and movement, but control in terms of consumption. This is necessary particularly in a situation like the present. Certain sections of the society have got a higher purchasing power. They are able to take to wasteful consumption. How can that wasteful consumption be arrested, unless you think of rationing ? In fact, if the Opposition co-operates with the Government, in the big cities rationing has got to be introduced for certain articles. Is the

Opposition ready for it ? I was reading about Burma the other day and how socialism is sought to be introduced and built up there. We may like it or we may not like it, but still rationing is there, in fact, in Burma.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : May I ask him one question ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, unless he yields.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Is it his case that the Government is failing for want of co-operation from the Opposition ?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Not only regulatory controls. Controls are necessary at two other points also, at the point of consumption and at the point of procurement. There should be monopoly procurement by Government not only of farm produce, but also the factory production of certain essential goods.

There are sick mills and the Textile Corporation is taking them up. Let us go in a big way for a standardised coarse cloth. Why should we not do it ? All the sugar that is produced let the Government actually mop up. In a similar way also the edible oils. Some half a dozen items which go into the consumption of the poorer sections of the society have got to be procured through two Corporations, the foodgrains by the Food Corporation of India and the essential commodities by another Corporation which is being promoted for the procurement of factory products and taking over the wholesale trade completely in its hands and the promotion of a network of fair price shops; and these fair price shops actually should be watched by popular Committees. The card system must be there. Without the card system it does not function properly. It becomes the breeding ground for all sorts of corrupt practices. When the consumer goes to the shop, the shopkeeper says, "No, it is exhausted". There should be a popular Committee at the level of the local area. The Government should seek the co-operation of the people. I agree with Mr. Kulkarni that it may be a 15 per cent or 25 per cent rise but this can be gradually checked. The co-operation of the people is necessary in this matter. Therefore, it is not a party matter. It is actually a national question. All political parties must co-operate with the Government in the implementation of the programme. What I am suggesting is not

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a radical change in the policies but the application of certain correctives. In this respect while our economy has been behaving in a very eccentric way, in an erratic way, from plenty to scarcity, I had seen those days when sugarcane was burnt on the fields when the factories were not taking the sugarcane. It was only three or four years ago that actually sugarcane was being burnt on the fields. They were not taking it. There is another contradiction here. Gur prices are responsible for the rise in the price of sugar. Gur is getting a price of Rs. 230. Where gur is going we do not know. It is said that gur is going for preparing *gurramba* or *seera*. There are so many implications, deep study is necessary in all these matters. I wish that the Government would actually constitute a Committee of Parliament to deeply study these matters and actually advise the Government also, if necessary.

The lower income groups and the wage earners are very badly hit. Unless you assure that those families whose income is less than Rs. 500 will get these commodities at a particular price for every Plan period, we may not actually make the people's life happy. I need not say actually about the budgetary deficits or all these things. The Government knows about it and we have been talking about it in every Budget discussion, and repetition is not necessary. But I can only remind the Finance Minister about the working of a parallel economy. How can it be arrested? Because this is the money which is actually upsetting all our calculation. I would just give certain figures—I am afraid I am subject to correction. This money may be employed in hoarding stocks. This money may not be in currency notes with the blackmarketeers. This money must have already passed on, and they might be hoarding certain stocks, and I think a very effective vigilance programme is necessary to see that the stocks are actually seized. I am suspecting, I have no direct information about this. The prices of foodgrains have actually gone up by 15 per cent; cereals by 12.2 per cent; and pulses by 25.3 per cent, in the month of July.

And sugar and allied products have gone up by 25.8 per cent. These are the latest figures for the middle of July. While the Food Corporation is holding nine million tonnes of stocks and when there is partial

control over sugar, now the prices are shooting up like this. I do not think it is a psychological factor. There is something basically wrong.

AN HON. MEMBER : They are making a profit themselves.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Talking about steel the steel rerolling mills are minting money today actually. At what price is steel being sold in the market? And the sugar factories and the steel factories are actually gravitating all the available surplus of money in the market. Now even the cooperative organisations of sugar factories are not happy. We are not happy with it. A day may come when the Government may have to think of nationalising the sugar industry. It may be necessary also to mop up certain resources and to give and assurance to the actual cultivator.

Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House. But I would like to express that there are certain difficulties, constitutional difficulties or legal difficulties. The controls are actually promulgated by the Centre and the implementation is by the State Governments. Most of the State Governments are responsible for the implementation of these controls. There needs to be better coordination between the Centre and the States. And I am reminding the House how cooperation is not readily available to the Government. When the procurement price of wheat was sought to be reduced by Rs. 2 or something, by a small margin, there was a hue and cry. There was tremendous opposition, there was a big lobby; when the Government wanted to save the subsidy which it was actually trying to pay, which was being paid by the Food Corporation as subsidy to the producer, there was tremendous opposition. Therefore, let there be no contradiction. We shall hold a balance between the consumer and the producer. But when there is actually some sort of pressure from some quarter, from the vocal forces or from the forces which are economically strong, we the politicians surrender. As a matter of fact, they advise the ruling party not to bring in politics. But the opposition is more interested in politics, in throwing mud at the Government. Therefore it is not the monopoly of the ruling party.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : But the Government is responsible for certain things and we have to throw the mud at it.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : On a separate occasion.

I have done my job. What I am suggesting to the Government is to lay their hands on the actual points of production of certain commodities and have the wholesale trade in their hands, promote a network of fair price shops, issue cards. I would even make a suggestion for mobilising certain surplus moneys in the market. Take Rs. 5000 from each fair price shop. Promote about 2.5 lakhs of fair price shops. Ask them to deposit Rs. 5000 each and give the commodities to them. It is also economic for them actually to run the shops also. So, in this way let a blue-print be drawn up and I hope the Opposition will also cooperate.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh) : About dividing the responsibility between the Government and the Opposition, I would like to point out that your responsibility is massive because you are said to have a massive mandate.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : The responsibility with the Government has been to take the cooperation of the Opposition. Therefore they allowed a discussion. And when they allowed it, naturally the Opposition will take advantage of it and will naturally extend their cooperation.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, I am inclined to agree with some of the hon. Members who said that it was not merely a spurt but a galloping speed in price rise. Within the last six weeks, I believe the prices have increased by more than 30 per cent on very essential commodities. I do not know what our Finance Minister and the officers concerned in the Food Ministry are going to say in answer to the discussion. But I am sure that we will be hearing the rather old tale being repeated today also. The reasons that will be adduced to this spurt—I presume—will be firstly, the developing economy, secondly the deficit finance and thirdly the failure of the monsoon as a result of which there is a drought, now.

Sir, ever since we have become politically conscious we have been hearing this owe of tale. Right from the British days up to the Congress days, through the days of Panditji down to our Indiraji, these are some pet phrases used by the Government. What have you done during the last 25 years after attaining independence for eradicating some of these calamities wrought by the nature? If we had gone in a planned way, in a manner which could anticipate these dangers we would

have succeeded. What is happening now? On the one side of a State there is drought, on the other side there are floods, on the third side there is famine and on the fourth side there is plenty of food but no proper machinery for its distribution. The Centre must take some strong measures to see that they divert surplus water to areas which are suffering from drought. In this morning's papers we have read that while U.P. is hit by severe drought Assam is badly affected because of the floods. What have we done? Let us take up new venture. Why not connect up the Ganges with the Cauvery or some other rivers on the western side so that this drought would not have stared in our face and we would be employing millions and millions of idle manpower.

Sir, I do not want to make a lengthy speech because, as the House is aware, many of the hon'ble Members have spoken with very good points. I hope the Government in its reply would cover all those points that my colleagues here have raised. But I would like to put forth a few points for the Government's consideration,

First of all, let us intensify agricultural production. Supplying hybrid seeds or giving irrigation facilities is not enough when we take the size and the need of the country into consideration. Therefore, first of all let us intensify production.

Secondly, let there be fool-proof system of distribution. Thirdly, there must be permanent arrangement to meet the challenge from nature, connecting areas of floods with areas of drought by engaging millions and millions of people for construction of dams, canals, etc. to link rivers like Ganga with Cauvery and other rivers. Let us have national riverways. There is nothing wrong in it. Through these suggestions I am sure the problems would be very much tackled.

SHRI N. K. KRISHNAN (Kerala) : Sir, I believe it will be a good thing if this debate could lead to some awareness in the Government about the seriousness of the price situation and its political repercussions. I remember it was hardly a month ago that the Prime Minister spoke on this question, the question of rising prices. She airily dismissed it as a part of worldwide global inflation and as due to the delay in the monsoon. The Prime Minister at that time even spoke of an "economic miracle" achieved in this country. I was extremely surprised at her assertions because I expected more sober

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thinking from the highest in the Government. Hardly a month has passed since then and we are debating the most serious rise in prices and its all-round repercussions in every sphere of life.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I do not want to give statistics about the seriousness of the situation. That has been sufficiently explained by speakers who have spoken before me. It has been pointed out that this price rise has affected the common man's commodities, coarser food grains, pulses, edible oils, sugar etc., particularly those commodities on which the lower strata of population depends.

The rise in the prices of these commodities has been the sharpest. Now, if you take the rise in the wholesale prices and then take up the consequent rise in the retail prices over a large variety of commodities on which the common man depends for his livelihood, during the last one year, you will find that there has been nearly a 40 per cent increase in prices. Not only does this mean the very opposite of *garibi hatao* but it also means an extremely serious danger to the whole future of planning in this country. In this connection, Sir, you will remember that famous or infamous document—I do not know how to characterise it—"The Approach or the Approach to the Approach to the Fifth Plan." That document does not even talk of price rise. If this kind of thing continues, then the whole future of planning will be bleak in this country. That is why it is a question which is extremely serious and fraught with serious political consequences. Not only that, I would like to point out that taking advantage of this price rise and also taking advantage of the drought situation, there are forces working in this country—a very big section of the monopolists, those who control the textile industry, those who control the sugar industry, those who control the steel industry, the lords of the private sector—who are today hatching big plans and working through their men in the Central Government to pressurise the Government and to force it to change completely even the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 and give a whole range of concessions to the private sector, to the monopolists. The present crisis is being made use of to create a psychological climate in this country for that purpose.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to add in this connection that I hope this

particular crisis will put weight to the vicious theory that it is the demand for bonus and increased wages that always leads to rise in prices, a favourite theory with all capitalists, a favourite theory with the Government spokesmen and a theory which, I am sorry to say, was repeated even by the Prime Minister two weeks back. Now we know very well that the rise in the prices of pulses, jowar and sugar has nothing to do with the demand of the working class for more wages. On the contrary, it is because of this rise in prices that the working class is going to ask for more bonus and more wages to make up partly for the rise in prices. Let me put it on record, please do not raise this hereafter in this House that it is the demand for more wages that has led to inflation and rising prices. It is your Government's policy that is responsible.

Now, Sir, I would like to put one question to the Government in this connection regarding foodgrains production. We are told that rise in production will bring down the prices. That is the argument which was used by the Finance Minister even as late as July 31 in the Lok Sabha : increase production, and the problem will be solved. And many speakers to-day repeated it. Now take the foodgrains production. The foodgrains production has been going up consistently since 1968. We even heard at one stage that we would be in a position to export foodgrains. Yet, what do we see ? For three years since 1968, side by side with increase in production, we have had the phenomenon of rise in prices. And not only the phenomenon of rise in prices, we have also had the phenomenon of the quantity of foodgrains issued through the public distribution system diminishing month by month during the last three years.

So on the one hand prices rise alongside the rise in production, and on the other side we are told that there is a 9 million ton buffer stock and any time we can use it. And yet, we see that during this very period of sharp rise in prices this buffer stock of 9 million tons has not been used to bring down the prices. In fact, according to the official data, the quantity of foodgrains issued through the public distribution system month after month has been less this year than last year. Now I want to ask you what the purpose of these stocks is. Is the purpose of these stocks, is the whole procurement policy of the Food and Agriculture Ministry, is the policy of the FCI, only to fatten the landlord and the rich *kulak* lobby through this procurement

policy and to keep up prices ? Is that the only purpose of this 9 million ton stock ? Or, is the purpose to bring down the prices, to use this public distribution system and distribute the stocks to bring down the prices and help the poorer sections of the people ? If it is the latter, then, why has it not been done so far ? And the only conclusion to which we can come is that the Ministries as well as the entire officials in these Ministries, officials in the Corporations, have been in league with the rich farmer lobby, with the landlord lobby, and this whole stock, this whole procurement policy, has only been in order to keep up the procurement prices, so that this lobby can be kept satisfied and not bring the prices down to a reasonable level. That is the only logical conclusion that we can come to from this.....

SHRI N. G. GORAY : You do not accuse the Government ?

SHRI N.K. KRISHNAN : When I talk of lobby, I am sure the Finance Minister himself knows very well how well this lobby is operating in side his Government as well as in his own State. There is no question about it. Therefore, apart from this aspect of foodgrains, let us take the other question. There have been speakers here who talked of production. There are speakers who said, "Cut down non-developmental expenditure." Well, I am the last person to oppose this cutting down non-developmental expenditure. Certainly non-developmental expenditure has to be opposed. But I find one tendency today. The entire monopoly press has been writing articles on the rising prices and I find just one common theme. And what is the theme ? Exactly this : Just because the money supply has increased proportionately more than production, this whole malaise has come and the rise in prices has come. This is only one part of the truth. I want to go deeper still into the problem. Why has production been stagnating and falling ? Who are the real criminals behind this fall of production ? There is a conspiracy of silence on this crucial question. Who are the criminals behind the sabotage of production in the vital consumer industries which are all in private sector ? And it is because there is an attempt to conceal these things that all kinds of impersonal explanations are being given. Take the textile and sugar industries. I am selecting cloth and sugar for the very same reason for which many speakers have mentioned cloth and sugar in this House in the debate, because these are two items the prices of which have gone up

inordinately and which have affected the common man. Take cloth. People talk of cloth production falling. Now, I have been studying figures of cloth production. From the official figures given by the Ministry in the House, we see that during 1969, 1970 and 1971, production of coarse cloth has come down steadily by 17.27 per cent.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : That statement has been withdrawn by the Minister yesterday stating that it is not correct.

SHRI N. K. KRISHNAN : That is all right. But the fact remains and I maintain the fact that the production of coarse cloth and the production of all varieties taken overall have fallen down, but the production of fine and superfine varieties has gone up. That is my point. My point is that the textile magnates, those who control the industry, have deliberately chosen to sabotage the production of coarse cloth, of standard cloth and they have deliberately switched on to production of fine and superfine varieties. as well as to man made fibres, for higher profits. This is the truth. Now, you take sugar. I was surprised to read this morning a statement issued by the Minister of State for Agriculture. The statement says :

"This year sugar production would be less than last year's."

And the Minister felt that—

"...the sugar crisis could be easily overcome if the consumers exercised a little restraint. The people had developed a habit of drinking tea at any time. With a little restraint about 10 per cent of the consumption could be reduced. This would have a deterrent effect on the sellers."

If this represents Government thinking, I am afraid it is a masterpiece in fatuity.

Everybody knows the whole story of the sugar industry in this country. the debate over nationalisation of sugar industry has been going on as to whether U. P. Ministry should do it or whether the Central Government should do it. Everybody knows the manner in which the sugar magnates of the country have deliberately curtailed production under the false plea of glut and overstocking--in order to artificially keep up prices and the way they have defrauded the cane growers and led up to the position of today when sugar is selling almost at Rs. 5/- a kilogram. There never

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was a better case for nationalisation of any industry in this country. Textiles and sugar are two vital consumer industries concerning the common man and it is there we see most clearly sabotage of production and creation of artificial scarcity because of monopoly control. And yet the Government will not touch these industries. Take drugs and pharmaceuticals, which is another vital sector where monopolies are making huge profit through soaring prices. Therefore, talk of production fall in an impersonal manner will help nobody. We have to be clear about the reasons for the fall in production and for this price rise. The reasons given by various Government spokesmen that it is due to deficit financing for the war and for refugee relief, etc. are false because prices were rising even before these happenings. Some basic causes have been operating behind the price-rise and the reasons mentioned above may only have aggravated it a little bit.

The main reason for the price increase especially during the last three years is big monopoly control on essential lines of production and the market; and monopoly control over consumer goods is the main culprit for the rising prices in consumer goods. Unless you get this straight, you are not going to take effective steps to bring down prices. I have given the examples how sugar monopolies have operated how cotton textiles monopolies have operated and drug and medicine monopolies have operated. This is the first basic reason. Besides monopoly control, the banking system has been giving excessive credit in the name of financing trade and this credit has been used, as we all know, for cornering and hoarding in all kinds of goods. These are the main reasons. It is totally wrong to say that wages are the cause for high prices.

As far as this question of price rise is concerned, it demands radical and drastic remedies. As I said, it is not merely a very serious rise in prices due to monopoly control affecting the lives of millions of working people, but it is also leading to complete disruption of our planning policies. This whole atmosphere of high prices, of shortages and of drought, is being used to mount a big offensive against even the very limited anti-monopolist policies forced on the Government by popular pressure in the recent period. Reports have already appeared in the press that some big monopolists

have recently given a memorandum to the Prime Minister asking for an entire review of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, asking for a whole series of concessions such as that conversion of Government loans to equity must be stopped and more liberal loans should be advanced to monopoly houses and all restrictions in the 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution should be repealed. And we hear that side by side exercises are being done by the new Minister of Industrial Development in the matter of making complete changes in the Industrial Policy Resolution in favour of the monopolists. Therefore, it is a very serious situation. Monopoly capital has its tentacles in every sphere and that is the cause for high prices. It is out to disrupt our economy in order to take the economic life and the politics of the country in an ultra-right direction. That is why this problem acquires special importance.

As far as the suggestions to tackle this problem are concerned, Sir, I would firstly say that all the sugar stocks in the country should be immediately taken over by Government and the mills quota of free sale should be closed and all sale must be made at the controlled rate. Sugar mills must be taken over to push up production and in the meantime, as I said before, stocks must be commandeered and sale in the market must be summarily stopped. Such a drastic action on the sugar front, in my opinion, will have a very sympathetic reaction on other commodities and a healthy reaction on the hoarders' market.

Secondly, production of cloth of coarse and medium varieties should be pushed up by compulsion and super-fine varieties must be stopped altogether.

Thirdly, bank credit must be stopped to the big business houses and for all speculative purposes.

Fourthly, in order to tackle the problem of non-developmental expenditure, all construction work, not immediately necessary, must be stopped. Such wasteful schemes as are sponsored by State Governments and by the Central Government like the Twin Bombay City Scheme, luxury roads for motorists, palatial buildings for ministers and their secretaries as in Bombay, etc., should be stopped in every State.

Fifthly, the policy of not nationalising the coal mines should be given up and the coal mines which have been left out must be nationalised.

Sixthly, effective steps must be taken for utilising the full capacity of the public Sector. Plants. Seventhly, all cash subsidies for export incentives should be stopped, because mostly these subsidies just go into the black-market and raise the prices internally.

If we begin with sugar takeover and stop giving the *kulak* credits and concessions, which today are a big source of black money and also the cause for price rise, in company with the monopolists, then a good atmosphere will be produced in the country.

I would once again emphasize that at least now the Government must immediately take over and nationalise wholesale trading in food grains and all essential commodities. There is no excuse for postponing or evading this urgently needed step.

Finally, Sir, there must be a State distributive system built up for all the essential commodities. I would warmly support the suggestion that has been made by some speakers that now the time has come for all the essential commodities that enter into the working class and the middle-class cost of living index to be taken over for distribution through the Government distributive system. It means taking steps to procure stocks, it means the public sector entering the field of consumer industries in a big way.

Along with this, drastic steps should be taken to tackle the problem of black money including the step of demonetisation of high-denomination notes above Rs. 100/-.

Sir, unless such radical steps are taken, we shall only be tinkering with this problem and the deep-rooted economic malaise will go on increasing and would ultimately land this country in a catastrophe. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with great respect I heard what Mr. Krishnan stated so far. He does not seem to be aware of the contradictions in his speech. But, Sir, I am not here to deal with his points.

Sir, the whole approach to this problem seems to be like the approach of some blind people trying to identify an elephant, because everybody is giving his own views and

his own solutions. Actually, I do not think an outright solution can be placed before the Government since this problem is a very big problem and it has many repercussions, it has many ramifications and it has many aspects.

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

And, Sir, this problem touches upon the many aspects of our economy and the problem has, therefore, to be tackled in all its aspects.

Sir, the statement made by the Minister of Finance yesterday or the day before yesterday in the Lok Sabha that the money value has been reduced in our country is quite correct. Everywhere the money value has been reduced. But, Sir, along with the reduction in money value, the purchasing power, the rise in *per capita* income or rise in industrial production is also increased commensurate with rise in Japan and other countries so that the pinch of the reduction of money value is not felt as in India. But in an under-developed country like this, the pinch, after the reduction in money value cannot be easily disposed of and the Finance Minister has to find a solution, because, Sir, the *per capita* income is not rising, neither the production is rising, in our country.

Sir, I am not going into the usual points like money supply, fiscal discipline, State overdrafts, etc. They are already taken care of. But, Sir, I would mention two points made by my friend Mr. Krishnan for his information, because he is sitting here, about cloth production and sugar, about which he is perhaps misinformed.

The cloth production in the last year, of fine and superfine varieties, has increased, but the production of coarse cloth has gone down. But it is none at the will or desire of the Textile Industry. It has gone down because of decline in the production of indigenous cotton in this country, and the Government could only import cotton which was suitable only for fine production, or maximum, high medium—not for coarse varieties. The Government did this—rightly so—to avoid competition with domestic cotton otherwise the cotton grower will suffer. Therefore, Sir, I would say that this problem should not be viewed in isolation by my friend Mr. Krishnan.

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

Then, Sir, about sugar also, Mr. Krishnan seems to kill the goose itself. I deposed before the Sugar Commission only two days ago. Whether it is the cooperative sector or private sector, sugar has to be brought into a Government procurement or purchase scheme and for that the Government should create a Sugar Marketing Board. In advanced countries like the U.S.A., there are Sugar Marketing Boards, and sugar is taken over by the Government for sale at a price the Government fixes. And Sir, taking into consideration the realisation of the sugar factories or the sugarcane growers for the last two or three years, either of the cooperative or of the private sector, sugar should be taken over by the Marketing Board created by the Government, or the Essential Commodities Corporation if we are going to create that. This partial levy scheme has worked to the detriment of the consumer because the hoarders use black money and have an upper hand on the sugar stock, because it is a commodity which can be stocked anywhere in any house whatsoever, without the eyes of the Government or of any other authority looking at them. So, for this purpose, I think, Sir, the question of creation of Sugar Marketing Board should be considered.

Then, Sir, I am really amused at the various statements which are made right from the Minister to the lowest public figure—the heroic statements—that we can export food or F.C.I. Chairman stating that we will stave off drought. Sir, we have got various cycles of rise and fall in production in this country. Every third year, fourth year or fifth year there is a drought here. The statement made by my respected friend, Shri T.N. Singh that the green revolution has not made any impact, is not correct. The green revolution has made a limited impact commensurate with the irrigation facilities available. It has made an impact commensurate with the new technological development. That much impact has been made.

Sir, it was very ridiculous. It was said in some papers two or three days back that the World Bank loan for creating more irrigation facilities has been very poorly used; I think it was said that only 7 to 8 per cent of the loans has been used for

creating more irrigation facilities. I was really surprised to see this statement in the press. I think some measures will have to be evolved whereby more irrigation facilities which will help to produce more food will have to be thought of. In this connection Government has to be very careful because these are practical steps I am suggesting. Again take fertilisers. You want more production of foodgrains but where is the fertiliser? It has been reported that we are now contracting for fertilisers with some of the East European countries because I think the US is reluctant to give us fertilisers. That is all right but our public sector units are failing. They are producing only 50 to 60 per cent of their capacity. Here I want to draw the attention of my friends opposite. When you are talking of nationalising everything you have to see that the nationalised industry runs properly. What is happening in Durgapur? What is happening in Hindusthan Steel? What is happening in any public sector unit? They are loaded with more employees than are required and time and again strikes are manipulated. The fertiliser units are also running only to 50 to 60 per cent of their capacity. Where are the fertilisers to come from? If the Government wants to make any frontal attack on this problem of price rise it has to be very watchful of all its economic activity, production of cloth, sugar, fertiliser and other consumer goods. They must see that a proper atmosphere is created for having maximum production. Nowadays we have got into the habit of talking of nationalisation and this habit has spread right from the Cabinet Ministers down to the lowest man in the Secretariat, that is, the *Chaprassi* in the Secretariat. Everybody says nationalise everything. I cannot understand this. I do not want to blame any of the young Turks or the Socialist Forumwallahs or anybody. What I want to say, first create the necessary infrastructure to run these industries. I am very much serious about this problem; I want to argue with my friends that if you want really to nationalise everything you will have to first make sure that we are prepared to run these units. Are we ready to do that? We are not ready for that; we have not got the type of people required to run them. Still everybody is all the time saying nationalise this, nationalise that. You cannot even take a decision to procure the things that are there. We have suggested that you should procure all the groundnut oil available and distribute it.

It is a comparatively small suggestion than asking for nationalisation of the entire oil mill industry. I am only asking them to procure all the essential commodities in the country, oil, sugar, cloth; even that they cannot do. In respect of cloth just see the paradox.—Mr. Krishnan might be right when he referred to the coarse varieties. I am pleading in the House; cotton prices have crashed but you are still paying a subsidy of 35 np. for producing one metre of cloth. Even so the cloth prices are up and the people have to suffer. That is why I say you should procure everything, whatever sensitive items are there, instead of all this talk of nationalisation of everything whether it be by the Young Turks or whether it be by the Socialist Forumwallahs or CPI or CPM or even the Jana Sanghis who have also now got into this habit. They seem to think this is the running train, so let us also get into it. Instead of all this a proper distribution machinery has to be evolved. Mr. Krishan Kant was right when he said that we are complacent. We start some distribution system and then the rains come or something else happens and you dismantle the whole structure. If the Prime Minister and the Government are really serious, if the Finance Minister is serious, he should see that in this developing country we have all types of mechanism and channels of public distribution for production and distribution of consumer goods almost permanently for some 25 years or so.

We have to live with it. And if we have to live with it, we are to create so many agencies and see that these agencies are always oiled and are never dismantled. If they are not working, they should be oiled because a machinery requires oiling always, and unless it is in the running condition, it won't work. So for that purpose I pray that the Government, while attacking this price rise, should not be complacent. This is an economic meance and I agree with him that this is not a simple thing and as he rightly pointed out, it is not a question whether there is a drop in production or whether the production is a little less in the textile industry. It is the entire economic system that has to be overhauled. If it has to be nationalised, I don't care, but you must have the means to work that nationalised industry properly. But till then you cannot do away with it. You should utilise the expertise, whatever is available in the country, whether in the private sector or in

the public sector, whether it is of the new technocrats or of the old bureaucrats. Wherever they are, see that they utilise their brains and see that the sinews of production are not dried up.

Sir, there is another difficulty here. We say about the increase in dearness allowance and wages. Naturally. Because the employees feel the pinch of the price rise. But, Sir, I am advocating again that, if you are here as representatives of the organised sector, if you are not going to take notice of the entire population in the unorganised sector and are going to hold them to ransom, I am not prepared to accept it. I think, Sir, in the rural areas, in the unorganised sector in the rural areas, particularly the landless labour in the rural areas, who are under-employed people, these people have not got even a whole bread to eat, whereas people in some organised sector, raising the threat that they will go on strike, etc., are getting everything in the country, even the Government employees. I give this example. Whether you accept it or not is left to you. In Maharashtra State Rs. 12 crores were distributed as increase in dearness allowance to make up for the increase in the cost of living. Where the Government took the money from? The Rs. 12 crores were deducted from the irrigation project, were deducted from the development projects, from projects for creation of electricity. So, Sir, I plead with my friends. I am not against organised labour. Pay them, but while paying them see that your brothers are also paid, your brothers who are languishing in the fields. You cannot be representatives only of the organised sector. You have to be representatives also of the down-trodden people, wherever they are, whether in factories or in the rural areas, and I plead that these people also.....

SHRI N. K. KRISHNAN : I agree. I was speaking for everybody.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I fully agree. I have got no other points to make but I agree with Mr. Krishnan on one point, on paying of the price for wheat. There is also some difficulty. We pay a very heavy price for wheat, and for this purpose a sum of Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 150 crores has been provided. I think that now wheat technology has been so much assimilated by the agriculturists that they do not any more require so much of incentive, and if you want to give the consumer goods at a little cheaper

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

price—you have suggested, that you must give them at a cheaper price—I fully agree and for that purpose you may make use of the subsidy you are giving to the farmers in respect of agricultural commodities like wheat, etc., because the subsidy goes only to the rich farmers.

Sir, I have done.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there is so much of common ground raised by the discussion that between us, with our side here and my friends behind the Treasury Benches, there is practically no controversy. There are not very many old men here in this House, but perhaps their fathers were there. In 1947 when we got independence here in Delhi we got mustard oil at eight annas a seer. We got good cloth at Rs. 3/- per yard. We had no salary at that time and our allowances were much less, but somehow or other we carried on in a dignified manner and more or less peacefully. After that the rise in prices has been about 500 per cent in respect of essential commodities. Forget that chapter. Since the past four months, not for after the "Garibi Hatao" slogan was raised, things have assumed staggering proportions. We Hindus, are going to celebrate the Pujas and the Navaratri in the middle of October. Our Muslim brethren are going to have their Id on the 8th of November and our Christian brethren are going to have their Christmas in December. While talking to all these classes of friends during the last few days I find that they are almost shuddering at the prospect of denying everything to everybody in the family. Now, it is no controversy that ever since the Second Plan came up price went up. There was a very steep rise in prices on account of deficit financing and on account of inflation augmented by PL-480. My friend over there has given the figures relating to deficit financing. Inflation has transferred the value of everything from the workers to the owners of property. That is the position today. The bottlenecks of deficit financing and inflation and their allies, hoarding of stocks, hoarding of money and black money and the monopolistic control over everything which is essential for the daily maintenance of an individual's life, these things have led us to a blind alley, from which the only escape is a speedy retreat. In June, 1966 when devaluation was declared, there was

a big howl in Parliament saying that the value of money came down to two annas. The value of Rs. 1/- came down to two annas worth. After that, the then Finance Minister rose up to say : "No, it is now 37 paise odd for every 100 paise." The other day the present Finance Minister in Lok Sabha made an announcement that the value of the rupee is now 40 odd per cent compared with 1949. Is it logic or is it magic ?

SHRI J. P. YADAV : Both.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : It is neither. It is tragic. In all humility I would ask you, sitting in the Chair, as the custodian of the privileges of Parliament : Is it not for the Chair to call upon the Minister to explain this incongruity ? This is deliberately, purposefully misleading the House and misleading the public. The rupee which was not worth more than 37 paise in 1966 has suddenly risen up to 40 paise. Now, I am not addressing the Treasury Benches so much—I am not showing any discourtesy—but I am addressing the other Members of the Congress Party. Why do they not take up this matter with the Ministry ? Why this buffoonery and befooling ?

In 1966 when there was devaluation, at that time, for sugar exports some incentives were given. The millowners were called at a conference. They were told : Look here, we are withdrawing the levy, because the money value has gone down. It was ceremoniously withdrawn, but thereafter, all these years, without your knowledge, without the knowledge of the House, in a creeping and crawling manner, all those incentives have been restored to the sugar magnates. Why ? The position is this. Today you do not give anything to the cotton producer, as my hon. friend, Mr. Krishan Kant said, but you are giving so much to the textile millowner. Why ? You are not giving anything to the cane producers, but you are giving incentives to the sugar magnates.

Why Because, as my friend, Shri Krishan Kant, has said, the Ministry is a composition of constituents each one of whom is in the grip of either this lobby or that lobby, either the big landowners lobby or the big millowners lobby or the sugar millowners lobby or the cloth millowners lobby.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Did the hon. Member support the grant of Rs. 100 crores as subsidy to rich farmers against the Agri-

cultural Prices Commission report ? What lobby did he represent then ?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : The lobby sometimes was in such a way as to create an impression that the lobby was not anti-people. It is one of those instances because you know formerly when malaria struck the people, they were given raw quinine, but people refused to take it. Then the sugar-coated quinine was introduced. (*Interruption : Russian lobby*) I make no difference between Russian and any other lobby. But I simply know the Ministers.

Now let us take up the cartel trade in perishable goods. The vegetable producers do not get anything from these cartel traders who indulge in profiteering. The producers of good quality mangoes get only Rs. 1 per kilo. These are sold in Subzimandi or nearby at Rs. 5 a kilo, also in the Super Bazar. Therefore these things have to be considered and controlled. As my friend Shri Krishan Kant has said, the price index and all these things are a fraud. The price index is a complete fraud. There are three lies in our country. One is just a naked lie. The other is a damned lie. The third is the Government statistics. When the price index is prepared, it is to be correlated to the dearness allowance and wages paid to the workers and clerical staff. They also show another list. That is how the working people are cheated, and the overlords who are at the top lobby gain.

It has been asked what are the suggestions that have to be given. I have given some suggestions. My friend, Shri Krishan Kant has given some suggestions. I will give a few more suggestions in my own humble way. You wanted co-operation from the Members. I am extending my hand of co-operation. The price index has to be prepared by all parties in Parliament putting their heads together so that there will be *bona fide*, acceptable and no misleading statistics. Secondly, you have to take immediate steps for demonetisation because demonetisation is the gift of the blackmarket. If you take away that black market by demonetisation, you really put yourselves on the track to progress. Then you have to freeze hoarded stocks from the mills, from the factories, from the godowns. My friend, Mr. Kulkarni, is allergic to the word nationalisation. Therefore, I have purposely introduced the word freezing for whatever it is worth. Another suggestion is, the rains have set in and the cultivators

will run to the fields. Their first investment of seeds has gone in vain. They will have to purchase new seeds. Government will have to seize the stocks of seedlings so that the blackmarketeers and profiteers may not take advantage of the helplessness of these people.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : किस मशीनरी से यह सीड पहुँचा सकते हैं। गवर्नमेन्ट के पास कौन सी मशीनरी है जो कि किसान के पास पहुँचा सकते हैं।

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : I am giving you a suggestion. You take all the parties into confidence and find out ways and means.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : The Prime Minister is consulting all the Opposition leaders just now. The meeting is going on.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : I did not say any hard word....

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You need not. You should not.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : But all these round-table conferences are as round as the value of the rupee—zero. The value of the rupee is zero.

Then, why not apply the Essential Commodities Act as you yourself have suggested, Sir ? The Essential Commodities Act and other Acts are not applied. Well, you fix the minimum for the agricultural producers that also is the maximum. They do not get beyond that. Nobody will say about it. But those people who use these stocks at the top-end, they fleece and fleece, they suck and they suck and they suck the nation dry, and the Essential Commodities Act is now a dead letter.

Then I appeal to my friends, Mr. Krishan Kant, and others. You all know in your heart of hearts that most of the Ministers cannot go the right way because they are the prisoners of a lobby. If they go against the lobby-owners, the lobby-lords, where will the Ministers go ? Therefore, the first duty of these members of the Congress, my good friends, is that they have to try to release the Ministers from the imprisonment of the lobby.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : कुछ राज कृष्णकांतजी को भी बता दीजिए ।

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : A Minister has said, take less sugar. So, he has given the prescription to the consumer that you resist yourself. Let us reverse the order. We shall cooperate with the Congress Members. I tell you, we shall cooperate. You organise a resistance movement not against the consumers, but against the lobbyists. Let us go, as if it is a Dandi March, non-violently, with grim determination and enter into the mills, enter into the factories, enter into the godowns and take hold of the stocks and distribute them among the poor people.

Then, Sir, about the entire economic policy, you said that radical remedies are not needed. There I join issue with you. You are so lovable. We love each other very much. But love also has its feud. And here I am not speaking of a feud; here it may be a little love lost with you. These things will not do. You must go out lock, stock and barrel. And the Government must be made to realise that everything that has been done in the name of planning has gone wrong.

One word more. We are talking of the value of the rupee and the prices of goods. Sir, there are so many people, millions and millions of them. They have no rupee in their pockets. What about them? Let us think of them also. You must find national construction work or reconstruction work, you must persuade the Government to find out this line so that those who have no rupee in their pockets, they also get something in their pocket.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me some time. I had the opportunity of putting forth my point of view on last Monday at the beginning of the session on the Calling Attention Motion and therefore it is not my desire to go into the details of the subject. But, Sir, while the ruling party has shown time and again incisiveness, boldness and farsightedness in the assessment of the political problems—national and international—its record in the economic field, I am afraid, is lamentable. We have had five years of good monsoon in quick succession, almost unprecedented in Indian history during the last one hundred years. But the relatively comfortable position on the food front induced complacency instead of taking advantage of the situation to push the economy forward.

Not more than three weeks back, the rise in prices was dismissed away as a normal phenomenon in a developing economy engaged in the growth process. Overnight, the authorities have woken up to the situation and from all accounts the thinking is running on familiar lines. In other words, to go in for more and more controls, reduced credit to the trade and the like all of which will only aggravate the situation without carrying as to what will be the investment in the country if trade is fully nationalised.

I plead that the reasons for the rise in prices must be squarely faced. Some of the reasons are of long-standing and some others have their origin in the more recent developments. The expenditure incurred on Bangla Desh refugees and on the war come under the category of the recent developments. On the other hand, the long-standing reasons can be found in excessive spending by Governments at the Centre and in the States, slower rate of growth on the one hand and the increase in the purchasing power in the hands of people whose labours have not resulted in greater output and whose traditions are not inclined towards savings. Even the Reserve Bank of India has clearly gone on record that money supply expanded sharply due to larger bank credit to Government. This larger bank credit to Government, coupled with restrictions on credit to productive agencies, have had a compound effect on the level of prices.

The taxation policy of Government has had its own inevitable effect on prices. The increase in the levels of indirect taxation as well as of direct taxation has proved themselves inflationary for two-fold reasons. Firstly, the honest taxpayer had to bear the burden of the growing incidence. Secondly, the dishonest taxpayers have brought into the mainstream additional black money. My concrete recommendations towards price stabilisation programme are the following :—

(a) Greater financial discipline on the part of Government at the Centre and in the States:

(b) a crash programme to move food-grains and other food products from centres of production to those of scarcities. Priorities in movement by railways must be appropriately upgraded.

(c) the drive towards smaller land holding halted to enthuse the farmers who

can create marketable surpluses to go in for greater investment and greater production;

(d) Increase in the supply of industrial raw materials partly through imports but mainly through higher internal production;

(e) relating wages to productivity;

(f) a drive for mobilisation of savings and thereby matching consumer demand with the availability of goods in the immediate short period; and

(g) stimulating industrial expansion by removing administrative delays and inhibitive controls.

A number of other administrative measures will have to be taken to increase supply of industrial goods, for otherwise scarcities will develop in this area as well. These measures would imply in particular.

(a) that industrial working is not held up because of shortages of raw materials, labour unrest, lack of power, etc.

(b) that the industrial licensing policy does not deny investment opportunities to any section of entrepreneurs;

(c) that administrative delays are eliminated;

(d) that new industries are in a position to get requisite finance, short term and long term;

(e) that immediate import of essential capital goods and raw materials is allowed to make good emerging shortfalls in production.

Sir, the Government claims that the Food Corporation of India is playing the role of price stabiliser.

It is being said that the Food Corporation of India has opened sale centres throughout the country. The fact is that the Food Corporation of India has started profiteering. So far it has opened 8 sale centres and 24 are being opened. In the Bombay market alone, the Food Corporation is doing nothing but profiteering. Far from bringing down the prices, the Corporation is kicking up the prices day by day. Wheat was sold by the Corporation at Rs. 84 a quintal and just after two days it was sold at Rs. 96 per quintal. The price of bajra was raised from Rs. 73 to Rs. 94 and that of chana from Rs. 98 to Rs. 126. My friend, Mr. Krishan

Kant, said that it is the traders who did this. He is wrong. It is the Food Corporation which raised the prices. The chana prices were raised from Rs. 119 to Rs. 126 in just 24 hours. It is being argued that these are commercial transactions. Does the Food Corporation of India want to wipe out its losses by this sort of profiteering? The Government should tell us how much foodgrain has been sold by the Corporation in the open market and at what price and how it is going to help to control the rise in prices.

Sir, some of the Members who spoke before me said that nationalisation of both the wholesale and retail trade is the key to this situation. I do not understand why they have been harping on this from year to year, from session to session, whenever the occasion arises. They want that the weaker section of the society, who are doing service to the consumers, should be whipped whenever an occasion arises. They do not want to go into the problem and put their finger as to where exactly it is wrong. As I pointed out in my observations, it is not the small traders or the wholesalers who are responsible, it is the Food Corporation of India which is responsible for this rise in prices. It should be stopped from functioning in a profiteering way. Sir, if we want to take the whole trade in our hands, we should consider what a gigantic investment we will have to make. Not only in big cities but in small towns and villages also we will have to open shop after shop and the investment required would be not less than Rs. 2,000 crores. Have we to spend Rs. 2,000 odd crores on this when the pipeline is available through the small traders and others? I quite concede that it is possible that some of them may be misbehaving. But that is not a reason why we should wipe out all of them. These were the very people, the small traders, who stood by us in the freedom movement. And to-day everybody has started talking in terms of wiping them out at one stroke I submit that before the Government takes any step of this type, let them understand what they are doing and let them not wipe out the persons who not only stood by them during the freedom movement but are even to-day standing by them. If there are some black sheep you have every right to throw them off. I am not pleading for them. I am pleading for the small and medium people who are helpful in the distribution of these grains.

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai]

One point more and I have done, and that is about nationalising the sugar and cloth industries. Sir, every time we have some shortage or anything, we think in terms of nationalisation. Sugar and cloth industries are the oldest industries in this country. I know that some of them have behaved very badly on many occasions and I have no sympathy for them.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Many of them on many occasions.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I do not subscribe to your view. On many occasions they have done great service to the country. When there was competition with Manchester and when mills were established in Bombay and Ahmedabad, who were the people who came down and started the mills, started these industries? Today the situation is that we are one of the topmost in textiles. Where were we when Sugar was being imported? We are today self-sufficient in sugar. But due to certain mistakes of the Government, certain mistakes or blunders committed also by those who are manufacturing and due to certain seasonal factors also we are finding shortage of sugar today. I submit to the Government, please rationalise your distribution of sugar and for some time you keep a curb on it so that we may be able to come back to that full production. I do not agree with Mr. Apte, President of the Sugar Mill-Owners' Association, that sugar should be imported. It would be a shame if we have, after stabilising this industry for several years, to import sugar when we had surplus only last year. I know our machinery in some States is obsolete. But we must renew it, we must modernise it. But to say that because we have a poor season this time and therefore we must import is not correct. It would be a black day for this country to say that we should import sugar. For some time, if necessary, we should do away with sugar. We should say for some time we will not consume sugar. There is nothing wrong in it. We are not going to be killed by not consuming it for some time. We are not going to be without sugar for all time to come. Sugar is going to be there. This is only a seasonal factor. I am sure sugar production will be in full in a short time. Therefore, with all the concrete suggestions which I have made, I

would plead with the Government that just as they have always awakened on political issues, on economic issues also they should come to the help of the people and prove that with the massive mandate which you have got, you will do it and you mean service to the people and not more slogans.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : श्रीमन्, मैं ज्यादा तो आंकड़े में जाना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन दिल्ली में बढ़ते हुए भावों का जो चित्र लोगों ने हिसाब कर के देखा उसको मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अप्रैल-मई में दिल्ली में गेहूँ की कीमत 97, 98 रु० प्रति क्विंटल थी जबकि अब 86 से 108 रु० प्रति क्विंटल है। चावल की दर जो 150 रु० थी अब 160 से 220 रु० है। चने का भाव 94 रु० था अब 118 रु० है। चने की दाल का भाव 104 रु० था अब 134 रु० है। उड़द का भाव 240 रु० से बढ़कर 290 रु० है। मूंग की दाल की दर 212 रु० से बढ़कर 228 रु० है। मलका मसूर का भाव 168 रु० से बढ़कर 190 रु० है। अरहर की दाल 155 रु० से 192 रु० हो गयी है। चीनी का भाव 314 रु० से 340 रु० है। वनस्पति घी का जो टिन 83.64 रु० का था अब 87.11 रु० का है। सरसो 15 किलो तेल 82 रु० का था पर अब 90 रु० का है। पांच ब्लेडों पर 15 पैसे बढ़ गये हैं। सब्जियों के भावों में 50 प्रतिशत से लेकर दो सौ प्रतिशत तक वृद्धि हुई है। यह श्रीमान्, दिल्ली के भावों का एक चित्र है जो मैंने आप के सामने रख दिया। इसका कोई एक कारण है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। लेकिन मैं कुछ कारण आपके सामने गिनाना चाहता हूँ जिनकी वजह से चीजों के भाव दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। सब से प्रमुख कारण उत्पादन की कमी है। जब तक हमारा उत्पादन कम रहेगा, चीजों के भाव किसी कीमत पर कम नहीं होंगे। उत्पादन की कमी के कारण बेरोजगारी भी बढ़ेगी और उद्योग धंधे भी कम होंगे। प्रशासनिक कमियाँ भी उसका एक कारण है।

व्यापार में अनुचित मुनाफा और जमाखोरी भी उसका एक कारण है। इसके अलावा घाटे का बजट, मुद्रा स्फीति, ओवर इन्फ्लेट और अप्रत्यक्ष करारोपण भी इसके कारण हैं। श्रीमन्, एक तरफ

नारा लगाया जाता है गरीबों का वोट प्राप्त करने के लिए गरीबी हटाओ का और दूसरी तरफ चुनाव में पैसा प्राप्त करने के लिए जमाखोरी और अनुचित मुनाफा कमाने वालों से चन्दा लिया जाता है और इसके कारण भी सरकार को जिस प्रकार से कड़ाई के साथ इन सब चीजों पर नियंत्रण करना चाहिए वह नहीं कर पाती है।

आज अगर इन बढ़ती हुई प्राइसेज के लिए कोई सब से ज्यादा दोषी है तो यह फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया है। अगर आज अनाज के भावों को गिराना है तो फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया चाहे तो बाजार में वह अनाज को डम्प कर सकता है और अगर वह ऐसा कर दे तो कोई कारण नहीं कि बाजार में अनाज के भाव कम न हो जायें। श्रीमन्, कहा जाता है कि सरकार के पास 9 मिलियन टन का स्टॉक है, लेकिन एक तरफ 9 मिलियन का स्टॉक और दूसरी तरफ बाजार में कोई स्टॉक नहीं, तो इस परिस्थिति का निराकरण कैसे किया जाय। श्रीमन्, आज बड़े-बड़े होर्ड्स को पकड़ना तो अनिवार्य है ही, जिन्होंने कि जमाखोरी के लिए और मुनाफाखोरी के लिए बहुत सी चीजों को इकट्ठा किया हुआ है लेकिन उसके साथ ही फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया जो कि सबसे ज्यादा बड़ा स्टॉक रखने वाला है और जो आज देश में अनाज की कीमत को कंट्रोल कर के भावों को नियमित करा सकता है उसके बारे में भी हमारा चिन्ता करना आवश्यक है और अगर उसका हिसाब किताब किया जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया इस काम में हमको बहुत ज्यादा मदद दे सकता है।

दूसरे, लाइसेंसिंग की गलत नीति है कि जिसके कारण बहुत ज्यादा गड़बड़ी हो रही है। इस मंहगाई में बरोजगारी कोढ़ में खाज की कहावत चरितार्थ करती है। एक तरफ तो देश में विकास की बात की जाती है, लोगों को काम दिलाने की बात की जाती है और उसके साथ ही कमी डाटा बताया जाता है कि 3 करोड़ से लेकर 7 करोड़ लोग बेकार हो गये हैं, और अब तो चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त होने वाली है, अब तो सरकार बेकारों की गिनती देना भी बेकार समझती है इसलिए कि वह इतने हैं कि वह उनको काम नहीं दिला

सकती। श्रीमन्, बेकारों की बात तो एक तरफ है, मैं आपके सामने एक और चित्र रखना चाहता हूँ कि इस डाउट के कारण स्थिति और विषम हो गयी है। शिन्दे साहब कह रहे थे कि इस तरह की बात करके पैनिंग मत बढ़ाइये क्योंकि उससे भाव और बढ़ेंगे, लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग आज देश में बेतन-भोगी हैं इस बढ़ती हुई मंहगाई के कारण क्या उनकी हालत खराब नहीं हो गयी है। आज अधिकांश परिवार ऐसे हैं — 0, 90 प्रतिशत ऐसे हैं कि जिनकी आय 40-41 रुपये मासिक से अधिक नहीं है। रुपये के हिसाब जो अभी सामने आये उनके अनुसार अगर आज रुपये की कीमत 40-41 पैसे भी मानी जाय तो उसका परिवार अगर चार या पांच सदस्यों का भी है तो उसका जीवन निर्वाह कैसे होता होगा इसको आप स्वयं ही सोच सकते हैं। आप सोचें कि जिनके पास रोजगार है उनकी क्या हालत आज है। श्रीमन्, उस दिन शिन्दे साहब ने कहा था कि कहीं से किसी की मौत की खबर नहीं आयी है। 74 लोगों के मरने की खबर बिहार से मिली, वहां बिहार के एम. एल. ए. ने लिखित रूप में इसको दिया, जमशेदपुर में गया था, 11 लोगों के मरने का हिसाब वहां है, लेकिन लोगों की मौत का हिसाब ऐसा है कि उनको मरने के बाद दफना दिया जाता है। उनका तो पोस्टमार्टम भी नहीं किया जाता ताकि पता लग सके कि उनके मरने का कारण क्या है।

श्री गनेशीलाल चौधरी (उत्तर प्रदेश): क्या आप चाहते हैं कि नाश रखो रहे, दफनाई न जाय ?

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : लेकिन उनका पोस्टमार्टम तो हो ताकि लोगों को पता लग जाय कि वे लोग भूख से मरे हैं या नहीं। बिहार की हालत खराब है और उसको बहुत से लोगों ने घूम कर देखा है और उस कार्लिंग अटेंशन में सरकार ने बताया है कि 11, 12 प्रदेशों में डाउट है और उसमें सबसे बड़ी मंहगाई की बात है। प्राइसेज बढ़ने के कारण उन लोगों को बड़ी परेशानी हो गई है। आज उन किसानों की हालत इतनी रही हो गई है कि उनके पास न तो बोने के लिये बीज है और न मोटा अनाज खाने के लिए है और न अपने मजदूरों को देने के लिए ही अनाज है

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]

और न उनको देने के लिए कोई काम ही है। इस सूखे के कारण वह उन गरीब मजदूरों को रोजी भी नहीं दे सकते हैं। ऐसी हालत में जहाँ प्राइस राइज की बात होती है वहाँ पर यह बात भी उत्पन्न होती है, जैसा कि हमारे मित्र चन्द्र शेखरन जी ने कहा कि भाई उनकी भी बात करो कि जिनकी जेब में पैसा नहीं है। जिनके पास पैसा भी नहीं है और जिनके पास काम भी नहीं है लेकिन जिनके पास पेट है और जिनके पास परिवार है, तो उनकी गुजायश कैसे हो, उनकी समस्या का हल कैसे निकाला जाय ? हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि हम छोटे किसानों के आड़े के लिए जावेंगे और उनके लिए हम सेक्योरिटी बन कर जायेंगे। पिछले तीन वजट सत्रों में मैं बराबर पूछता रहा कि हम उन को क्या सेक्योरिटी दे रहे हैं। तो एक बार उन्होंने बताया कि क्या आप चाहते हैं कि एक ही बार में उनको सारी सेक्योरिटी दे दें। एक बार कहा कि उनकी सेक्योरिटी होगी, दूसरी बार उनके लिए योजना बनी और तीसरी बार कहा कि कहीं कहीं हम स्पॉट पर जाकर उनको देख रहे हैं। छोटे किसान और मजदूर जो हैं उनकी आप क्या मदद करेंगे और कैसे करेंगे यह बात आज तक समझ में नहीं आयी। इन फेयर प्राइस शाप्स के जरिये आप कुछ और अपाहिजों को लाल कर देंगे, कुछ अपंगों को लाल कर देंगे, लेकिन जो लोग काम चाहते हैं जिनकी इस सूखे के कारण आज रोजी रोटी समाप्त हो गयी है उनके लिए आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं ? इसलिए श्रीमन् मेरा आग्रह है कि आज सबसे बेसिक बात उत्पादन बढ़ाने की है और उसमें भी कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात सबसे बेसिक है। आज जहाँ आपको ट्रैक्टर की सुविधा, बीज, पानी और बिजली की सुविधा देनी चाहिए, वहाँ पर हम देखते हैं कि ट्रैक्टर का दाम दुगना हो गया है, खाद का दाम ड्यौढ़ा हो गया है, बीज का दाम दुगना और तिगुना लगता है, सीड फर्म्स में और इसी तरह से बिजली और इरिगेशन आदि का दाम बराबर बढ़ता गया है। और जब तक प्रोडक्शन की कीमत कम नहीं होगी और उन्हें सबसिडाइज्ड रेट पर उत्पादन के साधन नहीं दिये जायेंगे तब तक उत्पादन सस्ता

कैसे होगा और जब तक उत्पादन सस्ता नहीं होता है तब तक प्राइसेज कैसे कम होंगी। जब तक कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ता नहीं है तब तक उद्योग धंधे नहीं बढ़ते हैं और जब तक उद्योग धंधे नहीं बढ़ते हैं तब तक बेरोजगारी की समस्या का निदान नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप कृषि उत्पादन की वृद्धि के लिये कौनसा रास्ता अपनाना चाहते हैं जिससे कि सचमुच में देश में अधिकाधिक उत्पादन हो। जब तक कि उत्पादन नहीं होगा तब तक मही मायनों में आपके नियंत्रण से पूरा लाभ भी नहीं होगा। आप एक तरह से रोटेट करते हैं कंट्रोल और डि-कंट्रोल के बीच में। स्केयरमिटी के कुछ कम होने के बाद आप फिर डि-कंट्रोल करते हैं। चीनी का भाव बताता है कि क्या स्थिति है। जब आप कंट्रोल करते हैं तो चीनी कितनों को प्राप्त होती है और जब डि-कंट्रोल करते हैं तो फिर क्या होता है। कंट्रोल हुआ तो वह 204 या 205 रुपये प्रति क्विन्टल है और जो डि-कंट्रोल हुआ तो वह 350 रु. से 400 रुपये प्रति क्विन्टल तक चली जाती है। तो कंट्रोल और डि-कंट्रोल स्केयरमिटी को दूर करने का जवाब नहीं है, इसका जवाब सही तौर पर निश्चित रूप से उत्पादन की वृद्धि है। इसलिये मैं जानना चाहता हूँ, आप अब जवाब देंगे तब बतायें कि उत्पादन वृद्धि के लिये आपने क्या निश्चित उपाय किये हैं ?

अभी हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने कहा कि जब तक कठोर वित्तीय अनुशासन नहीं होगा तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा और आप कठोर वित्तीय अनुशासन नहीं करते हैं। जिस प्रकार से नान-प्लांट एक्सपेडीचर बढ़ता जा रहा है उसका एक उदाहरण मैं आपको देता हूँ। एक ब्लाक में एक डाक्टर रखा जाता है लेकिन वहाँ सिर्फ पांच सौ रुपये की दवा साल भर में मिलती है और उस डाक्टर तथा उसके विभाग को वहाँ रखने में कम से कम 15 से 20 हजार रुपये तक खर्च होता है। तो इस तरह से खर्च की व्यवस्था है कि जो वास्तविक चीज है वह तो सिर्फ पांच सौ रुपये की हो और उसके लिये व्यवस्था करने वालों को 15 से 20 हजार रुपये तक दिया जाय, उमसे इतना चला जाय, तब क्या होगा। जब तक इस तरह का मैनेजमेंट है, जब तक इसका सुधार नहीं करते हैं तब तक आप

निश्चित रूप से कोई बदल नहीं ला सकते हैं। आपने रेडिकल चेंज की बात कही लेकिन हम कहते हैं कि मानसिक चेंज आपको लाना चाहिये। आप अगर निश्चित रूप से इस सूत्र को पकड़ लें और उत्पादन बढ़ाने के निश्चित तरीके हम अपना लें और कठोर वित्तीय अनुशासन हम अपनायें तो निश्चित रूप से आप इसमें सुधार कर सकते हैं।

श्रीमान्, जहां तक कि सचमुच में किसी को मौत से बचाने का, किसी को कठिनाई से बचाने का सवाल है, तो जिस तरह से विरोधी दल के लोगों ने, विरोधी राजनैतिक पार्टियों ने, बंगला देश के युद्ध के समय, पाकिस्तान के युद्ध के समय या किसी भी युद्ध के समय, सभी पार्टियों ने एकमत हो कर के सरकार को मदद किया, देश की रक्षा के लिये, देश के गौरव के लिये आगे आये, तो आज कोई कारण नहीं है कि सभी विरोधी दल अपने देश में आये हुए इस महंगाई के संकट में, इस अकाल की स्थिति में, साथ न दें लेकिन सरकार साथ लेने की स्थिति बनाये। जब तक सरकार साथ लेने की स्थिति नहीं बनाती है तब तक विरोधी दलों का, विरोधियों का, साथ किस प्रकार चाहती है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि हमने बिहार की सरकार को लिखा कि उसे अकाल क्षेत्र घोषित करे और विरोधियों की जो भी महायत्ना लेना चाहती हो ले सकती है। लेकिन एक निश्चित तरीका अपनाइये और उस निश्चित तरीके को अपना कर के चलें, तो विरोधी भी साथ देने के लिये तैयार होंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Yes, Mr. Chandrasekharan.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a large number of honourable Members have taken part in this discussion on a very important subject which is putting to pain, putting to difficulties, all the citizens of this country so far as their ordinary life is concerned.

Sir, the honourable Member, Shri Krishnan, attempted to preface his speech by telling that the officials, particularly the high officials in the Ministries, are at fault and they, in league with the blackmarketeers, are holding the nation to ransom. I submit, Sir, that that is not a fully correct approach. In fact, it is an apologetic approach and it is an unrealistic approach. The

real fact is that the Ministries of Finance and Planning by and large constitute a large chunk of the Government at the Centre and it is these Ministries that have failed.

The Ministry of Finance have failed to tackle this problem, even though this problem was raising its head during the last several months. We had a discussion on this subject last year. And even then a variety of reasons was put forward by hon. Members and several suggestions were also made. I distinctly remember the hon. Minister replying to the debate, stating that in the course of the next several months he expected to find out where the fault was and he would undoubtedly remedy the defects, the fundamental defects, that have taken the nation to such a difficult pass.

Sir, in the course of the discussion, it has been obvious that there are to a large extent conflicts and contradictions in the policies that we have pursued. It is a fact that the coarse cloth production has fallen, when coarse cloth production ought to have increased. The demand for coarse cloth is increasing every year on account of various natural reasons. But, on the other side it is contended, Sir, that to see that the price of coarse cotton available in this country is placed at a certain level, the Government had decided not to import coarse cotton, and that was the reason why there was a fall in the production of coarse cloth. Sir, this is a contradiction and conflict which the Government ought to have foreseen. The result is obvious. And the result has been rather damaging, so far as the maintenance of price level in this country is concerned. And, therefore, it is only the Government and the short-sighted policies of the Government in this regard that have led to a situation in which there is scarcity of coarse cloth and there is less of supply of coarse cloth than what is required by the demand, and as a result there is a large increase in the price of coarse cloth.

Sir, we have got this contradiction again in the sugar policy that we have been pursuing. In the limited time at my disposal, I do not propose to go into the details of these contradictions. But our sugar policy requires a revolutionary change. And unless the vacillations of the Government, in so far as sugar policy is concerned, are ended, it will be difficult to see that the price of sugar also is maintained at a reasonable

[Shri K. Chaderasckharan]

level. Sir, the price of sugar today in Delhi is of the order of about Rs. 4.30 per kilo. It is something astounding to see this sort of price level for sugar which is a consuming material that is required by citizens as a whole in this country. If we are not able to maintain a reasonable price level for sugar, the increase in the price of sugar would certainly affect very badly and very adversely the maintenance of price level in regard to other consumer goods. What we have always seen, Sir, is that something like a woven system of increase in prices, so far as consumer goods are concerned, prevails always and develops in this country when the price of one single consumer article increases to an abnormal level.

Then, Sir, the prices of drugs have increased. Drugs are sealed both with regard to the period during which they should be sold and also with regard to the price but it is a fact now that in many of the chemists' and druggists' shops ordinary drugs which are required for daily use, which are usually seen in most of the prescriptions, are not available unless you go through the backdoor of these chemists and druggists. That is the position so far as drugs—which is a very essential material—are concerned.

Sir, we have always been seeing a phenomenon in this country after independence. Every year on account of the fact that the position of the foodgrains was not kept up till very recently with the growing needs of the population there was a steep increase, particularly seasonal, in the case of basic food-grains, namely rice and wheat. Every year when we used to comment and discuss on the general increase in prices of consumer goods, it used to be stated in replies by Government that there has been an abnormal rise this year in the prices of rice and wheat and that has in turn adversely affected the other goods and their prices and that is the reason why these prices have been there. But, Sir, whatever be the causes that led to the green revolution, the fact remains that during the last more than one year or so the country has produced the necessary quantities of rice and wheat that are required for consumption in this country. We are practically not importing rice at all. Our PL 480 commitments are, therefore, being reduced. So, during the last more than one year there has been stabilisation of the prices of rice and wheat in the open market. The

prices of these two basic foodgrains have been maintained and the Government would agree that there has not been any increase in the price of rice and wheat during the last more than a year, particularly during the last several weeks. But a strange phenomenon is taking place, Sir, that in spite of the fact that the prices of those basic foodgrains are not in any way abnormally affected, we find during the last few months, for the first time after independence, that the prices of their consumer goods are increasing at step levels.

In fact, Sir, in the course of the discussions on this debate last year in this House this aspect was indicated and I remember the hon. Finance Minister, Mr. Chavan, in reply, had agreed with the House how this phenomenon had occurred and had assured this House that he would investigate into this phenomenon and find out as to how the prices of consumer goods were rising in spite of the fact that the prices of rice and wheat were stationary. Sir, the hon. Finance Minister owes an explanation in reply to the debate today as to what investigation he has made on the subject, what is the result of that investigation and why the prices of consumer goods are even today rising in this country in spite of the fact that rice and wheat are not scarce and the prices of rice and wheat are not in any way abnormally affected.

Sir, the document relating to the approach to the Fifth Plan was very strongly commented upon and criticised by my hon. friend, Mr. Krishnan. He even called it an infamous document and he called it infamous because in the entire document relating to the approach to the Fifth Plan there was not even a sentence in regard to the maintenance of price levels of consumer goods. It is strange that the authors of the approach to the Fifth Plan has made this conspicuous omission in that document particularly when the very same authors in their mid-term assessment of the Fourth Plan that was placed before this House had stated that their entire assessment of the Fourth Plan and the prospects of the success of the remaining part of the Fourth Plan was dependant upon the maintenance of price levels, was dependant upon the fact that they took it for granted that the Government would be able to see that there was no increase in the prices of consumer goods during the latter part of the Fourth Plan. Sir, in spite of this assessment that they made in regard to the Fourth Plan we find

that in the approach to the Fifth Plan the authors have made no reference at all to this aspect. Even though the authors of the mid-term assessment said so, within a month of the mid-term assessment document being placed before this House, the prices of consumer goods had been month by month increasing. Therefore may I state that the authors of the mid-term assessment document of the Fourth Plan in spite of what they had stated in that document are now telling this hon. House that on the basis of what they had written about the Fourth Plan the execution of the remaining part of the Fourth Plan has not been a success as contemplated by them. So we have already written off the remaining part of the Fourth Plan, the successful completion of the projects during that period because of the fact that the price level has increased which was not contemplated by the authors of the mid-term assessment.

Sir, another thing so far as planning in this country is concerned that the authors of the Plan have not taken note of, that the Planning Commission has not taken note of, that the Ministry of Planning has not taken note of, that the Governments at the Centre and in the States have not taken note of, is the maintenance of some sort of correlation between the financial targets achieved by the Plan and the so-called physical targets achieved by the Plan. Governments at the Centre and in the States have always been very vigorous in the matter of spending the amounts allotted for the various sectors. There has been, as you know because you have long been in Government in the State of Andhra Pradesh, a lot of mis-spending, overspending, excess spending and unnecessary spending. In the months of January, February and March, that is, towards the end of the financial year, there is a spurt in spending and by the time 31st March is over we find that in many Plan heads the financial targets have been achieved but who has assessed the physical targets that have been achieved by the Plan? As a Member of the Planning Advisory Committee of Parliament I took up this matter in the Committee and the Chairman of the Committee at that time, Mr. Subramaniam, stated that this matter had not been looked into so far and that it should be the endeavour of the Planning Commission and the Government of India to see that there was some sort of correlation between the financial

targets and the physical targets so far as the results of the Plan are concerned.

Sir, I do not propose to deal with it more exhaustively except to say that today, Sir, the economy of the country is at a very low ebb, and inconsistent with this economy we have got heavy taxation. Taxation in the Centre and in the States has passed the saturation point if you compare the taxation with the economy that exists in the country as a whole. The taxation that we are adopting is inconsistent with the economy of the country as a whole, and the economy of the country is not able to stand this heavy taxation, and it is on account of this heavy taxation that the prices of a variety of consumer goods have gone up. And it is necessary for Government to investigate and find out in what way this heavy taxation can be avoided in future. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI

(Gujarat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, for the past one week or more, in this House as well as outside, we have been hearing an extensive debate about the price rise in the country, and I have been hearing it with great concern and with quite a bit of anxiety as to how we are going to face it. All the same, after great hesitation, I felt that I should talk on this subject. Only this morning I returned from the State of Gujarat to which I belong. As you know, by and large Gujarat is a surplus State. It always manages its affairs in such a fashion that it has enough food and enough to supply to other persons also. Gujarat has never depended on others for most of the food products it requires for its consumption. Yesterday I went out to see and I came to know that the price of oil, which is the staple necessity of a Gujarati, had risen by 100%. A kilo. of oil was being sold for four rupees, but today it is sold for eight rupees. As you know, Gujarat is a vegetarian State, again by and large, and their main source of protein is oil. If this oil is going to become this much expensive, I am anxious what our people are going to do and how are they going to live. The daily wage of a labourer is not more than Rs. 3.50. Out of that what will he buy and what will he eat when the prices are so high as this? The way the prices are going up I am really worried that very shortly we are going to have a famine, famine of an unprecedented magnitude which this country

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has not seen. This is the only reason which has really perturbed me and has provoked me to react to the situation and speak now taking the precious time of this august House.

Throughout the last fortnight we have been persuading the ladies to participate in the preparations for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our independence. The anniversary is round the corner and I have been going from house to house and persuading the ladies saying, "Let us have illumination." These ladies come and tell us, "How are we to light the lamps? We do not have enough oil even for our consumption. How to light the lamps?" Their words are really true. This is the gift that we want to give to our nation on the twenty-fifth anniversary of our independence. After a quarter of a century of our independence this is all our achievement. This is what I want to ask of this House and also the Food and Agriculture Minister. But for this very grave provocation I would never have come at this late hour from my house just to speak before this assembly. However, Sir, I want to say that this is not quite a new phenomenon because, over the years, prices have gone up. Over the years this country has known of the steep rise in prices and we have always been struggling to find the remedy. In such situations we have always imported foodgrains from outside, have tried to make such arrangements. But some four or five years ago this nation made a solemn resolution that we must become independent on the agricultural front and we must no longer beg for food from outside. So what is the method to bring it about? The only method is to grow more food in this country. We cannot increase the acreage. Of course we can increase the acreage to grow more food but we cannot increase the acres that we have got in this country.

The idea was that the per acre yield was to be increased. This was to be done by using superior varieties of seeds. The Government came up with the National Seeds Corporation so that better and high-yielding varieties of seeds are made available to farmers at a reasonable rate and in good quantities. This is the Corporation's aim. Afterwards, it was felt that there was necessity for fertilisers and the Fertiliser Corpora-

tion came into existence so that an ample quantity of fertilisers is produced in this country and distributed in the far and wide corners of the country. Again, we felt that we would be producing so much of grains and we would have to sell them. We have the apex marketing society for selling and distributing the large amount of food that is produced. After all this the Government came up with the Food Corporation of India. The basic idea was that this would be able to control the food supplies. It is a commercial corporation. It can control supplies, prices and it can take charge of stocks. Stocking is done in the rudimentary style as the farmers and traders used to do it. It has to be a highly mechanised and modern method of stocking. That is what the Food Corporation of India is supposed to do.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Has it functioned like that?

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : I am asking this question. This is the basic objective of the Food Corporation. It is to stabilise the prices, hold stocks and ensure a steady supply of foodgrains in the market. Now, as Mr. Chinai asked, has it achieved this objective? This is the fundamental object of the food Corporation. For past four years, by God's Grace, we have been producing sufficient food in the country. We have had a green revolution. We have had bumper crops in this country. Prices were likely to go down. We wanted to stop that. Otherwise, it was likely that our farmers would feel disappointed and terribly cheated out of their profit if prices had gone down. So, the Food Corporation stepped in to the market, purchased the available surplus stock, and built up a buffer-stock and thereby sustained the prices. That was a good step to help the farmers, although the consumers felt that they were cheated out of purchasing foodgrains at a lower price. However, now a situation has arisen in the last six months when steadily the prices have gone up. I want to ask our Food and Agriculture Minister what steps have been taken to remedy this particular difficulty that has arisen. It has not come today. It is not just because that from the 15th of July this country has not had sufficient rain. For the last six months prices have been steadily going up. In the middle of last year wheat was available at Rs. 100 a quintal. Even this January I have purchased wheat at Rs. 100 a quintal, but today

you go to the market. It sells at Rs. 125 or Rs. 130. I would like to know where this Food Corporation is. It is supposed to stabilise prices. It is supposed to ensure a steady supply of foodgrains in the markets. This is where it is failing. The price rise is a psychological phenomenon. It is not something which is created suddenly. The trader has got a sixth sense. He knows whether in the market there is going to be a shortfall or surplus. Our foodgrain traders have started feeling that there is going to be a shortage. They have no confidence in our Food Corporation. They have no confidence in the food policy. That is the reason why prices have gone up again and again. Now, at this time the Food Corporation should have stepped into the market to control prices. We are again and again being told that we have a stock of 9 million tonnes of foodgrains in the country, that there is no need to worry, but what is the use of holding this stock? Is it actually so? (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMEN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Please wind up. There are some more speakers.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I will take another seven minutes. I came all the way to make these points today. I want to ask what is the Food Corporation doing. This is how they are treating us. If there is a variation of 2 per cent, it is reasonable. But here is a 20 per cent variation and where is the Food Corporation? Are they sleeping in an ivory tower or are they callously indifferent to what is happening?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You have made that point very effectively.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: In this House we are agitated on this issue, but they do not seem to have done anything. Nowhere the Agriculture Minister has said, "We have taken this step, we have taken this measure to correct the situation, but we have failed". I would like to know genuinely what steps they are going to take. I am afraid that they do not have any policy worth the name. If they had any policy for the last six months they would have stepped in. They have a large machinery monitoring the prices. At every district there is a Food Corporation office. Why did they not control the situation right at that time in the beginning?

Again about the price rise, today the price of wheat is Rs. 125 a quintal. They have stocked it at Rs. 75 a quintal, last, year. Now are they going to sell it at Rs. 100 a quintal? This Food Corporation is not going to sell it at Rs. 100 a quintal when it comes into the market. It will sell it at Rs. 118. Is that going to help us? They will be showing in the next year's balance sheet that they have got a profit. Is this the way of making a profit at the cost of the public? They should have the courage of selling it at Rs. 100 a quintal.

श्री गणेशीलाल चौधरी: धन कमने का आयडिया है। जो वहा बैठे हैं वह धन कमा रहे हैं। पैसा कमा रहे हैं। यह आयडिया है।

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I would only say that timely action should be taken. I do not know for whose initiative they are waiting. I am afraid they have not given any thought to the problem. There is a tremendous lack of managerial ability possibly in that Corporation. They do not know to implement these policies. I will give you one example. The 1970-71 profit and loss account and balance sheet of the Food Corporation were laid on the Table of the august House only last week. Which Corporation can afford to submit its profit and loss account after eighteen months? It was due on 31st March, 1971. How are they managing their income-tax returns, I would like to know. They do not give any thought to all these things. They are saying continuously, "We have enough stocks, why do you worry?" When the prices have gone up, the poor man cannot purchase the essential things. Are the Food Corporation going to give him money to purchase the food? We will have poverty and misery in the midst of plenty. This is what the Food Corporation is doing. I would like the Government and the Food and Agriculture Minister to enquire into what is happening in this Food Corporation. There is something basically and radically wrong with that Corporation. If it is not doing its duty properly, it might be folded up. We created the Food Corporation so that it would have the private sector efficiency and it would take timely action. Instead they are taking much more time. They are having air-conditioned offices, all the rest houses and so on throughout the country. If they cannot take timely action, let the Collector in the district office control the

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food question. We do not require any food officers to do this thing. This is my humble suggestion that the Food Corporation require to be looked into urgently, and this House has a right to ask that either it takes action or it should be folded up.

श्री बी. एन. मंडल (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्षजी, जो विषय अभी इस मदन के सामने है, वह इसलिए कि आज मूल्य-वृद्धि को लेकर समूचे देश में एक बेचैनी फैली हुई है और इस पालियामेंट के सामने भी इसीलिए विचारार्थ है। इस पर जितना विचार किया गया है उसके सिलसिले में उसके क्या आर्थिक कारण हैं उन कारणों के ऊपर कुछ प्रकाश डाला गया है लेकिन एक कारण पर प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया और वह कारण यह है कि जो लोग पालिसी बनाते हैं, सरकार चलाते हैं, उन लोगों का जो सोशल आउटलुक है, जो सामाजिक दृष्टि है, वह किस प्रकार की है? उस दृष्टि के ऊपर में प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया है। इसलिए मैं उस पर भी प्रकाश डाल देना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी सामाजिक दृष्टि क्या है।

आज कौन हिन्दुस्तान का मालिक है? कहने के लिए प्राइम मिनिस्टर है, या राष्ट्रपति है या और दूसरे लोग होते हैं, लेकिन समाज का एक तबका ऐसा होता है जिसके एजेंट का काम ये मालिक किया करते हैं, पोलिटिकल मालिक किया करते हैं। और, वह तबका कौन है? वह तबका है बड़ी जात का, अंग्रेजी पढ़ा लिखा, आर्थिक दृष्टि से सम्पन्न आदमी का तबका, वही तबका आज हिन्दुस्तान का है जिसकी स्वार्थ की पूर्ति के लिए सारे हिन्दुस्तान का कामकाज हो रहा है। जितनी भी उनकी सरकारी नीति है, कहने को हिन्दुस्तान में समाजवाद बना हुआ है, हिन्दुस्तान में प्लान चल रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान में सारी चीजे हो रही हैं और डिमोक्रेसी व सोशलिज्म के नाम से हो रही हैं, लेकिन फिर भी वह सक्सेस-फुल नहीं हो रहा है। नहीं सक्सेसफुल होने के क्या कारण हैं? उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करने वाला जो आदमी है, उसके सोशल आउटलुक की वजह से उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन ठीक से नहीं हो रहा

है। आप इस बात को समझें। मैं फिगर्स देता हूँ, शायद दूसरे लोगों ने भी फिगर्स दिए होंगे, जिससे मालूम होगा कि आज किस तरह की स्थिति उन चीजों की है जिन चीजों को हिन्दुस्तान का गरीब से गरीब आदमी इस्तेमाल में लाता है, इस्तेमाल सिर्फ पहिने और ओढ़ने के लिए नहीं लाता है बल्कि अपनी जान की रक्षा के लिए, अपना पेट भरने के लिए लाता है। ऐसी चीजों के दाम में कितनी बढ़ोतरी हुई है, इसका मैं उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। सिर्फ 18 महीने के अंदर दो-गुना मूल्य में वृद्धि हुई है। खाद्यान्न में 10 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है गत साल से। उसी तरह से दलहन में 20 से लेकर 40 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है, मोटे अनाज में 50 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है, सभी प्रकार के तिलहन में 20 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है। ज्वार, जो सबसे गरीब आदमी के खाने की चीज है, जो बहुत गरीब होता है जिसको चावल या गेहूँ खाने के लिए पैसा नहीं रहता है वह ज्वार खाता है, उस ज्वार की कीमत में कितनी बढ़ती हुई है? उसका दाम जहाँ प्रतिक्विन्टल 58 रु० था अब वह 115 रु० हो गया है। बाजरा जो पहले 50 रुपए प्रति क्विन्टल था आज 88 रु० में मिलता है। उसी तरह से मूग की दाल जो पहले 145 रु० प्रति क्विन्टल मिलती थी आज 250 रु० प्रति क्विन्टल के हिसाब से मिलती है, उरद जो 150 रु० प्रति क्विन्टल मिलती थी, अब 60 रु० में मिलती है। उसी तरह से मत्का मसूर जो 118 रु० क्विन्टल पहले मिलती थी अब 196 रु० मिलती है। चीनी की जो 340 रु० कीमत चल रही है, इसमें 70 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। उसी तरह से गुड़ का भाव 2 रु० 20 पैमा किलो है, इसमें 60 परसेंट की वृद्धि हुई है। इसी तरह से कपड़े की कीमत में वृद्धि हुई है, सीमेंट में वृद्धि हुई है, लोहे में वृद्धि हुई है। हम लोगों के यहाँ जो गरीब घास फूस के घर बनाते हैं उस घास-फूस और बांस की कीमत में कितनी वृद्धि हुई है? अगर हम इन सब बातों को देखेंगे तो मालूम पड़ेगा कि इस संसार में कोई ऐसी शक्ति है, जो शक्ति इतनी तकलीफ और अभावग्रस्तता के बावजूद भी अत्यन्त अभावग्रस्त लोगों को जिन्दा रखे जा रही है। इस तरह का स्टेट एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का रूप हिन्दुस्तान में लाद दिया गया है जिस हिन्दुस्तान में कहा जाता है कि यहाँ संविधान के मुताबिक काम चल रहा है

और प्लान के आधार पर इसकी आर्थिक स्थिति बन रही है।

महंगाई ऐसी चीज है जिसमें कई एलिमेंट होते हैं। डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग क्यों होता है? क्या हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग किया जाता है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी के लिए यह चीज नहीं है तो फिर किसलिए डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग किया जाता है। इसका मतलब तो फिर यह हुआ कि आप हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी को और बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान के गरीबों को परेशान करने के लिए आप डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करते हैं।

डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग किस स्तर पर चलाया जाता है इसका भी कोई ठिकाना नहीं है। यह जो डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग आता है, घाटे का जो बजट आता है, वह किस तरह से आता है? सरकार की जितनी आमदनी होती है उससे जब वह ज्यादा खर्च करती है तब उस हालत में घाटे का बजट आता है। सरकार क्यों खर्च करती है, किसके लिये खर्च करती है, तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ, यह उन लोगों के लिए खर्च करती है जिनके पास काफी पैसा होता है, गवर्नमेंट अपने कामों के लिए खर्च करती है, पार्लियामेंट के भवन के लिए खर्च करती है, सेक्रेटेरियट के लिए खर्च करती है, कनाटा प्लेस में पत्थर के बने हुए जो फव्वारे हैं, उनके लिए खर्च किया जाता है, और ये सारी चीजों पर जो खर्च होता है वह उलट-पुलट कर बजट में आता है तथा वह रुपया करों के रूप में जनता से वसूल किया जाता है। जब लोग बजट खर्च के लिये रुपया नहीं दे सकते हैं, तो उसको डेफिसिट फाइनेंस कहा जाता है और इसके द्वारा महंगाई और भी ज्यादा बढ़ जाती है।

इसके अलावा डेफिसिट फाइनेंस चलाने के लिए सरकार और क्या क्या करती है। जब सरकार के पास पैसा नहीं रह जाता है तो वह फिर नोट छापना शुरू कर देती है। सेन्ट्रल और प्रांतीय सरकारें रिजर्व बैंक से रुपया निकालती रहती हैं और इस तरह से रिजर्व बैंक का काफी रुपया कर्ज के रूप में उनके ऊपर हो जाता है। इस तरह से रिजर्व बैंक का जो रुपया लिया गया है, आमदनी न रहने पर वह कर्जा पूरा नहीं किया जाता है

और डेफिसिट फाइनेंस का जो मिसचिफ है वह उसको और भी गहरा बना देता है। यही कारण है कि आज देश की जनता की तकलीफ बढ़ गई है।

जब से हमारा देश स्वतंत्र हुआ, जब से हमारे यहां प्लान चालू हुआ, तब से रुपये का जो मूल्य है वह घटता ही चला गया है और उसके कुछ आंकड़े मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

1950 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 101 था जबकि एक रुपये का मूल्य 99.1 था। 1958 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 105 था, लेकिन परचेजिंग पावर 95.2 रह गई थी। 1966 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 130 था जबकि परचेजिंग पावर 75.9 रह गई। 1963 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 134 था, लेकिन परचेजिंग पावर 74.6 रह गई। 1967 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 209 था जबकि परचेजिंग पावर 47.8 रह गई। इसी तरह से इंडेक्स 1968 में नम्बर 210 था और परचेजिंग पावर 46.5 रह गई। 1970 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 224 था और परचेजिंग पावर 44.6 रह गई। 1971 में इंडेक्स नम्बर 230 था और उसकी परचेजिंग पावर घटकर 43 रह गई। इसी तरह से 1972 में 6 महीने के अन्दर इंडेक्स नम्बर 236 तक पहुँच गया जबकि परचेजिंग पावर 42.4 रुपया ही रह गई। इस तरह से हमारे रुपये की कीमत घटती ही चली गई और यही काम सरकार ने अब तक किया है।

इसमें नफा किस को हुआ है? इसमें नफा उन लोगों को हुआ है जो हिन्दुस्तान की स्वतंत्रता के समय खाते पीते लोग थे। और जो लोग घर में बैठकर खाते पीते थे उन लोगों का फायदा हुआ। जो लोग अपनी कमाई से अपना पेट नहीं भर सकते थे, साधारण तरीके से पेट भरते थे, साधारण जीवन व्यतीत करते थे उनकी गरीबी और भी बढ़ गई।

और इस हालत में आ गई है कि जिस हालत में रुपए का मूल्य घटा है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इन सारी बातों पर ध्यान दे।

मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ—जिसको मैंने पहले भी कहा था—कि सामाजिक दृष्टि सरकार बदले और सामाजिक दृष्टि को बदलने के लिए सरकार को क्या करना पड़ेगा, यह भी मैं सरकार से कह देना

[श्री० बी० एन० मंडल]

चाहता हूँ। आज एक तरह के लोग शासन में हैं। शासन में हर तरह के लोगों को लाओ, उन लोगों को लाओ जिन लोगों के ऊपर हजारों बरस से शोषण और शासन हुआ है। अब जरूरत ऐसे लोगों की है, वे लोग अब शासन में आएँ। आज डेमोक्रेसी है, डेमोक्रेसी का मतलब है कि एक-एक यूनिट स्वतंत्र है, वे अपना इन्तजाम अपने आप करें और अगर वे नहीं कर सकते हैं तो इसका मतलब है कि वे नहीं समझ पाते हैं और जो चीज उनको समझा सकती थी पढ़ा-लिखा कर वह आज तक यूनिवर्सल प्राइमरी एजुकेशन आपने इस देश में कायम नहीं की है, जान बूझकर कायम नहीं की है (*Time bell rings*) और यही कारण है कि देश में इतनी गरीबी है और यह देश आगे नहीं बढ़ पाता है।

SHRI N. G. GORAY : What a change has come over the economic scene of this country, Sir ! Only a few days back when the Finance Minister spoke on the Budget, he was full of confidence. And perhaps you remember, Sir, when some of us expressed doubts, he said "I look to the future with faith. I am not one of those who lack faith in themselves and in the leadership of this country." All of a sudden it seems that we are confronted with an economic situation which threatens to submerge us, overwhelm us. Sir, it appears that if things continue as they are, it is quite possible that all our plans will go haywire. I feel that even now the entire Plan frame has been threatened. It has been shaken. And it is with the utmost effort that somehow we can muddle through. This is the situation that has arisen.

Sir, we have been talking about the rise in prices how many times, I do not know. In every session at least once we talk about the rise in prices. But we are not able to control the prices. The best that we are doing is we are chasing the prices. We are trying to catch up with them. But whatever we do, it seems that they are eluding our grasp and they are always one or two paces ahead of us. Sir, to-day if we go by the statement that was laid before the House by the Finance Minister, we find that he himself has admitted that the rise that has taken place is disturbing. And he has pinpointed the issue where he has said,

"The pivotal role in raising the general price level has been played by the agricultural commodities which have been in short supply such as coarse grains, pulses, sugar and allied products whose prices have risen rather sharply over the year."

"Rather sharply"—he says. But just see what the figures are. A rise of 15.8 per cent for jowar, 39.4 per cent for bajra, 25.3 per cent for pulses and 28.3 per cent for sugar and allied products.

This was the statement made on the 31st July. I think there must have been a rise of 3 or 4 points or 5 points even during the last week. I would like to tell the Finance Minister that all his data been has collected from the 50 odd centres that he has throughout the country. I am quite sure that these figures will not tally with the facts if we go to the remote villages, not to the centres wherefrom the data has been collected. I would, therefore, just leave it to you, Sir, to imagine what must be the plight of all those people who are living in the remotest villages, the Adivasis, the Harijans, the landless. You can just imagine. When this perticular data is before me, we must also remember that the full impact of the drought was not then felt, it is going to be felt now; it will be felt after 15 days or a month or two months. And all that the Government has to say here—it is not the Finance Minister, it is the Minister for Food and Agriculture—is we need not be afraid because we have got a buffer stock. I would like to know what the connection is between the buffer stock and the rising prices. If really the buffer stock was capable of arresting the rise in prices, why would have the prices risen at all ? Was not the buffer stock there ? So, the buffer stock has not served as a deterrent at all. Knowing full well that there were 9.5 million tons of grains in the stocks of the Government or with the Food Corporation, the prices went up, they went on rising.

About sugar it is the same story Last year's production has been trotted out as one of the reasons of the rise in prices of sugar. But what was the production ? Thirtyone lakhs of tons. What was the stock ? Fifteen lakhs of tons. The total sugar with us was 46 lakhs of tons, and the total consumption in India is about 38 or 39 lakhs of tons. What does this mean ? It means that so far as carrying the food-

grains and sugar and other supplies from the Centre to the remote parts of the villages is concerned, the machinery has entirely failed. I am not trying to analyse the causes of this trouble because that will take a long time. I know that there are various factors. Black money has been mentioned. Profiteering has been mentioned. All these things have been there and are there. Inflation has been mentioned. When the Government says-you, Sir, put us a question-it was almost a challenge, if the Government were to go back to rationing, are the Opposition parties ready? With all humility I would like to say that, Sir, you have to put this question to the Congress ranks. We at least, those of us who belong to the left parties, have never objected to rationing. On the contrary, we have been saying, let this policy be pursued for ten years or fifteen years until we really come out of the woods. But as soon as there is a good monsoon, a good rabi crop, or a good kharif crop, then at once the Government relaxes the whole thing. They wind up the whole thing. If you want to go back, then you will have to begin from the scratch. It is said here again and again that we have 1,25,000 fair price shops throughout the country. With full sense of responsibility I can tell you that firstly 1,25,000 shops are not functioning at all. I can very well make a guess that one-third of the shops are just nominal, they have nothing except perhaps a board. So you come to this conclusion that about one lakh shops are there out of which again 33 per cent or 40 per cent would be in the cities, urban, areas.

What is left for the rural areas where large masses of people live and for whom we are talking? What must have happened to them? There may be one-third working fair price shops, or one fair price shop for ten villages. I have come across stories where villagers trek for ten miles just to know that the stocks are over. Then they go back and after eight days again come. This is the position. Therefore what I am saying is that the Finance Minister if he is really serious and I presume that he is serious must look to the implementation part of it. That is where the whole thing is going wrong. We have been told that unless production goes up, the situation will not improve. How can production go up? Look at what is happening in Durgapur. It is a Congress run trade union which is holding up the whole process of production. What is happening at the copper mine of

Khetri? We were told by Shri Kumaramangalam that there is a contest between two trade unions and therefore the whole production has come to a standstill. I would like to say that it is not only the Finance Minister here, but the Food and Agriculture Minister, the Irrigation Minister and the Prime Minister also who have to see that such things are put right. If you want to put the whole thing on the rails again, then very firm policies will have to be adopted. Sometimes it may be a Union belonging to the CPI; sometimes it may be a Union belonging to the Congress; and sometimes it may be some other Union. You have to tell those people; "We want more production. We are prepared to give you everything that is possible under the Trade Union Act." But these leaders are coming in the way and they are sabotaging production. They should be made to undergo punishment for that.

Now about sugar. What is the position now? 60 per cent you take from the sugar producers and 40 per cent you leave to them. They are creating havoc with this 40 per cent in their hands. Sugar is now selling at Rs. 4/- and 5/-. Why don't you take the entire stock of sugar from them and ration it? The problem of sugar has been coming up before this House for the last two years and I remember there was a solemn promise made by the Agriculture and Food Minister Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, that steps would be taken to see that sugar does not sale for more than Rs. 2/- a kilogram. What has happened now?

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : 40 प्रतिशत शुगर तो अधिक दाम पर अवैलेबिल है लेकिन 60 प्रतिशत शुगर अवैलेबिल नहीं है।

श्री एन० जी० गोरे : इसीलिए तो मैं कहता हूँ। आप सुनिये।

Therefore, what I am trying to point is this. This is a crisis which has not come all of a sudden. If the monsoon had been all right, may be the price would have been a little less. But the trend was there and it was very clear from the beginning, of this year that the prices were gradually going up. We should not make an excuse of this monsoon which has certainly failed. It has added to our difficulties. I have just pointed out in a meeting with the Prime Minister that it is not only food or sugar, but it is

[Shri N. G. Goray]

going to be fodder for the cattle and drinking water for the people. All these will have to be provided for and therefore you will have to think in a very comprehensive manner. But this is an opportunity which you can seize, if you want to remould the entire planning so far as prices are concerned. The Finance Minister never tells us what he is going to do about black money. He told us that it has become a very sinister influence and it is now a challenge. He says it has become a parallel economy in the country. What does it mean? Not only parallel economy, but almost a parallel Government and it is so. Why is it not possible to unearth the black money? It is not because it is hidden, but because half of the police and detective machinery is in their service. It is not only a parallel economy, but a parallel Government. Are you ready to accept the challenge? Are you ready to deal with them as firmly as you deal with a foreign invasion?

I am saying this, because we have been told that they are going to deal with this problem on a war-footing. What does this war-footing mean? What does this war on prices mean? War against whom? I am telling you, Sir, that this war is going to be costlier than the war with Pakistan. We have been told that we incurred an expenditure of Rs. 150 crores in our war with Pakistan. Now, in the State of Maharashtra alone, the losses due to drought are to the tune of Rs. 100 crores and if you add up all the losses, they will come to nearly Rs. 4,000 crores or Rs. 5,000 crores.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : In U. P. alone it is more than Rs. 150 crores.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Yes. Therefore, I am saying that this is a much bigger problem than the war we had and this is going to be a much bigger confrontation. If you want to handle it, and handle it firmly, you must have a determined policy and you must see to it that while pursuing that determined policy, whoever stands in the way is dispensed with. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Yes, Mr. Minister.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. . .

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Sir, I would like to make one submission. It is going to be six o'clock now. We have been sitting in this House from 11-00 A. M. onwards and it is nearing six o'clock now and he will take one hour at least if you want to listen to him. Let us not be dictatorial. Therefore, let him speak later.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : We want to listen to him in detail and we do not want him to hurry up.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is not a question of hurrying up. You please listen to me. I am not going to speak longer.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : We want you to speak longer and we want you to go into the details.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : We want you to speak longer and we do not want you to be in a hurry.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not in a hurry and I do not want to hurry up matters. It is not a question of speaking longer. If I can cover all the points, all the essential points, in the shortest possible time, which is my habit, I think it would be all right. Further, I will have to go according to my time.

AN HON. MEMBER : He can reply later.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : It is never done and it is never the practice.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I am seeking your permission, because I will not be available tomorrow. If the debate is cut like this, my answer is meaningless, because I have heard you fully and my impressions are fresh in my mind and it is better that I reply now. If you can sit a little longer, I will cover all the points and I will not take much time.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Sir, before the Prime Minister speaks, . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Please say, "before the Finance Minister speaks".

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : I want to put forth a point to the Finance Minister.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You always take the chance to speak.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Sir, if the prices of one or two or three commodities go up, I can understand the control measures, etc. But, if the price of everything goes up, then it is due to inflation. So, that is the basic reason and that is the basic disease and the disease cannot be treated if we treat the symptom alone. I would, therefore request him to reply to this question as to what steps they are having in mind to stop the present inflationary trend, because, as I said, the price rise is mostly due to inflation and there is no other reason for this.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the other day, when the statement was made by me on the floor of the House, for a couple of hours practically the debate was there and there was almost across-examination and I had tried to answer all the questions. So, it is quite possible that I would repeat some of the points which I have already made for which I would request the House to pardon me.

Sir, many honourable Members have tried to analyse the reasons behind the present trends in the price situation. Everybody has tried to put forth his point of view and I do not want to dispute that a particular point of view is right or wrong. May be that most of the reasons that they have given are true, because as the honourable Member, Tyagiji, just now said, inflation is partly responsible for this and it is partly responsible and I know that it is responsible for all these matters. So, is it necessary now to go into the causes which ultimately are responsible for these things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Yes, it is necessary.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It should be necessary and I think it would be useful also to go into the causes of the present situation. But, the point that I would like to tell the honourable Members is that the question has certainly become a question of immediate concern. Therefore, our point is what immediate action should be taken and what programme of action we should have in hand immediately so that we can make an impact on the price situation in the immediate future.

That, really speaking, is the most important question that should engage the attention of this honourable House.

Well, Sir, some hon. Members said that there is a trend of rise of prices all along,

which is true. But I do say, Sir, . . . I am not merely making a theoretical point—that with the type of investment that we are making for the growth of the economy it cannot be said that there will not be any rise in prices at any time at all. This would be a very realistic position. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : May I ask your junior Minister not to nod his head always ?
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you do not want him, you may. . . .
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Loyalty can be easily demonstrated without a visible demonstration of nodding. . . .
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you do like it, please do it, yourself so that I can see it.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But my head will nod in such a way which may not be very pleasant to you. . . .
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is the thing I do not expect. . . .
(*Interruptions*)

I do not want to be distracted because this is a very difficult proposition. Sir, let us see what is the behavior of the prices for the last two or three years. If we see, Sir, in 1970-71 it would be a very interesting exercise to see the prices in 1970-71—they were reasonably stable. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In 1970-71 you said a very nice thing, Mr. Chavan. You said that physical control of essential commodities was essential. We might consider this thing.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : But I have not come to that yet. I am really trying to see the behavior of the prices. In 1971 there was certainly a rise of prices. Some Members said that even though during the last year when there was a large number of refugees and when there was a war, the prices behaved. Well, the prices did not behave. There was some sort of rise. When the prices behaved, Sir, was the last couple of months of the last year, that is, October-November. Really speaking, there was a decline in the prices then. I find that by the end of December or so there was only a rise, compared to the last December or January, of up to nearly 1.6 or so as compared to the higher prices in the previous months. So, it is not true to say that the prices are continuously rising. There is certainly some sort

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of erratic behaviour of the prices, depending on certain conditions-economic conditions, political conditions and the climatic conditions in the country. When I say economic conditions, I mean production in the agricultural sector and the industrial sector. When I say economic conditions, I mean the credit policy, money supply and the other supplies which are very essential for the vulnerable section of society, the poorer sections, which, really speaking, need to be supplied with these things regularly at a reasonable price. This year, the rise which can be said to be a rather unusual rise, started asserting itself in the latter part of the year. And, as Mr. Goray rightly stated, in the last two week this had shown considerable rise, which causes grave concern in the minds of the House and the country. It is not true to say that there is something wrong with the planning, there is something basically wrong with the economy or there is something wrong with the basic policies of the Government. I would plead with the House not to rush to these conclusions, because these are not very correct conclusions.

There are certainly some reasons. I quite agree that we will have to review some of our positions. I do not deny that. One cannot take an inflexible stand that we will not review our position. If there are any deviations, if there are any corrections required in the policy of the Government in any matter certainly Government will have to sit up and revise its policies also.

Now coming to the subject, there are long-term problems and short-term problems. There is the question of money supply. Some of the Members have taken up some sort of a position that the entire thing is due only to the rise in money supply and deficit financing. Deficit financing in this country has to be resorted to. It is very easily said that there should not be any deficit financing. I quite agree that deficit financing will have to be related to productive efforts. If deficit financing is not related to productive efforts, then certainly it is very dangerous. Also I must say that it will have to be limited, it will have to be planned if cannot be unlimited or some sort of run-away deficit financing. So one has to plan for it properly and relate it to the productive programme. as I said while answering questions last time, deficit financing is necessary because of certain economic compulsions, also because of certain political compulsions

and also because of certain natural compulsions. When I say natural compulsions I mean natural calamities like the drought for example or floods. This year there is drought. I must give credit to Mr. Goray because he made a prophesy of a bad year this year. But unfortunately he makes only unpleasant prophesy.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I would be very happy if I am wrong.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : And it has come true. But the real question is this. Even if there is an unfavourable situation the country and the people really speaking have to face this unfavourable situation and triumph over it. It is no use merely saying this is a very unfavourable situation. Government has taken up the challenge. Now in conditions of drought certainly we have to resort to deficit financing because we have to go in for relief works and sometimes we give grants and doles to the people. It is deficit financing. One can scientifically ask whether it is right deficit financing because it is in no way related to productive effort. But you have to do it. And if the present conditions persist in practically more than half a dozen States the amount that would be required would be quite huge.

AN HON. MEMBER : Staggering.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Yes, staggering. So deficit financing is sometimes inevitable; not that one likes it. Last year for example when we had large number of refugees. when there was a war situation, what was expected of us ? We had to raise money; we had to resort to deficit financing. Some of the States were in difficulties and they had to resort to overdrafts, which certainly was not a healthy thing. We had to warn them when they behaved in this particular manner that there would be no further overdraft. But whatever overdrafts had taken place they had to be gradually absorbed. They could not be merely by one stroke of pen, written off. Gradually they have to be absorbed by a phased programme in the States' economy over period of time and that is being done. So as far as deficit financing is concerned this is the position.

Now what I was coming to say was whether we are taking any other action regarding this question of money supply; certainly we have taken the necessary steps about credit control. Particularly in the case of commodities like oilseeds, like cotton, like other essential things, there is sufficient control on

credit and margins are very heavy. Recently we have taken steps, particularly in regard to oilseeds in Gujarat. I have made reference to that in my statement. So steps are being taken but that is not enough because these are long-term measure and it will take some long time to yield results, to show their effects.

What matters to us now is how we are going to face the present position because Mr. Goray also referred to the aspect that the present pressure on prices is mainly coming from the agricultural commodities, from all the essential commodities which, really speaking, matter, like food, like cloth, like sugar, like edible oil and allied commodities. These are the things. Of course it is having effect on others. Sometimes, when a particular category of an article or a commodity shows a tendency to rise, there is sympathetic rise in other sectors also. But we are trying to see that industrial production should not be affected by this. Even though there is difficulty in the field of foreign aid, we are trying to see that the supplies for the production in the industrial sector should be encouraged. And for that purpose, whatever necessary imports are necessary, whatever raw materials or spare parts or other equipments are necessary, we are providing all the necessary foreign exchange for it. I know there are difficulties, but this is the time when we must face the difficulties manfully. And what we propose to do is to see that industrial production is not affected, that industrial production is further increased.

Sir, I was saying that much pressure is coming from the agricultural commodities. Now may I tell Mr. Goray? The point I am making is absolutely a commonsense practical point. He said that "you" are quoting these figures but they are 50 points. If we, really speaking, go to the interior, they may be much more. It is quite possible. It will be very difficult to go by statistics and say that these are the uniform prices all over the country, in every place. But I would also make another argument for his consideration that these figures also in a sense, do not reflect, really speaking, the real conditions. I will explain to you how, now, for example, the rise of price for the cereal. The rise of prices that you quoted is mostly of the cereals and the pulses. "Pulses" is a general commodity of mass consumption. I agree. But cereals is something and, really speaking, if it is not available. We cannot get cereals from other countries. And the cereals are not available because most of

the cereals-producing States were either suffering from floods or famine or drought for the last two or three years continuously, a State like Mysore, a State like Andhra Pradesh, a State like Maharashtra and a State like Madhya Pradesh which, really speaking, are the major cereals-producing States. And if they are suffering from floods or drought, there is no cereals production. Therefore the price rise is there. The main question is, if they are costly cereals, whether in place of them there is some other cereal or other foodgrain in stock to give or not. Therefore, my argument is, my point is : we have got the stock. Therefore, that argument is not right. I tried to find out from the figures and I found that this year the offtake of wheat is one lakh tonnes more per month than last year.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Seven lakhs.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Seven lakhs.

Last year it was an average of six lakh tonnes. This year it is seven lakhs. It means there is increase in the offtake of wheat. It means wheat is available and is being made available. This is the point I would like to make. I quite agree that the present infra-structure of the fair price shops is not enough. It is quite possible that it is ineffective also. I am prepared to concede this position what he said that one third of the fair price shops may not be functioning. It is quite possible. I concede that position because I know that in some States the fair price shops are working well and in other States they are not working well. Even in those States where they are working well, in some parts they may be working well while in other parts they may not be working well. It is quite possible. Therefore, Government has taken a decision about this matter.

Now I am coming to the immediate programme. The most important emphasis in fighting the price rise has been on organising this distributive system completely throughout the country on a large scale and to see that it functions effectively. For that matter there will be a very proper coordination between the State Governments and the Central Government. It would be properly seen, not merely that in the States fair price shops function but that they have got sufficient stocks for distribution.

This is one thing. Of course, naturally we will have to see what we do about the other things. There is certainly shortage of pulses and shortage of oilseeds. We will certainly

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make efforts to see to it. If there is no internal production, if the international prices are easy, if they are going to be useful, we will have to think of importing, if necessary, edible oil and pulses. If they are not available I will try, but pulses and edible oils only. If it is necessary, we will have to save the present particular situation. Now, this is not enough I know that we will have to think in other terms. We are traditionally thinking in terms of the kharif period and the rabi period. We are agelong trained to this sort of thinking. As one who knows something about agriculture for the last ten or fifteen years, I have never seen that rains came according to the old time-schedule of a Nakshatra. It has never happened. Therefore, we need not think that if it is not raining in the months of June or July and if it is delayed, there cannot be any productive effort. I think we can do this even though there is a late rain. The latter period of the kharif season can also be made use of if we properly plan for it. We can certainly plan in a more aggressive way, rather I should say, in an extended manner for the rabi crop. We can act in a more concentrated manner for the rabi production. We can do that. I can tell you from experience that if we make a very well-planned effort, we can succeed. Of course, for that it will be necessary to have fertilisers. It will be necessary to supply them with pesticides. It will be necessary to have seeds. It will be necessary to supply them with electricity, pumping sets or oil-engines, etc. If it is necessary, to resort to deficit financing for this purpose, I will not hesitate even for a second to do that.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : It is not that. The question is to reach the seed and fertiliser in time to the cultivator. Your machinery is not able to do that.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I quite agree that it is not in a position to do that, but I am indicating the policy decisions. I quite agree with you that to translate this programme into action, there will have to be a proper administrative machinery and for that we will have to take care. I quite concede that point. You have seen the administration at the level of the Centre and the State . . .

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I am saying that it is not enough.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Quite right. I quite see your point. Therefore, this is the major thing. If we can create this confidence in the rural areas that this is the programme that we can do, this feeling of scarcity and the advantage that is being taken of it will not be there. There will be employment. This sort of programme will give a large scope for employment. We will see that the distribution system functions well as far as the stocks of wheat and other commodities and cloth are concerned. Last year certainly there was less production of coarse cloth. What exactly is the percentage, the Minister has yet to be sure of, but the reason has been very ably explained by my hon. friend, Mr. Kulkarni. It is because of less production of indigenous cotton, the type that is required for coarse cloth was not available. Most of the cotton that we had to import was meant only for the superfine, fine and medium type cloth that is true, but this year we have taken steps to see that coarse cloth is produced according to our plan and we will see that ultimately it reaches the man who needs this cloth.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What about the Sakseria mills ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not know which Sakeseria he means. He knows them better.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You know that there was some trouble about the Sakseria Mills.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Mr. Sakseria that I know of is in difficulties. The people there are unemployed. There was a question of taking over and running it. This is how I know it. I do not know which Sakseria you are talking of.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am talking of the same Sakseria as you are.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So, this is the most important thing. I am sure if we get the co-operation of the hon. Members....

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : This is a co-ordinated effort. What we are thinking of is that the matter has to be reviewed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You have made a suggestion which will have to be considered. Really speaking this is how all the Members and political parties should help us in this matter. This is a phenomenon in which one should not say there is something basically wrong with the policy and

therefore entirely overhaul the policy or overhaul the entire thing.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Will your party welcome co-operation ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Yes.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : May I make a suggestion ? You ask the State Governments to make village surveys of their demands. If a village survey is made, it will be useful.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : In these programmes of establishing a proper distributive system in this country and in launching and implementing this new agricultural production programme and creating the right psychology amongst the people of this country we do need co-operation. We ask for co-operation from those who can give and who should give. What more can I say ? We ask for it in the production programme, because on the one side some leftist Members say here is a price rise, but there is also the danger of strikes. Mr. Goray referred to that point very eloquently and very effectively. I hope his appeal will be heard with respect and responded to with a sense of co-operation.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : If I may ask a question on reaching the facilities that you have talked of to the farmer, in planning that it will take a fortnight, and in reaching it actually with the utmost expedition it will take another fifteen days. It means one month. That is, in September any kind of intermediate late variety will not succeed. That is the problem. I am now thinking that we are rather starting late with this idea. You are a farmer, I am also a farmer. I am saying that this is the problem.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I quite see your point. If the entire thing starts from the beginning in September, it will be late. I quite agree, but really speaking I tell you that when there is a possibility of making use of water, the agriculturist does not wait for anything else to come in. Naturally we must use these things as quickly as possible. Already the representatives of the Government of India have discussed with some of the State Governments this programme. The Minister of State of Agriculture has visited a couple of States and discussed details of how these programmes should be pursued, and the State machinery is being harnessed for this purpose. This is all I can say.

Therefore, merely going into the very philosophic and abstract analysis will not do. Some piecemeal news has appeared in the press and some people have already started saying things. There are some people who are always pessimistic, who are always fainthearted. These people always see a credibility gap in anything we try to decide or propose to do. I think we have got the wherewithal to do these things. Certainly we can have engines, we can supply electricity. Though there is a shortage of electricity, possibly we have to have priority of supply of electricity for this programme. I think this country produces a large number of pumping sets and engines, there is no difficulty. Therefore, some effort will have to be made in this matter. These are the things that we can do. As far as fertiliser is concerned, I can say that wherever it is available, we will certainly get it. There will be no excuse about lack of foreign exchange for the supply of fertiliser. This much I can say.

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : मैं एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ। आपने अभी बताया कि हम पालिसीज को रिकंसीडर करेंगे, जो कुछ भी गवर्नमेंट की पालिसीज हैं उनको भी रिकंसीडर करेंगे रीसेंट सिचुएशन की लाइट में।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This is basic. I do not know whether you accept it or not. But according to me, the basic approach, the basic planning is certainly good. But there are certainly other considerations, non-economic considerations which sometimes come and erode into the economic policy. What can you do ?

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : मैं तो केवल इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, मैं दूसरी बात निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन हुआ प्रोडक्शन काफी बढ़ गया इस खयाल से गये साल और इस साल इरिगेशन रेट्स बढ़ा दिये गये, बिजली के रेट बढ़ा दिये गये, खाद का टैक्स बढ़ा दिया जब कि ऐसा नहीं होना था, तो क्या आप स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को कहेंगे कि मूखे की स्थिति में इस बारे में रिकंसीडर करें।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not agree with you that the production has become reduced because of something. It is not very correct

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : इस साल टैक्स लगाया जा रहा है।

श्री य०ब० चव्हाण : मैं भी जानता हूँ खेती का काम, आप माफ़ कीजिये, आप यह कह सकते हैं कि इनपुट्स पर टैक्सेशन कम कर दो, यह आर्गुमेंट आप कर सकते हैं, और हम लोग कभी उस पर सोच भी सकते हैं और कभी सोच भी नहीं सकते हैं।

But I do not agree with you that these are the reasons for less production in the country.

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ मैं कह रहा हूँ कि इस साल डॉट की सिचुएशन में जब कि लैड रेवेन्यू में माफ़ी देनी चाहिये तब उसके बीच में वह बढ़ा रहे है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : As far as the special programme is concerned, we will see that these things will not come in the way of the agriculturist to get the necessary inputs any time at the proper prices so that there will be incentives for him to go in for the production programme. This much I can say. What the necessary administrative step will be for it is a different matter.

Sir, this is all that I can say at the present moment. (*Interruptions*) As I have told you, I accept this position that ultimately in the case of essential commodities, there will have to be physical control. I accept that position. I do not depart from it. But merely saying is not enough. There will have to be the machinery to implement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But how are you going to do it ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I saw the paper which you gave to us in the leaders' meeting. It is a very interesting paper. We will have to go into the suggestions made therein. But merely making radical changes at a time when we have an emergent situation to deal with, it will not be enough. As far as the theoretical point or as far as the approach is concerned, I quite agree that in the case of certain selected commodities, we will have to see and have a long-term policy. I have a long-term policy about distribution to the vulnerable sections of the people, so that this sort of a fluctuating and disturbing situation may not arise often.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : You are making long-term arrangements. But what about today's conditions and where is the wherewithal going to come ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not talking about the long-term programme; I am talking about the immediate programme to be started this month. This is what I was talking about.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : By that time you will not have the money to purchase.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Do not be afraid of it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : At least you should make a gesture to the honourable lady.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : I am saying, we will not have the wherewithal; we will have to purchase the food-grains. Why is not the Food Corporation selling the foodgrains in the market ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That decision of the Food Corporation to sell by open auction was there and that had been taken advantage of by the hoarders. Government has taken the decision to further stop the auction. I was talking about the immediate programme, not the long-term programme.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Only one thing I would like to ask you. It is nothing radical. You yourself agreed, and even now you agree that it is necessary to have physical control over some essential commodities. There may be a difference of opinion as to which are these commodities, in the matter of selection. But how are you going to do it ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The question is how to do it, what will be the administrative machinery for it. It is not merely going in for something which ultimately will not give us the result but will only merely give us a theoretical satisfaction. As a long-term policy, I see the strength of that argument.

Sir, I have done.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN : I would like to ask one clarification. Just now our Finance Minister stated that we have got buffer-stock. I would like to know from the honourable Minister what is the machinery for distribution. I understand they

are having machinery to purchase and have a buffer-stock. But I should like to know if they have got any machinery for distribution. Are they going to have a separate and special machinery for distribution? This situation should be arrested immediately.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Of course, there is the State machinery. We make food available to the State Governments and the State Government, through their machinery, supply to the fair-price shops as they are called. This is the machinery. Of course, this will have to be made more effective, more extensive and more efficient, I have no doubt in my mind.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आपने साथ ही साथ स्वीकार किया है कि फेयर प्राइस शाप्स की

मशीनरी इफेक्टिव नहीं है। सब जगह वर्क नहीं कर रही है।

श्री य०ब० चव्हाण:मैंने उसकी कुछ खामियां स्वीकार की हैं लेकिन यह नहीं कहा कि सारी बुरी है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-four minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 9th August, 1972.