

- (5) Discussion on the Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the years 1962-63 and 1963-64 on a motion to be moved by the Deputy Minister of Social Welfare.

- (6) Consideration and passing of—

The Electricity (Supply) Amendment Bill, 1966, passed by Lok Sabha.

The Railway Property (Unlawful Possession) Bill, 1966.

The Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Bill, 1966 as passed by Lok Sabha.

I may also inform the House that a discussion on the devaluation of the rupee by the Government on a motion to be moved by Shri B-hupesh Gupta will be provided on Monday, the 8th August, 1966.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): You very well know that all sections of the House are very much anxious about a discussion concerning the Report of the Monopolies Enquiry Commission and also the Report of the Managing Agency Committee. I would request you and the Leader of the House to find time if not in the coming week in the week after that, so that these two valuable Reports may be discussed in the House. I have nothing to say but I would only earnestly request that there should be a discussion on these valuable Reports. Also if the Report of the Education Commission is placed on the Table of the House, I would request that that also should be discussed.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : I will convey the first suggestion to my colleague the Law Minister who is dealing with the Monopolies Enquiry Commission and the Managing Agency Committee. As regards the Report of the Education Commission I hope to place a copy of it on the Table of this House as soon as it is printed. As the House knows, it is a very voluminous Report and I hope to get the Report from the Press some time next week. As soon as ready I will place it on the Table of the House. I do not know whether we will have time for discussing the Report

but if time can be found I am in the hands of the House. But I am very much doubtful because there is so much legislative work that is deferred from the last session. I do not think we will be able to find time for a discussion of the Education Commission's Report but if time can be found I am in the hands of the House.

# **RESOLUTION KE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO CONTROL PRICE LINE AND TO REGULATE DISTRIBUTION OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES**

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra)  
Sir, I move the following Resolution :

"Having regard to the existing abnormal prices of the essential articles and commodities, this House is of opinion that Government should—

I 1) take immediate, stern and deterrent steps to bring down the prices; and

(2) appoint in consultation with the State Governments, a permanent highpower Committee to effectively control the price line and to regulate the distribution of the essential articles and commodities throughout the country."

Sir, while moving this Resolution, I would like to confess that I am not happy I am indeed most distressed to move a Resolution of this type. However, I feel that I shall be failing in my duty if I do not utilise this opportunity to express the feelings of the people, the common man in the street. So when I got the notice from the office I decided without hesitation to voice the agonies of the people.

Sir, we shall be completing 19 years of our sacred independence just after a fortnight on the 15th August. During that period of 19 years we have been forced to face calamities after calamities. The day we became free our problems started, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, disease, backwardness in agriculture and industry, social inequalities, flow of refugees

[Shri M.M. Dharia]

and what not. Every problem was as vast as the Himalayas. They followed each other and many times together like an avalanche of difficulties. I am aware (that during the last 19 years our newly-born freedom and democracy have stood like a rock and we have been bravely facing the problems knowing no magnitude. There are several achievements to our credit and we are all proud of them. Our progress and prosperity in various spheres has no comparison. No country in the world which had newly won freedom has been able to create the history that this country of ours has created during the past 19 years and that too in a most democratic and decent way.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

In spite of all the glorious progress, when I think of the common man, with due respect I am obliged to say, Madam, that my head bows down in grief and sorrow. With all our efforts we shall have to concede that the common man of this country has not been able to share the fruits of our prosperity. There are more than 50 per cent, of our people, nearly 25 crores, whose *per capita* income is less than fifty paise per day. Out of these 25 crores nearly ten crores of our brothers and sisters are such whose *per capita* income is less than 30 paise per day. The rich are growing richer but the poor has no protection. Stagnation in poverty, I believe, Madam, is one of the most distressing and fundamental phenomena of the day. At one end when the poverty has been stagnated and when the dearness allowances have failed to neutralise the constant rise in prices, it will be interesting to note how the prices have arisen. I am, Madam, referring to the Indian Labour Journal of April 1966 and we will see how they have gone up. Taking 1949 as the base year with 100 in 1950 the general index rose to 101 and in December 1965 it was 173. In February 1966 it rose to 174. So far as food index is concerned from 101 it has gone to 177. If we refer to the general index of all commodities converted to old base year ended August 1939 as 100, in 1953 the average was 401.9. In December, 1965 the average was 645.5. So, if the base is taken as 100 in 1939, it has gone up

to 645.5 by the end of December, 1965. If in 1939 the base is taken to be 100, the general price index of all commodities is 607.8 in January, 1965 and 643.2 in January, 1966. Thus it is clear that since 1939 the prices have gone up more than 640 per cent.

If we refer to the international wholesale price level, we find that during the last decade the price level of our country is one of the highest. The rise in the wholesale price level during the last decade in some countries is as follows :—

The consumer price index, industrial raw

Japan	6.5
U.S.A.	9.7
West Germany	10.3
Pakistan	18.0
U.K.	27.2
India	76.8

material index and intermediate products index have moved up even sharply during this period. If we refer to the rise in prices during the last two years, we find the same thing. The Economic Survey for 1965-66 gives at page 32 the index number of wholesale prices as follows:—

(Index number of wholesale prices—base  
1952-53 : 100)

	28th March 1964	15th Jan. 1966
Food articles	141.0	172.8
Cereals	121.5	153.2
Pulses	133.1	161.9
Edible oils	163.4	254.0
Groundnut oil	140.9	237.9
All commodities	138.9	169.5

This is the position with regard to the last twenty months.

Besides the sermons which I get every day from my wife, I have discussed this matter with several friends, workers, retail shopkeepers and the people at large. You may go anywhere, to any part of the country. There is only one voice, there is only one demand and there is only one request from the common man. Let anybody rule and do what they like, but please see that the essential commodities and articles are available at reasonable prices. The present prices are exorbitant. We cannot make both ends meet even with the loans that we raise. I have seen with my own

eyes wage slips of some of the factory workers, whose pay is from Rs. 150/- to Rs. 200/-. Nearly 60 to 70 per cent of the amount is already deducted against the advances which they have already taken. The balance amount of pay is exhausted before the 10th of every month. My vocabulary is too short to describe the agony, the unhappy days they lead during the rest of the month. The needs of the common *man* are quite simple. They are neither luxuries nor can they afford to lead a luxurious life. Nor do they feel that so many luxuries have become essentials in their life. Never have they advocated that without the luxuries their efficiency is impaired. Their notions of essentials and necessities of life are as simple as they are. I would like to clarify what is meant by essential articles and commodities. According to me they are :—

- (i) Foodgrains, cereals and pulses;
- (ii) Edible oils and vanaspati oils;
- (iii) Milk and its by-products;
- (iv) Vegetables;
- (v) Egg, mutton, chicken and fish;
- (vi) Clothing;
- (vii) Medicine;
- (viii) Housing accommodation;
- (ix) Books;
- (x) Sugar, tea and coffee;
- (xi) Soap; blades;
- (xii) Cycle tubes and tyres;
- (xiii) Exercise books, papers, ink, pencils, etc.
- (xiv) Utensils, and
- (xv) Cheap transport for the working Class.

These are the essential commodities, articles and requirements of the common man according to me. We shall have to revise this in the case of agricultural producers. For an agriculturist implements, seeds, pesticides, fertilisers, manures, pumps, engines, water supply at cheap rates, light diesel oil, cement, corrugated sheets, credit and marketing facilities are, again, his essential requirements and they shall have to be provided without causing him any harassment.

During these years we have failed to control the price-line of the essential articles and commodities. The monopolist, the black-tar-keteers, the hoarders and such other antisocial and anti-national elements in our country have taken advantage of the situation at the cost of the people and the country. The price of the rupee has *de facto* fallen down both externally and internally. The essential articles which were available for one rupee in the years 1939-49 now require Rs. 6-5, in order to purchase the same quality and quantity. In the international market the price of the rupee was lowered to a great extent and when we failed to restore that price, we had resort to devaluation of the rupee. Today is not the day to discuss devaluation. However, as the price had *de facto* gone down we had to devalue the rupee. There was no other alternative. And now we shall have to face its consequences as well. Since devaluation again prices have gone up. If this serious situation is not controlled and dealt with, by stern, strong and positive measures on a war footing, I am afraid the whole national economy will collapse within a very short period. We have to fight the war on both economic fronts, internal and external fronts. To me the challenge posed by our economy is as much serious as was posed by China and Pakistan, when they aggressed on our sacred motherland. It is in this context we shall have to consider the whole situation. In the light of these developments I would like to submit the following suggestions to the hon. Minister and to this House. We are one nation. Let us look at our country as one country. The creation of artificial food zones has not only affected the interests of the consumers and producers. This policy has adversely affected the integrity and solidarity of our country. Let us create an atmosphere in this country whereby every person, the common man, would feel that this is one country. What was the picture during the recent past? The price of wheat in Punjab and Delhi areas was Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per quintal, while in Gujarat, Maharashtra and other States it was more than Rs. 150/- per quintal. The price of rice in Andhra and Madras was Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per quintal, whereas in Maharashtra, Gujarat and other areas it was more than Rs. 250/- per quintal. The price of groundnut oil was Rs. 5.50 per kilo in the whole country, whereas in Gujarat it was only Rs. 2.50 per

[Shri M. M.Dharia.]

kilo. This inequality in prices in various parts of our country has, and must, upset the minds of all patriotic people. Whatever is produced in this country must belong to the whole country and along with the imported food and other articles, that must be equitably distributed in this country. If Kerala is producing the best cashewnuts to earn our foreign exchange, it is the duty of the country to look after the basic requirements of Kerala, including food and cereals. The same argument could be advanced in respect of every State. In order to maintain unity, integrity and solidarity and to create a new fervour of patriotism. I would appeal to abolish these unnatural food /ones without any delay.

My second suggestion is that procurement of all essential articles and commodities should be done by the Government. Food-grains, pulses, edible oils, cement, light diesel oil, engines, pumps, tyres and tubes of cycles and such other essential articles and commodities should be procured by the Central and State Governments, and they should be distributed throughout the country at scheduled prices.

Thirdly, the open lands within and nearby urban areas should be immediately requisitioned and their prices should be sealed. In some cities the price of the land is much more than the huge buildings already standing on those pieces of land.

My fourth suggestion is that direct link between the producer and the consumer should be established. The Dalals, the middlemen, who have muddled our economy should have no existence in our socialist economy.

Fifthly, wholesale trade, hedging, hoarding and forward market of the essential at tides, foodgrains and other necessary commodities must be immediately banned. No loans should be advanced through banks for these purposes. Firm hold of a few monopolists on our banking system is one of the causes for the rise in prices and for disturbing our economy. If it is not possible to nationalise the banking system in this country at this stage. I would suggest that at least strict restrictions should be imposed on their activities.

Madam, I am handicapped for want of time to offer my criticism on our imports

and exports. To obtain a permit and a quota of imports has become a matter of privilege and of great fortune. Though the imports are made under the name of manufacture, the indents are being sold in the open market at an exorbitant high price. This must not be tolerated. I would like to urge that the foreign trade is essential articles and commodities should be taken over immediately by the Central Government.

My seventh, subs ; about distribution. Madam, I need not mention the defects in our distribution system. They are well known. We shall have to erect a perfect chain from procurement to distribution. A network of consumer co-operatives is necessary for the job. Till such network is erected we should distribute these things through (1) consumer co-operatives; (2) Gram Panchayats; (3) retail traders, of course licensed retail traders. It will be neither fair DOT proper to blame the whole mercantile community. For the black deeds of a few we should not penalise all. Till the time the consumer co-operatives reach every village we should utilise this channel with due vigilance. (4) Co-operation of big factories and establishments like the Railways, transport undertakings, Post and Telegraph officers, etc., should be taken for the distribution of essential articles. (5) Local advisory bodies of prominent citizens belonging to all parties should be created to guide and advise retail shops in those areas. (6) Department Stores should be started in big cities. I must congratulate the Government for their prompt action in starting the Department Stores in New Delhi. (I feel that their utility in maintaining prices not to be questioned. (7) Stern measures and deterrent punishment—Madam, I need not speak on the effect of the stern measures. The action taken by the Governor of Punjab is quite eloquent. Government must take immediate and stern action against anti-social elements who want to loot the common man in the country for their own selfish desires.

Madam, I would like to propose that the present lengthy procedure and mild punishment

سری عبدالغنی (پنجاب) : مسٹر  
نہاریا جو سرکار کا دھیان نہینا  
ہے آپ نے اس کے لئے کیا ہوا

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब) : मिस्टर धरिया, जो सरकार का ध्यान खींचा है आपने उसके लिए क्या हुआ ?]

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Please do not interrupt. जो कुछ आपको कहना है वह कह दीजियेगा और मैं बाद में उसका जवाब दे दूंगा।

شری عبدالغنی : میں نے تو سنا ہے کہ پنجاب میں . . . .

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : मैंने तो सुना है कि पंजाब में . . . .]

श्री चन्द्र शेखर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : गनी साहब, आप यहाँ जो जाइये सब ठीक कर देंगे हम लोग।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Madam, I would like to propose that the present length of procedure and mild punishment should be amended. In these cases summary trials and mild punishment should be provided by making necessary changes in the existing law without any delay. Cancellation of licences and forfeiture of all their property should accompany the punishment. Whoever is punished, his property should be forfeited and his licence should be cancelled. Mobile courts should be set up to take cognisance and try such cases. Under the name and protection of the fundamental rights let not these anti-social elements tarnish our valued democracy. We cannot forget the social and economic equality which is inherent in our democratic and certainly in the concept of our democratic socialism.

Madam, devaluation has caused great concern to everybody. I am equally concerned by the devaluation of our rupee. However, I am more concerned with the devaluation of our nation character. I am more concerned with the devaluation of our administration. Our evaluation on these fronts, our national character and our administration, will go a long way in evaluating

[ ] Hindi transliteration.

our devalued rupee of which we are now concerned.

Madam, along with the procurement and distribution we shall have to channelise all our energy in more and more production. Both industrial and agricultural production on an intensive scale is the need of the day. I would like to emphasize today that in case we invest about Rs. 1,000 crores more in agriculture in the Fourth Five Year Plan than has been envisaged by the Government. I have no doubt that it will earn much more foreign exchange than what we have been thinking of today. If I am to give some illustrations, I can tell you. Madam that France is a country which exports butter to the tune of Rs. 100 crores per year. The U.S.A. exports soyabean to the tune of Rs. 450 crores and it exports agricultural products to the tune of Rs. 3,000 crores. Why should not we try on those lines ?

We shall have to stop the present speed of growth in our population. We have been adding 33,000 new faces to the country of ours per day, and alone with 33,000 new faces we have been adding 33,000 new problems to this country. I would suggest! harsh measures to curb this growth. Madam, I am of the opinion that to have more than three children per couple should be prohibited by law. The Bigamous Marriages Act should be made applicable to all to whatever religion they may belong. It should be made applicable to all irrespective of their caste and creed. Madam, economic sanction should be used in order to check this growth in population. More and more family planning centres should be opened in various areas. Even the private practising doctors should be given all opportunities to see that we can have their help towards curbing this growth in population.

Madam, I would now like to refer to our austerity measures. Let us not forget the preaching of our leaders like Tilak and Gandhiji : Swadeshi and austerity should be our 'mantra' or guiding principle. I would like to point out what we have done during the last fifteen years. Let us take a survey of it. We find that the *per capita* income in this country which was Rs. 247.5 in 1950-51 rose to Rs. 317 in 1964-65. There was an increase of 28 per cent, in our *per capita* income. So far as our national out-

[Shri M. M. Dharia.] put is concerned, from 1950-51 to 1964-65 there is an increase of 70 per cent. So far as our expenditure is concerned, the expenses of the Union Government and also of the State Governments in the year 1950-51 were Rs. 731 crores; in 1964-65 the expenses were Rs. 4,878 crores. So, there is that rise of 567 per cent. I need not say where this will lead to. Let us put an end to this reverse process which will ruin us. I have submitted my proposal for a high-power Committee in my resolution. My demand is based on two reports. One report is of the Committee appointed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Asoka Mehta.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time is over. Thirty minutes are given.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I have still five minutes. I started at 12.05 but in the mean time some other issues were raised. To explain this Resolution of mine, I wrote down the speech so that all points should be covered.

I am referring to the Report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee of which Mr. Asoka Mehta, our Planning Minister, was the Chairman. In conclusion, they have said on page 133 :

"It is for that reason that we have emphasised the need for price stabilisation, control over trade of foodgrains and its progressive socialisation. Our recommendations when implemented, will materially reduce the fluctuations in prices and attendant hardships caused both to the producers and the consumers."

Then there was a discussion on behalf of the National Council of Applied Economic Research. They have issued a gist of their discussion of price policy and economic growth. On page 49 they say :—

"The level and structure of prices is the outcome of a number of decisions taken by the public authority, private bodies and consumers in the pursuit of their aims. As the plan coordinates the public and private decisions, the price policy becomes "an integral part of overall economic policy. In order to suggest consistent price policy taking into account all the aspects of national economic and

social activities, we recommend the establishment of a National Price Stabilisation Board.

This Board shall be charged with the task of (a) suggesting a suitable agricultural price policy, (b) industrial price policy and wage policy for a five-year period taking into account the special conditions in the various industries, and (c) suggesting suitable administrative, monetary, fiscal and commercial measures needed for implementing the prescribed price policy.

It may be asked why a Board of this kind is necessary when we have already the Food Corporation, Agricultural Price Commission, Tariff Commission, Wage Boards and so on. The answer is that each one of these organisations has only limited purposes."

I will not go through the whole of it because my time is fast running out.

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Through this Resolution, I have proposed to the Government the appointment of a permanent high-power Committee. According to their own policy, they shall have to take follow-up steps if we want to face the consequences of devaluation. My Resolution is one of the follow-up steps. The suggestions that I have made are definitely in pursuit of the policy of the Government and also in furtherance of the genuine demand of the people and, therefore, I will appeal to the House and also to the Government to consider this Resolution. I thank you for giving me this opportunity and request hon. Members that they should kindly approve and pass this Resolution.

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) Madam, I move :

1. "That in line 1. after the word 'commodities' the words and their continued upward trend' be inserted."
2. "That in line 3 of sub-paragraph (2) for the word 'regulate' the word 'ensure' be substituted."
3. "That at the end of the Resolution, for the words 'throughout the country' the words 'at reasonably cheap prices by increasing the pace of socialisation of trade' be added."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI  
(Rajasthan): Madam, I move :

4. 'That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely :—

'(3) take immediate and concrete steps to make the essential articles and commodities available to general public;

(4) make available at cheap prices the essential articles to the Government employees and the organised regional labour till their income is not increased in proportion to the rise in prices; and

(5) give every assistance to agriculture and decentralised industries in order to give priority to the production of consumer goods'."

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa);  
Madam, I move :

5. "That for sub-paragraphs (1) and (2) the following be substituted, namely :—

'(1) fix the price of all essential commodities which affect the standard of living of the common man;

(2) take stern and drastic steps against the hoarders and profiteers; and

(3) streamline the machinery of distribution and rationing of all essential commodities throughout the country in consultation with the State Governments'."

SHRI P. S. PAXIL (Maharashtra): Madam,  
I move :

6. "That in line 2 of sub-paragraph (1) after the word 'prices' the words 'to the level prevailing in the year 1955' be inserted."

*The questions were proposed.*

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) :  
Madam, *the* Mover of this Resolution has done well in focussing the attention of the House to a very serious situation that (he) country finds itself in today. In his

speech, he rambled over a large number of subjects which, naturally, not getting all the time that he got, I will not be able to deal with. The rise in prices of commodities is abnormal and now difficult it is for everybody like himself, a married man, with arguments with his wife must be the common experience of everybody and those who have no wives must be feeling the pinch when they have to deal with their servants every day.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : A very bad alternative.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: But let us recognise the fact that all these are the results of the wrong policies adopted by my friends on the opposite Benches in the last 18 years. This is what 18 years of Nehru's planning has given us for forsaking the ideas of Gandhiji to whom he also referred, for forsaking the good idea of building up our economy right from the village level. You cannot ignore the rules of ordinary economics, the rules of common-sense. Prices will go down only where there is higher production. If it is agricultural production, unless your production per acre goes up, the prices of agricultural commodities will not come down, because they must be in larger supply. If it is the factory, how is it that in this country we produce the least per man-hour ? And when we have spent crores of rupees in establishing machine-building factories, is it not true that 50 per cent, of the capacity of our machines, of our factories, is idle today; Take the case of the Bhopal factory. I can give numerous examples.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat) : What happened ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Basically these factories are not being run to full capacity and unless you run the factories to full capacity, you cannot bring the prices down. If every man in his place gives his full day's work and if there is no slowing down or stoppage of work as, for instance, you find in the Air Lines Corporation and everywhere, only then can you get efficiency and only when you get efficiency you can get reduction in prices.

Madam, all said and done, we are a democracy. We cannot control prices as they do

IShri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

in Russia. It is possible that a pair of shoes that is sold in Russia for Rs. 150 can be sold for one rupee by a fiat, if they want to do it. Can we do it ? We have decided that we are going to be a democratic country and I hope that, in spite of all that the Government is doing, we will continue to stay so. Under these circumstances, can our life be regimented in this way, ignoring all the normal rules of economics ?

Madam, I was trying to glance through the Economic Survey, a little booklet, a very useful booklet, supplied by the Government of India. As I read it carefully, I was wondering whether it was supplied by the Government of India or whether it was a publication of my party, the Swantantra Party. Basically, the facts that we have been advocating the principles that we have been saying, have been brought out by facts and figures, without saying the very words.

One of the most eminent economists of our time, Prof. Shenoy, has been pointing out and Shri Rajagopalachari has been for the last 18 years, particularly for the last five years, pointing out to the Government that what is wrong is wrong with their planning. In the same period during which the prices have been going up, let me point out once again—I have talked about this in this House before—how the prices have been behaving in the two little countries near us, one is Israel and the other is Taiwan. How is it that they are able to give ample food at low prices ? It is because they produce more. And it was very wrong of our Government not to have taken the advice and help that both these countries had offered in a most friendly manner. How is it that a little island like that is able to make the production of rice three times, four times or five times ? And our production per acre is stagnant, it is at the very figure where it was. There is basically something wrong with our planning and unless a radical change is made in our outlook, unless practical steps are taken, there will be no improvement in the situation. Even the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, himself said, if we fail on the agricultural front, where will be our plans ? What he said has come prophetically true. Where are our Plans today ? It is so because we have failed on the agricultural front. Madam, I am no great enthusiast like some

people in this House about family planning. I am more a believer in what Gandhiji taught us years ago.

SHRI ABID ATI (Maharashtra) Only for this much.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL Self-restraint is much better than artificial control. But I am not against people, who do not feel like that, for adopting such methods. That is not the only remedy. By only controlling birth we are not going to bring about the millennium, as some people seem to think. We have a large population already. It may be that it is worth while to control it. I am not in disagreement with the idea. But only a few days ago we had a debate in this House and we saw how divergent the opinion was in this House. So just that is not going to solve the problem. The problem basically is of increasing production of things that we are short in. If we are short in food, we have to think of how to increase our food. How do we increase the production of food per acre ? That is the problem before us. I do not know whether we are trying to tackle the problem.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN (Gujarat) : What are your suggestions?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I will tell you my experience rather than my suggestions. A few months back there was a meeting of the E.C.A.F.E. in this city of Delhi and Taiwan being a member was able to send its delegates. Some of them were their Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Economics and so on. I suggested to the Food Minister to kindly meet those people and understand from them. It was with difficulty that a few years ago I was able to get the blanket ban on importation from Taiwan removed, and I was able to present a copy of a book on food production in Taiwan to Mr. Subramaniam. As a result of that the Minister agreed to meet them. But he said that he would not meet him in his capacity as Food Minister but he would meet them in the capacity of the President, Farmers of the Tonnage Club. He did meet them. On that occasion I took presentation of Taiwan rice seed wax made to him. It was a token of a promise of 100 tonnes of Taiwan rice freed free to this country. That gentleman wrote a letter of thanks to the Minister for seeing him



and wanted us to tell them the form and the variety of the seed we want. For two months. Madam, he got no reply from our Government. That is how our Food Department looks at our food problem. Then they gave a telegram to him and a telegram to me, and when I reminded the Food Minister of this telegram, he said, "Yes, in the office of the Tonnage Club there was some mistake. They have mismanaged matter and I am arranging to send a telegram". The telegram was sent last month. I hope the shipment comes in time for this paddy season and we get the supply of a variety of seed that matures in 2½ months which is perhaps the shortest time and which produces the largest crop.

Madam, this seed we accepted because the Rice Research Station in the Philippine said that this is the best rice grown after extensive research. Madam, I may also point out that this Rice Research Station was offered to this country by the Rockefeller Foundation and because of our needs and our shortage of food the Rockefeller Foundation offered it free. The late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said that we had enough rice in our country and so we did not want it. So it went to the Philippines. So we have taken that knowledge indirectly from the Philippines. Madam, what I am trying to point out is that we are going about our business in the wrong way.

Then, we have been debating in this House about artificial food zones. I am very glad my friend, Mr. Dharia, said that this was nonsense. We are one country and we should behave as such, I hope they do that. I only want to remind Mr. Dharia of one thing. When there was shortage of water last month particularly in the city of Bombay, it was suggested that the city of Bombay should be evacuated and the schools and colleges must be closed and that non-Maharashtrians must be made to leave Bombay first.

SHRI ABID ALI : He was a mad man.  
Why refer to him ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I am pointing out the atmosphere that has been created by the 18 years of Congress regime. You have taken the country absolutely the wrong way and to ruination. It is not only the devaluation of the currency, as he very rightly said, we have devalued man.

we have devalued human character and that is why we find ourselves in this state. What we doing to improve it ? Are We doing anything ? Mr. Dharia and his friends are very anxious for exemplar) punishment for blackmarketeers. I am not against it. I am one with you. May I point out. Madam, that blackmarketing or the motive of profit is not a crime only when a small little trader does it. It is equally a crime, and more reprehensible when a Congress Minister does it. Have we not discussed in this House the avarice and the greed of the Congress Ministers particularly when the elections come ? You have still Mr. Biju Patnaik managing your elections in Orissa. It is a shame for any party to have such a man in its executive, to be an important man. I do not want to name people. There are several others against whom very serious charges have been made. If the Congress-wants their angan stable under which they are sitting to be cleaned, why do they not appoint a person like Shri Setalvad whom they have got in this House, or somebody else. Take his advice and let every one of them be screened and cleaned. Until you do that, all the talk of austerity and greater production is nonsense. How can you talk of austerity when all your Ministers want to move about in imported cars costing Rs one lakh. Is that your idea of austerity ?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI M.  
SHAFI QURESHI) : He said 'all'.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Most of them. They would like but they do not get it. There also it requires pulls in the Ministry. Mr. Bhagat has to sanction it.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R.  
BHAGAT) : There are many who have refused to take it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I know these gestures. Prime Minister Nehru also made such a gesture but ultimately it was replaced. Similarly, we hear of the present Prime Minister also making such a gesture. I do not know how long that gesture is going to last. These are stunts. These stunts must be given up. We want real action. It is only real action that is going to put our economy into shape, not this type of stunts which take us nowhere.

(Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.)

Madam, talking of zones, in Saurash-tra there is plenty of groundnut. It is needed by everybody. But there is a ban. So it cannot be sold. There is a glut there. So what is to be exported or given to other States cannot be given. It has to be stored there. How long will it be stored ? We are going about the whole situation in a very, very wrong way. We make messes one after the other. Your Planning Commission is a Messing Commission because it is full of unpractical people. Madam, I wish to draw the attention of the House to, the letters exchanged between one of the eminent members of the Planning Commission, Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao, and Mr. Masani of the other House. I think those two letters clinch the issue which I would like the Members on the opposite side to study dispassionately, and I am sure they will also come to the same conclusion that I have come to, namely the present evils, high prices that we are suffering from are all because of the misdeeds of the Congress Party. The Congress Party has failed to take appropriate action in time. The Congress Party has gone absolutely the wrong way. Devaluation is a matter that we will discuss later but what has hurt us most is the devaluation of our character. We have spurned our friends. We have been trying to run after people who are not our friends, who have never stood by us in times of crisis. They are not happy to *see* us grow strong, it is well known. They want us to remain weak and all that they are doing is that. One of the greatest frauds that this Government has been perpetrating on this country is the rupee payment fraud. We are told that this is rupee payment but nobody has told us that all the rupee payment agreements have a clause about the rupee of so much gold content. So by non-alignment or whatever you call it, we gave respectability to Communism. By the fraud of the rupee payment we gave wherewithal to the Communist countries, particularly the satellite countries, to build up their trade by paying 40 per cent more to them for all (he imports we got, for the credit we got. We pay them 11 times of what we have contracted to pay them. With that 40 per cent, they were able to buy the hard currency which, if we had bought in a straightforward manner, our economy would have progressed in a straight forward manner. We are trying to do something underhand, some-

thing deceitful. That deceit has recoiled on us, on the poor people of this country. These Ministers will be here to-day. Tomorrow they may not be here but the poor people of this country on whom these big, huge burdens have been placed, these foreign debts and the interest that we have to pay on these debts, will last until we are able to square them, If we meant to square them. if not, we will not be able to hold our heads erect before the nations of the world. I hope we will bear up with these and do it but if we want to do it, the steps in the right direction have to be taken fast and quickly.

SHRI ABID ALI : Madam, it was very painful to hear what my friend, hon. member Shri Patel, has been just saying. The food difficulty is not a party difficulty. It is not an easy matter that it should be made a question of controversy for my friend to have his usual parrot-like phrases, to abuse the Congress Party and he went to the extent of what one man in Maharashtra said about the non-Maharashtrians. Some time back a young lady was travelling on a bicycle somewhere in Madhya Pradesh and a mad man raped her. Of course the news was flashed all over the world. The man Was prosecuted and heavily sentenced. Condemnation voluntarily was there. Similarly if a mad man in Maharashtra says a thing of that kind that should be taken of that value and not to be quoted here as if some responsible Maharashtrian has said it. As a matter of fact, not only the Chief Minister of Maharashtra but others also, people in positions, have condemned it and that should be enough and satisfactory to everybody. Even without condemnation, no sensible person took it seriously because in this democratic country of ours, even people of that madness have to exist and should be tolerated.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) .  
There are more

SHRI ABID ALI ... and the hon Member may be in that category, I do not mind. It is >\* a democratic country and our Government machinery in these matters at least is so honest and alert .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Very honest.

SHRI ABID ALI : Whatever may be the correct position of economics and allied

subjects, correct statistics are produced. My friend was mentioning about Israel and Taiwan. He does not realise that he is a citizen of India which produces not only one but two such countries every year. What is its population ? Somebody mentioned : 'Learn from the happenings in Sweden.' What is Sweden ? It is smaller than Bombay and Calcutta and see the amount of dollars that are contributed by the 'U.S.A. to Israel and Taiwan *per capita*. As compared to the aid which these countries are receiving, compare the *per capita* aid which we are getting from foreign countries all-told. It does not come to even 10 per cent, *per capita*.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : It is not the quantum but it is the manner in which we use it.

SHRI ABID ALI : Of course it is the manner but then plenty of foreign exchange is available for these countries to strengthen their economy, to bring foreign implements, to bring also raw material and better their economic conditions. Capital goods are also going there. I have also been fortunate enough, like my friend, to visit some of these countries and to study their economics. Of course, I envy them.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You study is inside out and outside in.

SHRI ABID ALI : As much as I could see in Russia I have been able to see in other places also and I am sure my friend belonging to the Communist Party, when he goes to his Fatherland, may be able to study the inside of that country as well. So from that point of view this matter has to be judged so far as the arguments of Shri Patel are concerned. So far as we are concerned, we never hesitate to mention whenever it is necessary, the defect in the working of the Government Administration with the intention that we should improve and constructive suggestions are given.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You are supporting the Government?

SHRI ABID ALI : Of course I support and we have the honour to do it and it will always deserve our support. Our Planning Commission, of course some of us feel, could have done better in these years

that it has been in existence and the planning should have been according to the requirements and the necessities, first providing for .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : But you..

SHRI ABID ALI : Madam, kindly be good enough to stop this running commentary.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : In any case it is one o'clock and we will rise for lunch.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRIMATI TARARAMACHANDRASATHB) in the Chair.

SHRI ABID ALI : Now with regard to the Resolution itself, Madam, it suggests that stern and deterrent steps should be taken so that the situation comes under control and it enables us to get essential commodities at fair prices. That of course I support and I am sure every hon. Member will support although I am not very much enamoured of these high-powered committees because, firstly, these take a long time and much is not gained from their recommendations. What I wish, as the hon Member who has moved the Resolution has wished, is that the results should be forthcoming immediately. Government has got enough of materials at its disposal, and resources as well to be effective in this matter and ensure that the people get their essential articles at reasonable prices. Now, firstly, bread. Madam Vice-Chairman, it is a very unfortunate position in this country at present that the cost of foodstuffs particularly has gone so high. Now, if a comparison is made with regard to the price of a kilo of bread loaf sold in a costly place like Geneva in Switzerland, or another place in the U.S.A., or the U.K. or elsewhere, it will be seen that there the price of a kilo of bread is equivalent to half-an-hour's wage of a worker. Let us now consider the price of this kilo of bread in this country at present, not necessarily the bread got from

ISHRI ABID ALI] the bakery, but even bread cooked at home. A kilo, of wheat in Delhi is available for 61 or 62 Paise and if bread is made of it, then it becomes more costly. At several places, still there are people who are getting about Rs. 2.50 a day. So the cost of a kilo of bread comes to the equivalent of wage for one-third of the hours of work I put in during the day as a worker, and that is too high. Take the cost of foodstuffs in India. Including the peasants it comes to about 70 per cent of wage bill, whereas in foreign countries, although their standard of living and eating and everything is so high, it is about 20 to 25 per cent. Now fbis is including the peasants so far 70 per cent is concerned. If only industrial workers, then it is about 50 per cent., and that is too much. I would beg of Government to kindly think of a scheme to immediatly put a chain of bakeries or *tandurs* all over the country. So far I referred to the U.K. and the U.S.A. <nd Switzerland, like that. Now I come to the countries of the Middle East, poor countries like Iraq, the U.A.R., who were like us under British rule for long periods. There everywhere there are *tandurs*, every *gali* in Iraq or other Middle East coun-irics, in the U.A.R., in Iran. Everywhere, every *gali*, even a small *gali* has two or three *tandurs*, and they sell bread at the same rate as it is in more progressive coun-iries, available at very cheap prices. They make available a big bread to the equivalent of about 10 Paise—I am talking of the pre-devafuation period—and in plenty. That much quantity of bread we will not get here even for 50 Paise. That is the position there and here. So make cheap bread available. This rationing, this costly rationing is not serving the purpose. You cut on our electricity programmes. We ha^e lived and the world has lived without electricity for thousands of years; I do not know, maybe for millions of years, for very very long periods. But nobody can live without food even for a day. Of course it is good to have electricity. Utilise it for lift irrigation, small irrigation, etc. Although I do not want to go into details, the planning which is being done, of having so many things in a *thali*, four vegetables and two sweets, is no good. In planning they think of everything. Where is the question of having a *thali* with so many dishes ? Give us *chutney* and *roti*. That is enough. If you go to a shop selling shirts, there is a

plastic cover for it. If you go to a *tnasahi* shop, they will give it to you a plastic *thali*. When people go round these shops, when some foreigners who come here go round these shops, they feel it and remark that "your country is very prosperous." Yes, but you go a little away and see the *lhuggis* and the people living there undergoing all sorts of trouble, the people there standing in a queue for one hour to have s wash after return from the latrine. Of course there are DO public latrines available in villages except the ope\_n fields serving that purpose, and there is no water available in town for such /Auggf-dweUers. So that is the kind of arrangement in this cuntry, on the one hand these shops, and on the other these *jkuggis*. This is the position,

Now my request to Government is to kindly take this Resolution very seriously into consideration. Provide bread as much as people want it. In Iraq, if it is dates season, they will eat bread with dates. If ii is cucumber season, they will take the bread with cucumber. If it is salad season, the bread is eaten with salad. There is the other alternative also and of course those who have more money, they eat *kabab* and other things. But bread, bread, bread, there must be. What I was suggesting was that planning t'or so many things in a country with this economic position will not serve any purpose. *Thatis* with so many vegetables and other dishes will not see the light of day. As against that, have a limited programme of your own. This Planning Com , mission, I must submit rny feeling earnestly and sincerely, matters have come to this that this planning Commission lias completely failed here. It has not been possible for the Planning Commission to come to grips with the situation and feel what the country wants. Now such planning should be com pletely scrapped. There should be a holiday so far as this sort of planning is concerned Maybe some of our factories may be closed for some period. No matter. But food, food food; give food to the people. (*Interrup-tions*) Anyway my feeling is that there can be no question of planning of this gigan tic nature, of this giantic value.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIM ATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE) : I am sorry to interrupt you. You have already taken six minutes. Please wind up.

SHRI ABID ALI: I am sorry. Just a couple of minutes more and I finish.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA) : You do not mean the holiday as advocated by the Swatantra Party. You mean something else.

SHRI ABID Ali : I want the planning to be according to the basic need; and requirements of the country. The other superficial things can be taken care of at the proper time when everybody has got all that is necessary for mere existence, the basic needs, without which one cannot live even for 11 days. Other things may come later. I can live without a shave, without a blade and without so many other things which are predominantly being considered, things like more electricity, more railway lines, more doubling of railway lines and all rest of it. But nobody can live without food. That is what I submit.

Then I am winding up. Madam. I am sorry I have taken so much time on this. Some other essential things have been left out. Anyway I should conclude.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Bread is most essential.

SHRI B ANKA BEHARY DAS : Madam Vice-Chairman, the way the economic policy of the country has been managed since independence, particularly over the last fifteen years at the beginning of which we launched our programme of planned development, it has led us to the precipitous abyss of economic collapse, and no amount of economic and financial palliative like devaluation is going to lead us to our cherished goal. The difficulties that came up from time to time in our chartered path of so-called progress were falsely pictured as difficulties resulting from surmounting the hump on the path of planned development, beyond which shines the bright sun of an affluent society. (The rulers tried to commit deceit and fraud on everybody giving a hope for the future like every Shylock in Indian society who professes the virtues of the other world while trying to suck the blood of his neighbours every minute of his life. Mr. Iengar, the former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, was absolutely correct when he said that—to quote his words—

"In our country there has hitherto been a tendency for people in authority sum-

marily to dismiss opinions which do not conform to Official doctrine."

The greatest of the many ghosts in the economic field that have been awakened because of our faulty planning is the spiralling prices. A stagnant economy, an agricultural sector which moves often in the reverse gear, an industrial sector which moves with jerks till it came to a stop in the last quarter of the last financial year, a rate of growth in the national income which takes a downward trend in the graph of economic progress, a spiralling price which competes with the skyrocketing multi-storeyed houses of Delhi built with planned money, a society that exhibits its nudity by widening the disparity between the abysmal poverty and exorbitant richness, an adverse trade balance which leads us to the meeting of the minds with aligned countries like USA and the USSR, a currency the *sine qua non* of economic stability and a medium of exchange devalued under the pressure of the World Bank and the USA, this is the picture of Indian society today. This is the economic health of the country. Instead of diagnosing the root of the economic malady, all the blame is being put on the population growth. Every developing country of Asia is facing this problem, but they have much higher growth in their economy without resorting to planning even. Like different Ministers trying to find a scapegoat for devaluation in order not to shoulder the responsibility for the decision and its implications, they want to find in population growth or in the climate a scapegoat for their utter failure and incompetency in managing the economy of the country.

According to a study of the Economic and Scientific Research Institute, the rate of growth of the Indian economy is the lowest in Asia. To quote their words :

"With the sole exception of Indonesia, India finds herself at the lowest rung of the ladder of economic performance in Asia, not only in overall terms, but in each sector".

The Finance Minister has recently admitted that the general price level in India has risen by 80 per cent during the last decade covering the Second and Third Plans. In the Second Plan alone the Prices rose by 35 per cent. They rose further by 33.6 in the

[Shri Banka Behan Das.J

Third Plan. The average index for all commodities with 1952-53 as the base year, rose to 124.8 in 1960-61, the final year of the Second Plan, and to 165 in 1965-66, the closing year of the Third Plan. It was 172.3 in March 1966. But the combined index for food articles alone, shows a rise of 12 per cent in 1965-66 and 47 per cent during the entire Third Plan period and 86 per cent over the last five years.

Madam, in this connection, I may be permitted to quote a few figures comparing our economy with the economy of Pakistan which had not resorted to planning. According to the international reports with 1958 as the basis, taking 1958 as the base year, the wholesale price in India in 1965 stood at 146, in 1966 January at 153 and in March 1966 at 155. But in Pakistan the wholesale price with index 100 for 1958, was only 118 in 1964, and 120 in 1965. I am not comparing with the figures of other countries. But in the USA the wholesale price in 1958 was 100 and it was 100 up to 1964 and there was only a slight rise in 1965 and 1966 and it had come to 104. But during this period the index number of hourly earnings of wages there of the labourers came up to 127. Similarly in England also, with 100 as the figure of 1958 the price rise was only up to 118 in January 1966 whereas the weekly rates of wages of the workers there registered an increase up to 133. That means that in the USA and England the real income or wages went up substantially in spite of the fact that there was a slight rise in the price levels.

Instead of disciplining the economy by stopping deficit financing, eliminating waste and corruption, reducing non-developmental expenditure, enforcing strict control over the distributing machinery, taking strong measures against the hoarders and profiteers, doing away with the monopolies in the economic sphere which is the main cause of these restrictive trade practices, as has been recommended by the Monopoly Commission, nationalising the credit institutions of the country, including banking, the Government of India reversed the whole economic process of the country and surrendered inch by inch before the industrialists and traders inside the country and foreign powers and foreign finance outside. The

socialist philosophy was given a decent burial and in its place rose an economic edifice which started to get inspiration from the outmoded ideas of free enterprise and decentralisation which are the very antithesis of our philosophy of this underdeveloped country.

To maintain our show of grandiose plan which pushed up the wholesale price by 38 per cent and foodgrain price by 50 per cent during the Third Plan, we resorted to deficit financing to the extent of about Rs. 1,200 crores. Only in the last year of the Plan we resorted to deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 500 crores, which is practically equal to the total deficit financing resorted to during the entire first Five Year Plan period. The banking institutions of the country also did not lag behind and they resorted to unrestricted credit in spite of the so-called restrictions of the Reserve Bank. In the words of Mr. Daheja, the Chairman of the State Bank of India—

"We overshot the target of money supply at a time when we failed to reach the target in the increase of real production."

The impact of excise duty and the sales tax has also substantially contributed to this price rise. Excise duty alone has pushed up the price of essential manufactured commodities from 30 per cent to 36 per cent. The excise duty has mounted from Rs. 67.5 crores in 1951-52 to as much as Rs. 1,022 crores according to the Budget estimates of 1966-67. The general sales tax imposed by various States has gone up from Rs. 54.4 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 287.3 crores in 1965-66.

The example of cotton cloth will prove my contention. In the case of cotton cloth (mill sector) excise duty accounts for about 11 per cent of the cost of production in respect of coarse cloth and 18 per cent for medium and 39 per cent in respect of superfine cloth.

The avaricious nature of the Indian businessman also greatly contributed to this price rise. Even in the matter of essential commodities, taking advantage of the bad working of rationing and control system, the industrialists carried on a raging campaign against restriction and have also succeeded in achieving the lifting of control.

Then they take advantage of scarcity economy and push up the price. That has been the history of all essential commodities including sugar, cloth, oil and cement.

Therefore, in the matter of abnormal price rise, the Government and the business community are always hand in glove. That is why the Monopoly Enquiry Commission's Report which exposes the restrictive trade practices of the business community is being treated lightly.

Though I have little faith in the Government taking any effective steps for controlling this price rise or for disciplining the economy, still I want to place some suggestions before the House. I will give them one by one.

1. The Government should declare that during the Fourth Five year Plan period deficit financing will not be resorted to at all.

2. Government should take effective steps to regulate credit and should nationalise the banks.

3. The prices of all essential commodities should be fixed and the distribution and rationing machinery should be streamlined.

4. Effective steps should be taken against hoarders and profiteers.

5. The indirect tax system should be reviewed so as to decrease the price of essential commodities.

6. Wastage and corruption should be eliminated and non-development expenditure should be reduced.

7. Major sections of both internal and external trade should be nationalised.

S. For the Fourth Plan the financial outlay should be so fixed that we do not depend on deficit financing or on doubtful foreign aid and on taxes which will hit the common man.

We should live within our means and we should have a realistic planning.

Unless we take all these short-term and long-term measures, it will be impossible to combat the price rise and we will be taking the country to a situation when we will be thrown into the dustbin of history and we will ultimately lose the very basis of democratic living. So many countries have foundered on the rock of inflation and this is a challenge to us. If the price level is not held then the situation will go out of control and then posterity will blame us.

With these words, Sir, I commend my amendment for the acceptance of the House. Thank you.

**श्री शीलमद्र याजी (बिहार) :** माननीया वाइस चेरमैन महोदया, मैं साथी धारिया जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने सदन के सम्मुख इस तरह का प्रस्ताव ला कर सरकार का ध्यान भी आकर्षित किया है और जो अभी समस्या है उस समस्या को हल करने के लिये किस तरह देश को काम करना चाहिये और सरकार को काम करना चाहिये, उन्होंने यह सुझाव भी रखा है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) in the Chair.]

मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरह से, जिस रफ्तार से, महंगाई बढ़ रही है उसको सरकार नहीं रोकती है तो उससे डेमोक्रेसी को, प्रजातन्त्र को खतरा भी आ सकता है क्योंकि आवाज चल चुकी है, हमारे वेंचेज से भी आवाज आई, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी से भी आवाज आई कि प्लानिंग में "हालिडे" मांगते हैं। एक तरफ समाजवाद की बात करते हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को मैं समझ सकता हूँ, लेकिन जनाब आबिद अली साहब ने, जो अभी चर्चों की कीमत बढ़ रही है, उसके बारे में बोलते हुए खयालात का इजहार किया वह शासक पार्टी के लिये भी खतरा है, देश के लिये भी खतरा है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के बारे में तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जो बैंकमार्केटियर हैं, जो चोरबाजारी करते हैं, उन पर वे "हालिडे" चाहते हैं और वह भी मिनिस्टर का नाम ले ले कर कि मिनिस्टर को सजा देनी

[ श्री शीलभद्र याजी ]

चाहिये। तो आज क्या बजह है कि चीजों की जो कीमत बढ़ रही है सरकार उसको नहीं रोक सकती है। आर्डिनेन्स बनता है, सब कुछ बनता है। देश एक है। आज क्या बजह है कि चावल आंध्र के लोग भी खाते हैं, बंगाल के लोग भी खाते हैं, सारे देश के लोग खाते हैं, गेहूं भी सभी खाते हैं, लेकिन एक कीमत नहीं होती है। शशिराम का अंडा यहाँ बिकता है पार्लियामेंट हाउस में तो उसका दाम रखा गया है 40 पैसे, साऊथ एवेन्यू में जाते-जाते उसका दाम हो गया 50 पैसे, सुपर बाजार में हो गया 25 पैसे। यह अजीब चीज हो रही है, सब हमारे सामने हो रहा है और अभी भी सब चीज सरकार कर सकती है। जब बड़े-बड़े कल कारखानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो सकता है, तो किस को खुश करने के लिये कीमत की वृद्धि को रोक नहीं जाता? यह जो प्राइस बढ़ रही है उसको क्यों नहीं रोकता जाता है या एक प्राइस सारे देश में नहीं रखी जाती है? यह गौर करने की जरूरत है कि हम समाजवाद की बात करते हैं, कि समाजवाद की स्थापना होगी, गरीबी दूर होगी। जिस समाजवाद की दिशा में हम जा रहे हैं उस समाजवाद में दूसरे समाजवादी देश किस तरह से चलते हैं उसको भी हमें देखना है। हमको और देशों को भी देखना है। हमारे डाह्याभाई पटेल साहब के लिये तो आदर्श देश इजराइल या ताइवान है, लेकिन हमारे भाई आबिद अली के लिये भी कुछ देश आदर्श हैं और वहाँ जैसी रोटी बिकती है उसका उन्होंने नमूना पेश किया। लेकिन बड़े-बड़े सोशलिस्ट देशों ने किस तरह प्राइस में कंट्रोल किया और किस तरह वे चीजों का वितरण करना चाहते हैं हमको उसे देखना है और उसके मुताबिक चलना है, आबिद अली क्या कहते हैं, डाह्याभाई पटेल क्या कहते हैं उसकी परवाह नहीं करना है। यदि रफ्तार से चलना है और समाजवाद की स्थापना करना है तो उन देशों को देखना पड़ेगा। हमारे सामने दिक्कत यह है प्राइस

चैयरमैन महोदय, कि हम मिक्स्ड इकानामी, अर्थात् मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था जो है, उसके ऐसे शिकार हो गये हैं कि उस मिश्रित व्यवस्था में जो मिलावट की व्यवस्था है उसमें न हम सारे फूड को सारे व्यापारियों को देकर कि यह काम करो और इतने प्राइस पर बेचो, वह भी नहीं करते हैं। आधा स्टेट ट्रेडिंग चलता है, आधा ट्रेड चलता है, ब्लैकमार्केटिंग भी चलती है और अपनी राशन की दुकान भी चलती है। तो यह जो मिश्रित नीति है हमारी इकानामी की, यह सारी बुराई की जड़ है, यदि टाटा और बिड़ला के कल कारखाने अभी नहीं लेते हैं और समझते हैं कि फूड को प्राइवेट ट्रेड में चलाना है, व्यापारियों के हाथ में दे देना है तो उनके हाथ में दे दीजिए। कहिए, यह प्राइस होगी, इसके मुताबिक बेचना होगा। यदि उसके मुताबिक वे नहीं बेचते हैं तो डाह्याभाई जी को शिकायत हो सकती है कि क्लस के मुताबिक हम उनको कड़ी सजा नहीं दे सकते लेकिन हम उन को ऐसी सजा देंगे, हमारे कानून में इस तरह की व्यवस्था न हो तो करना चाहिये। अभी मैं इम्फाल से कोहिमा जाते हुए जब दिनापुर पहुंचा तो वहाँ के मैजिस्ट्रेट ने अंडे का दाम साढ़े तीन आने रखा था लेकिन किसी ने अंडे का दाम चार आना ले लिया तो 200 रु० फाइन हुआ और छः महीने की सजा हुई। हम नहीं कहते कि फ्रांसी पर चढ़ा दीजिए लेकिन सजा बिन्सी को मिलती नहीं। मैंने आपको बता दिया पार्लियामेंट का यह हाल है, ऊपर दोमहले पर कुछ बिक रहा है, साऊथ एवेन्यू पर कुछ बिक रहा है, सुपर बाजार में कुछ बिक रहा है हमारी नजरों के सामने है। तो आज सरकार को इस सम्बन्ध में सच्चा कदम उठाना पड़ेगा।

अभी, शिकायत हुई कि कृषि की पैदावार बढ़ नहीं रही है। खूब बढ़ी है। यदि गांवों में, देहातों में, डाह्याभाई पटेल जाएं तो दुगुना भी हुई है, तिगुना भी हुई है। लेकिन उसके साथ घड़ल्ले के साथ जो होम फ्रन्ट इतना तेज है वह इतनी मुसीबत है कि खाने वालों की



तादाद इतनी बढ़ रही है कि इसको लोग भूल जाते हैं। लेकिन मैं यह सलाह देने के लिये नहीं आया हूँ कि उसको रोका जाय। सरकार से मेरी तो गुजारिश यह है कि धड़ल्ले के साथ यदि पापुलेशन बढ़ गई है तो जैसे और देशों में मैनपावर भी एक धन है वैसे ही अपने देश में भी समझना चाहिये। हमारे यहां इतनी बंजर जमीन पड़ी है जो खेती लायक है, लेकिन लोग बैठे रहते हैं, खेती नहीं करते हैं। सरकार डंडा चलाये—रेजिमेंटेशन हो चादना की तरह से, यह मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, लेकिन क्यों नहीं उनसे खेती करा कर पैदावार हम बढ़ायें। हम अमेरिका की तरफ गेहूँ के लिये नहीं जायें। इसलिए अभी फूड जोन की भी बात आई। आल इन्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी में भी प्रायः यह पास हुआ कि इस फूड जोन सिस्टम को हटाना चाहिये लेकिन वह हट नहीं रहा है। तो आज सारे हिन्दुस्तान को एक इकाई में लाकर जितनी एसेन्शियल कमोडिटीज हैं खाने की पहिचान की उन सब की कीमत सरकार को ठीक करनी पड़ेगी और यदि इसमें कुछ रुकावट हो, प्राइस लिस्ट करने में, तो हमने तो समाजवाद का आदर्श लिया है, हम क्यों नहीं कांस्टीट्यूशन को अमेन्ड करके सारी की सारी इन्डस्ट्री को और जरूरत पड़े तो खेतों का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण करें कि यदि खेती की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ती है, मैनपावर हमारी जहां 50 करोड़ की है, तो सरकार की जमीन कह कर हम उसको ले लेंगे। चाहे अपने मजदूर देंगे लेकिन खेती में पैदावार बढ़ायेंगे। यदि किसान खेती नहीं करता है या उसको लोन नहीं मिलता है, किसी तरह की रुकावट होती है तो जरूरत यह है कि जो कल कारखाने के मालिक हैं यदि वे प्राइस फिक्स करने में गड़बड़ करते हैं तो कांस्टीट्यूशन में तरमीम आनी चाहिये कि बिना मुआवजे के, बिना कम्पेन्सेशन के, सभी चीजों का समाजीकरण किया जाय और जिस तरह से जमींदारी हमने उठाई जिस तरह से हमने 10,000 12,000 एकड़ जमीन के मालिकों को 30 एकड़ जमीन

वाला बना दिया उसी तरह आज जरूरत यह है कि यदि कोआपरेटिव फार्मिंग भी ठीक से न चले तो सामूहिक खेती हो, कलैक्टिव सिस्टम की खेती हो और सरकार की तरफ से हो लेकिन जिस जोश से करने की आवश्यकता है वैसे होना चाहिये तभी हम इस समस्या का समाधान कर सकते हैं और जैसा कि प्रस्ताव में सुझाव दिया गया है कि स्टेट की राय ली जाय तो यह चीज जरूरी है क्योंकि कीमतें सब जगह बढ़ रही हैं और उन पर सरकार कंट्रोल नहीं करेगी तो देश में, आप जानते हैं, आप महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाते जाइये, होनेवाला कुछ नहीं है। इसलिये महंगाई भत्ते की जगह में आप यदि उनके लिये चीप ग्रेन शाप खोलकर उनको सस्ता गल्ला दते हैं या और एसेन्शियल कमोडिटी देते हैं तो वे कभी आपसे महंगाई भत्ता नहीं मांगेंगे, नहीं तो महंगाई भत्ता मांगेंगे और दो दो साल में महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाने के लिये कहेंगे, एजिटेशन होगा, प्रदर्शन होगा और आन्दोलन पर जो पार्टी जीवित है, आदर्श पर नहीं, उस पार्टी को बढ़ावा मिलेगा। इसलिए आज यह समय नहीं है कि हम यह कहें जैसा कि श्री डा. भाई पटेल ने कहा हमारे प्लानिंग में गड़बड़ी है, जैसा श्री आबिद अली ने कहा कि प्लानिंग की वजह से गड़बड़ी हो रही है। आज अगर हमारे देश में प्लानिंग नहीं होता, योजना नहीं होती, तो हमारा देश इतना समृद्धिशाली नहीं होता। अगर हमारे देश में प्लानिंग नहीं हुआ होता तो हमारा देश विदेशी आक्रमण का मुकाबला भी नहीं कर सकता। आज अगर देश में रोटी या नान की दुकान भी खोलनी हो तो उसके लिए भी प्लानिंग की जरूरत है, और बगैर प्लानिंग के कोई काम नहीं हो सकता है। हमारी जो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी है उसके पास कोई प्लानिंग की योजना नहीं है और वह बेलगाम की पार्टी है, वह जिधर जाना चाहे जा सकती है। लेकिन हमारी जो सरकार और पार्टी है वह लगाम बांधे हुए है और वह देश को एक समाजवादी राष्ट्र बनाना चाहती है। इसलिए किसी भी समाजवादी

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देश में बगैर प्लानिंग के कोई भी काम नहीं हो सकता है और न हम उस देश को समाजवादी ही बना सकते हैं। इसलिये जो यह प्लानिंग के खिलाफ आवाज उठी है वे बाहर के देशों की बातों को देखकर कहते हैं।

**श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र (उड़ीसा) :** हमारे याजी साहब को पता नहीं है और वे इंडिया तक ही अपनी बातों को कंफाइन्ड रखते हैं, वे बाहर के देशों की बातों को अपने सामने नहीं रखना चाहते हैं। पाकिस्तान ने बगैर प्लानिंग के अपने देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में 6 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी की है। वहां पर प्लानिंग नहीं चलता है मगर हमारे देश में प्लानिंग के होते हुए भी सिर्फ 5 प्रतिशत उत्पादन बढ़ा है। ऐसे भी देश हैं जैसे चीन और ताइवान, जहां पर साल में 14 प्रतिशत उत्पादन बढ़ा है और जापान में बगैर प्लानिंग के 17 प्रतिशत उत्पादन बढ़ा है। हमको प्लानिंग के बारे में कोई एतराज नहीं है, लेकिन आपको शो नहीं करना चाहिये कि इससे हमारा इतना पैदावार बढ़ा है।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** हमारे स्वतन्त्र पार्टी वाले तो ताइवान, इजरायल और पाकिस्तान का नाम लेते हैं। पाकिस्तान एक थियोक्रेटिक स्टेट है और जो इस्लाम का नारा लगाता है। वहां पर रेजिमेन्टेशन है, और डिक्टेटोरशिप है, और इस तरह की सरकार उन्हें ही मुबारकबाद हो। ये देश हमारे लिये कोई आदर्श के रूप में नहीं हो सकते हैं। इजरायल, ताइवान भी हमारे लिए आदर्श के रूप में नहीं हो सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं बड़े-बड़े सोशलिस्ट कंट्रीज का हवाला देना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने इस समस्या का समाधान किया है। हमारी सरकार और हमारी पार्टी कहती है कि हम इस देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करेंगे। हम अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए, प्राइसेज को स्थिर करने के लिए, कीमतों को स्थिर करने के लिए हर तरह

की कोशिश करेंगे और करते आ रहे हैं। ये चीजें बगैर प्लानिंग के नहीं हुआ करती हैं। यह कहना कि हमारे देश में पैदावार नहीं बढ़ी है बिल्कुल गलत बात है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे खेतों में और घर-घर में पैदावार बढ़ी है, लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार की जो मिक्सड इकोनॉमी की पालिसी है वह उसके झगड़े में न पड़े। अगर सरकार फूड के बारे में व्यापारियों को यह काम करने के लिए देती है तो वह उनको दे दे और बहो कि इसके दाम बिल्कुल नहीं बढ़ने चाहिये। मैं इस नीति के खिलाफ हूँ कि आधा काम तो स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन करे और आधा काम पूंजी-पतियों के हाथ में दे दिया जाए जो कि ब्लैक मार्केटिंग करते रहते हैं। इसलिए इस तरह की जो मिक्सड इकोनॉमी है उससे गड़बड़ी पैदा होती है। (interruptions) इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि इस बारे में हमारी जो नीति है वह बिल्कुल साफ होनी चाहिये। अगर मिक्सड इकोनॉमी चलाना है तो उसके नतीजे आप के सामने हैं और उसका नमूना आप रोज देख रहे हैं कि रोज आवाज उठाई जा रही है कि फ्लां मिनिस्टर को सजा दीजिये और जो ब्लैक मार्केटिंग करता है उसको सजा न दी जाए। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि हम देश में ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैदावार बढ़ायें। यदि किसान पैदावार नहीं बढ़ाता है, खेत रखनेवाला पैदावार नहीं बढ़ाता है, तो जैसा मैंने सुझाव दिया है कि सभी जमीनों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाय, समाजीकरण कर दिया जाय और इस तरह की बात करने से हमें घबराना नहीं चाहिये। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जो जमीन में पैदावार नहीं बढ़ाता है उसकी जमीन लेकर पैदावार बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है। अगर इसमें किसी तरह की रुकावट आती है तो हमें अपने संविधान में संशोधन करना चाहिये। अब समय आ गया है कि जब हमें इस समस्या को हल करना पड़ेगा और बगैर समाजीकरण किये यह हल नहीं हो सकती है। इस बीमारी का इलाज यही है

क्योंकि जो हमारी मिक्सड इकौनोमी है उससे देश में करप्शन और भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यही इन सब चीजों को जड़ है जिसकी वजह से हमारे देश में चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ती ही चली जा रही हैं। इसलिए अगर हमें देश में प्राइसेज को स्थिर करना है तो हमें संविधान में संशोधन करके सारी जमीनों को, कल कारखानों को अपने अधिकार में ले लेना चाहिये और प्लानिंग के जरिये, सारी जनता की मदद से, जितनी हमारे पास मैनपावर वैल्यू है, उसकी सहायता से इस काम को कर सकते हैं। अगर हमने इस तरह की बात की तो हम किसी भी दुश्मन का मुकाबला बड़ी अच्छी तरह से कर सकेंगे : इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि जो लोग यह आवाज उठा रहे हैं कि प्राइसेज को स्थिर करना चाहिये वे इसकी आड़ में प्लानिंग को खत्म करना चाहते हैं। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन यह है कि मैंने इस संबंध में सरकार को जो सुझाव दिया है उसको कार्यान्वित करना चाहिये। अगर वह अपनी पुरानी नीति पर चलती रहेगी तो ये दोनों चीजें चल नहीं सकती हैं। अगर आप देश में चीजों के दाम स्थिर करना चाहते हैं तो आप 1000 व्यापारियों को देश में चुन लीजिये और उनसे कहिये कि इतने दामों पर चीजों को बेचा जाना चाहिये। अगर वे इस तरह की बात नहीं करते, इसमें गड़बड़ करते हैं, तो उन्हें सजा दीजिये और सारी चीजों को खेती से लेकर कल कारखानों तक का समाजीकरण कर दीजिये। आप जमीन, जायदाद सब का समाजीकरण कर दीजिये और फिर देखिये कि प्राइसेज स्थिर होती हैं या नहीं। अगर आप इस तरह की बात नहीं करेंगे तब तक प्राइसेज स्थिर नहीं होंगी और बढ़ती ही चली जायेंगी।

हम सब लोग देख रहे हैं कि सरकार के कंट्रोल के बावजूद भी प्राइसेज बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है और जो प्राइसेज बढ़ा रहे हैं उनको सरकार सजा नहीं देती है; आज

हम देख रहे हैं कि जड़े के दाम कहीं पर कुछ और कहीं कुछ हैं। इसी तरह से मछली के दाम गोहाटी में 12 रुपया किलो है, काकीनाड में 1 रुपया किलो है, कलकते में 5 और 6 रुपया किलो है और हमारे गांव में 2 रुपया किलो है। इस तरह से देश में चीजों के दाम भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों में अलग-अलग हैं और यह एक अजीब व गरीब बात है। इसलिए सरकार के सामने और कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है अगर वह देश को समाजवाद की तरफ ले जाना चाहती है, तो वह सब चीजों का समाजीकरण कर दे। जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा कि इस बुराई की जड़ को दूर करना है तो सरकार को तीव्र गति से इस ओर कदम उठाना होगा।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : At least some of you have become wiser now.

(Interruption.)

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : हमारी पार्टी में भी हवा लग सकती है और यदि सरकार ठीक तरह से करे तो हवा नहीं लगने देगी। इस समय जरूरत इस बात की है कि हमारे देश में अच्छी लीडरशिप हो और जो इस बात का बीड़ा उठाये कि देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना जल्द से जल्द की जायेगी। इसलिये हमें अपनी समाजवाद की गाड़ी के पहिये को तेजी के साथ बढ़ाना होगा और और हमारे देश में जितनी भी विषमताएं हैं उन्हें खत्म करना होगा, पूंजीवाद को खत्म करना होगा और जो समाजवाद का विरोध करते हैं उनका भी खात्मा करना होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं श्री धारिया जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उसका तहेदिल से समर्थन करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि जिस तरह से सारा हाउस भूखलिंगम के मामले में एक हो गया था, उसी तरह से इस हाउस को और सब को इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करना चाहिये। मैं अंत में फिर सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जो सुझाव मैंने दिये हैं उन्हें वे अवश्य ध्यान में रखेंगी

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a very important resolution that we are discussing. Whatever our friends on the other side say, whatever be their excuses; it is a fact that the prices during all these years were going up to staggering heights, and up to now they are not in grip with any line by which the prices can be checked. All pious wishes will not mean anything. They are not prepared to do what should be done. Everybody including my hon. friend, Shri Ali, is blaming planning for all that has happened, and he says let us close down factories, let us do away with everything but let us at least produce food so that people may be fed. This kind of approach will not help us to find the real reasons and find a solution to the situation in which we are now.

My hon. friend, Shri Banka Behary Das, has pointed out that in no country excepting Indonesia the prices have risen to this height as in our country. Whether it is a capitalist country or a newly developed country or a socialist country, in no country have prices gone up to this level as in our country. Why is it so? There is no use of quarrelling with Pakistan. As my friend pointed out, during the last ten years the prices in Pakistan went up only by 18 per cent, while in India they have gone up by 76.8 per cent. I do not want to compare with Japan where the prices have gone up only by 6.5 per cent during the last ten years or the U.K. or the U.S.A. or any other country.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Japan is more comparable because the population problem exists there. Naturally it should be compared with Japan only.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : The problem is, why is it so? Is it because of planning? No. Does it mean that in countries where there is no planning no industrial and economic growth is taking place? No. Planning does not mean that. Even in countries where they do not have planning there will be economic growth,

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Who says no?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : So that is not the point. What is the real

cause? Even though we speak in terms of planning, even though we speak in terms of industrialisation, even though we speak about control and all that, the fact of the matter is compared to the investment or expenditure of your production, your output has been very low. In 1950-51 Government expenditure was Rs. 731 crores, which went up to Rs. 4,878 crores in 1965-66, which means a rise of 567 per cent. What is the rise in your national output? It rose only by 70 per cent. What is the use of blaming planning as such in the abstract? The way you are expending money, the way you are expending money on non-developmental activities, the wastage that is there, everything is written off in the name of planning. So, you are unnecessarily abusing planning for the misdeeds for which you alone are responsible.

Then another reason for the rise in prices, you know, is the heavy indirect taxation on consumer goods. There also, as my friend, Mr. Das, pointed out—he is not here now—nearly 25 to 30 per cent of the rise in the ex-factory price is caused by indirect taxation. While every time the Government comes forward with arguments in support of this indirect taxation, you will say that it is to check inflation and all that. But what happens is, because the commodities which are taxed are so essential, whatever be their price, people cannot escape from buying them and so they buy them. Because there is a short age of supply, by taxing if you think that the demand can be reduced you are not succeeding in that. On the other hand it only adds to the high prices.

Then comes the most important factor, and that is the role of the private industrialists and traders.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh)  
Traders or traitors?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Those who can be called traitors. Here very bold words are spoken by people sitting on that side. When I heard my friend, Mr. Yajee, I wondered what a nice thing he was saying. I think most of you must have read in the papers today a very interesting news. You know during the last few days some raids were going on in Delhi, and yester-

day a very strong protest came from the FICCI, that is, the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Yesterday I saw the news that they were very much disturbed at the way in which the raids were going on and they requested the Government that they should be stopped. Today I read in the papers that nothing much has been got in these raids and so the Government has decided to put a stop to them. I remember another occasion. That is, when immediately after Pakistan aggression prices were going up in food-grains and all that, I think Nandaji—whatever be your criticism against him he is a very enthusiastic person and he has got noble ideas on many things—at that time decided that he might go in disguise with the police and see that some of these places were raided and the hidden stocks taken. He did that. It was all in the papers that he went in disguise, and when somebody noticed that it was Shri Nanda, he had to go away from that place. With that enthusiasm he went into the affair as the Home Minister. Then what happened? There was pressure on him and within two days of the.....*(Interruptions)*. Of course, Parliament has got certain privileges. You are going to speak any rot. So, I am not going to object to it.

So, that is not the problem. So the point is that whenever pressure is put on them, all this talk of raids comes to nothing. You cannot take action against anybody. That is the position. So if you want to get out of this mess, one thing is that all your wasteful expenditure has to be drastically cut. Your expenditure on non-developmental activities! has to be cut and also you cannot escape this problem of nationalising foreign trade and also nationalisation of the banks. As long as crores and crores of rupees are in the hands of these monopolists which they can utilise in any way they want, you cannot control the prices. So, if you want to control the prices, firstly you have to control the banks and all that you have been doing all these years in the name of control will not help. The only way left for you is to immediately nationalise.

Now, I would like to draw the attention of the House to a very similar situation, perhaps a worse situation, which a

#### essential commodities

country like ours, I mean Egypt, had to face in 1955-56. The prices were going up. The value of its currency was going down and it went down to such an extent that in actual practice, in the foreign markets it fetched only 30 per cent. Just as America has put pressure on India to devalue the rupee, at that time America put pressure on Nasser to devalue their currency. They said that unless that was done, they would not have any help for their Aswan Dam. What they did was, instead of heeding the advice of America, they tried other sources for building the Aswan Dam and they took the bold step of nationalising the Suez Canal. Then they nationalised the banks. These two nationalisations put their economy on a very sound basis.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Are you sure about it?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : I am sure about that. Even the 'Indian Express', Mr. Goenka's paper last year gave a write-up on the economic situation there. He is a journalist. You do not know? . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI : He is a very good friend of mine.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) . He reads his own papers.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDXN NAIR : My point is that at that time because of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, they had to face aggression. In spite of that, that nationalisation of the Suez Canal put the economy of Egypt on a very sound and healthy basis and the nationalisation of banks helped Egypt to control the prices of commodities in that country.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : They have also obtained some foreign aid from Russia.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : That you are also getting.

My point is, any pious Resolution in strong language and with so-called determination makes no good. The question is : Are you prepared to take certain steps that will really bring about the remedy to the problem that we are facing today?

SHRI A. D. MANI : Egypt is a Communist State.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : Egypt is not a Communist State. I tell you. I got this information about this from an article written in 'Capital' published from Calcutta.

SHRI A. D. MANI : A good paper.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : Whatever you may say, in that they have said that this nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the nationalisation of the banks has helped Egypt to put their economy on a sound basis. So, it is not a question of communism or socialism. It is a question of how we can get out of this mess in which we have fallen. You follow that process. Otherwise, what is the alternative ? When devaluation took place, the Finance Minister came out with a statement saying that because the prices were going up, up to 80 per cent, during the last ten years, the value of our rupee had gone down and there was no other go but to devalue it. That was his argument. And what is the result of devaluation ? Again the prices rise. I have got figures. I do not want to quote them because it is admitted on all sides that after devaluation the prices have gone up very high, and during the last two years, you know, the price has risen to the tune of nearly 25 per cent, and it is again going up. So, in this way, it can go up again. What is the alternative left to you ? Again devaluation ? And where will our economy be ? Where will our country be if this process is to continue ? So, we have to take certain bold decisions. The question before you is : Are you prepared to take those bold decisions ? And if you are going to do it, you can save the economy of this country and save yourself. Otherwise the country is doomed and, of course, you are doomed.

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution of Shri Dharia. The Resolution pointedly refers to the question of the abnormal rise in prices. I have very patiently been listening to all the speeches and, if I may say so, I do not think that anybody has gone into this question of prices specifically.

To begin with, I want to be very clear that when we are commending this Resolution and supporting Shri Dharia, we are not unmindful and unaware of the very measure of progress that our country has made during the last 18 years<sup>1</sup> of our political freedom and under the inspiration of the party which holds power. Vhal does not mean at the same time, while we can congratulate ourselves that for some time we have been able to achieve certain results in certain sectors, particularly in relation to the tremendous oppressive problems that we inherited as a result of partition and as a result of other crises like the Chinese invasion, the recurrent Kashmir crisis, Pakistan's intrusion, etc., that we have done very well. We have left, on the other hand, our economy, to use a very mild expression, tremendously run down today. This ought to be examined, I think, in the context of the overall standard of living and level of consumption in our country. The moment you talk of the standard of living, people complain: What kind of international measuring stick or rod do you have to measure the level of living in our country ? To begin with, I have an objection based on semantics. You cannot have a standard of living like a standard typewriter or a standard administrative procedure. But we have to devise a standard, as one very distinguished American economist has said. He has defined a standard of living as the level of comfort that somebody likes to have, hopes to have, thinks he ought to have like an apple-pie, by and by, in the sky when you die. but we have to live it. But fortunately, those of us who have to deal with mathematics and statistics have found it possible to devise a kind of international measuring rod with which we can measure the consumption of certain basic essential and non-essential commodities and services, and compare with the various other countries to see as to how far a particular economy or a particular country has progressed. Now, if we look at it for a minute—it is not (hat the Members of this House should have those statistics to know how poor we are—we know and we have a clear impression as to how badly we are off today. Let us take food, clothing, housing, education, public health, recreation and leisure. The most authoritative measure is consumption in terms of calories. The definition of how you measure the calories, everybody knows.

The consumption in India, according to the Nutritional Research Laboratory in Hyderabad, is 1,800 according to the Ministry of Agriculture of our Government it is 1,800 and according to the Food and Agriculture Organisation in Bombay, a specialised organisation of the United Nations it is 1,890. As compared to this, Sir, the *per capita* consumption in terms of calories of North and Western European countries is about 3,200, in Canada and the U.S.A. it is 3,400, in Argentina it is a little higher, and in Australia and England—I might add here that all these countries I have visited and studied,—it is about 3,400. Does it mean that we are progressing compared to 1947? The answer, unfortunately, is "No", and please do not forget that this is an average figure. So looking at the consumption point of view, from the nutrition experts' point of view, taking the country's tropical climate, taking the sex composition of our population (because men eat more compared to women,) taking the age composition of the population, (young children eat more while the old people eat less), putting all this calculation and taking the occupational distribution of the population, namely, that a majority of them work in the villages), taking all that into consideration, I am constrained to say that today in our country 65 million people go to bed very hungry. And this a fact that the Government cannot dispute because I am quoting from statistics. And adding to the situation, the prices, as Mr. Dharia movingly pointed, are sky high.

I will tell you of one little instance in Madras. In Adyar, a little suburb, the price of the lowly brinjal has now become 25 paise. The size of it, I dare not describe, because it is incredible.

SHRI A. D. MANI : How big is that ?

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR : So small. And even this will not be available in the next few weeks because of this inflation.

Sir, I do not propose to go into a lecture on economics. But the most basic definition of inflation is that too much money is chasing too few goods. You do not have enough production of goods but our printing press is going on printing one Rupee and hundred Rupee notes, which have little value in terms of what they can buy. And hence somebody referred to the gold prices. He

was coupling this with lack of production, lack of distribution bringing about the devaluation of our national character by making profit at anybody's expense, no matter what the cost. Due to this tremendous inflationary spiral the people are simply hard-pressed for making both ends meet. This is a statement irrespective of any political ideology, irrespective of what you do, where you sit, what you think so long as you are wedded to facts and truth.

Then, we come to clothing. Years ago I spent some time with Mahatmaji. One day I asked Mahatmaji why he went in a loin cloth. Some senior gentleman from Gujarat said, "You are asking such a silly question." And Mahatmaji heard it. He said, "Let him ask. He is a youngster. He has come from Madras. I put on the loin cloth, not because it is fashionable" I am quoting Mahatma Gandhi—"not because I like it but because when I returned from England I was fully clothed, double-breasted, preferably woollens, and I always felt that I was' tremendously distinct from the lowliest man in the street. I had an aspiration for leadership. I wondered what was the matter. And I thought and thought and thought." I am still quoting Mahatmaji—"I thought I had not fully identified myself with the man in the street, and then I thought of this concept, of this philosophy of Daridra Narayan. I took away all that foreign dress and burnt it and put on this' loin cloth so that I could come down and identify myself with the man in the street, or the remotest, forgotten villager". Then he added, "I do not like this dress. But by wearing this I am helping the poor man. He has not enough purchasing power to buy more or better clothing".

Sir, the *per capita* figure given by the Government of India for 1964-65 is 16.8 yards of textiles. India is one of the eight major countries of the world producing cotton. It is one of the top textile-producing countries of the world. Today we are even competing in the market of textile machinery manufacturing countries of the world, and yet our figure is something like less than 20 yards after three Five Year Plans. That is why in the foreign press they call us semi-naked people of 485 millions.

The *per capita* consumption of other countries, I will talk of the affluent societies like the United States of America is about 235 to 250 yards. They have their breakfast

[Dr. S. Chandrasekhar.]

dress, lunch dress, afternoon tea dress, evening dress, dinner dress and sleeping dress or whatever you call it. And here, we do not have enough clothing even to clothe our naked body, not to speak of changing clothes many times in a day.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : May I know if the hon'ble Member's remarks about clothes were also true about the Negro slums?

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR : Negroes do not suffer from lack of clothing. In fact, they suffer from too much clothing. That is the whole trouble. For them there is no problem of clothing at all.

Then we come to the question of education. Our 1961 Census is still being analysed. We are not even 30 per cent, literate, literacy being denned as the ability to read and write, say a postcard in one's mother-tongue. In a democracy and a representative political set-up a man is supposed to be mentally alert, intellectually aware of what is going on in the country; he is supposed to read the respective political views of my friends on the extreme. I left and of my friend on the extreme right and then decide which party will deliver the goods, and then he goes to vote by the secret ballot. Now if a man cannot even read the name of the person for whom he wants to vote and he votes for a symbol of a crocodile, cock, crow, or the bullock, this is a travesty of our democratic procedure because of our great illiteracy.

And, Sir, this literacy has not increased. In all states literacy rates have increased but the total number of illiterates have increased disproportionately because of the growth of population. Really we are going in the backward direction. Actually the number of High Schools graduates—if I may use that word—or those who have passed the S. S. L. C, of these we do not have even a million for a year taking into consideration the age structure of the population. I think if somebody becomes a B. A. at the age of 20, he behaves as if he has got the Nobel Prize. A modern M. A., if I may be permitted to say so, is intellectually equivalent exactly to the Third form of 1911 of Madras.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Also 1930. I passed that year.

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR : All right. I can give the exemption for Mr. Mam. We will treat him as equivalent to a B. A. failed.

Then we come to the question of the number of Universities. I am sorry Mr. Chagla is not here. On August 15, 1947 we had 16 Universities. Eighteen years later, today we have about 66 Universities. The Proliferation is extraordinary, impressive. You can congratulate yourselves. It is more than four times. But what about the quality? You cannot expect a modern graduate or an M. A. even to write a foot-note correctly or construct a simple correlation table despite all the efforts of Prof. Mahalanobis.

Coming to medical facilities, I dare say that the general hospitals are very poor in the quality of service. Our country is rightly called—and I say this after visiting in all some 74 countries—one of the filthiest countries in the world. I say this with all sense of responsibility and with utter humility and shame. Why is it so? We have a sense of personal cleanliness, personal consciousness of the need for cleanliness, but we do not have an iota of civic consciousness. It is because the streets belong to the Mayor and the Congress Party or whatever Party it is, that is in power. Therefore we make over environment filthy. Diseases which have been controlled, conquered and cured elsewhere we are still battling with. The other day in Madras we were having injections for cholera. In Denmark the last instance of cholera was in 1906. In England today you do not have small pox vaccination because the disease was eradicated before the Second World War, unless the Indian or Pakistani sailor bring it to Great Britain today. We are so backward.

In the midst of all this, I go back to my original thesis, as Mr. Dharia so rightly said, people cannot be sure of their basic needs, not of any luxuries, not of amenities, not even of basic necessities but just bread, whether you call it kanji, idli, dosai, chapati or puri, it does not matter what you call it. Even in Afghanistan, which is very backward compared to us and compared to many countries of the world, they have a big bakery in Kabul



built by the Soviet Union. They have bread every morning and every Kabulwalla is very grateful for it. Our Government have not found it possible to build up a national network of bakeries which Mr. Abid Ali mentioned, so that in the morning everyone can be sure of having a cup of coffee or tea and a loaf of bread.

Here is one of the essential foodstuffs. You must eliminate the profiteering middleman, between the producer and the consumer, whether you call it socialism or communism, because this is what we need. Why should it pass through so many steps which a capitalist economy can afford and which we cannot afford today? Why cannot the manufacturer, the primary producer straightaway come to the market with a Government middleman who does not make any profit out of it, and give it to the consumer. If we cannot do it, then I am afraid, in spite of all the best minds in our Party, in our Government—and everybody must bring in the names of Gandhiji, Nebruji down to Indraj— we are bound to fail and we dare not fail today.

Then, what is the solution? My friend, Mr. Das, who is not here and our friend who was speaking here, both *at* them, referred to a subject which is very close to my thinking, namely, population control. This is a kind of ideological dead horse which we go on flogging. I went to the Moscow University this summer as a result of my conversation with a very distinguished Soviet demographer at Belgrade and they were convinced when I explained to them mathematically and otherwise, why we are talking so much about this problem. It is not because we do not have children, not because we do not live our wives, not because we want to make a profit by selling contraceptives to Members of Parliament, but because we are convinced, because we are rational and purposeful and we think that we are growing at a rate which we cannot afford.

But we just do not have the resources, that is all, not because today we do not want population. Mr. Das said that population is not a problem at all the people bring it as a scape-goat. I wish it were a scape-goat but unfortunately it is not. We

are adding roughly a million people to this country's population every month, adding 12 millions a year. Nothing special about the figure itself. You can add 200 millions but the point is that we cannot afford. At the same time the death rate is coming down, thanks to better sanitation, better hygiene, better public health, better water supply, more drugs, more streptomycin, more aureomycin, more doctors, more dentists, more chemists, more American and foreign aid. The decline in death rate means more people. Therefore we must see that we make both ends meet. You cannot afford to have six babies today. Anybody who is married after 1960 and has more than three children, must be declared a traitor . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL. Let us take a census of the Members of the House.

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR : An article is coming in 'The Statesman' about demography of Rajya Sabha Members. To all the people who have more than three babies, I have told Mr. Kamaraj not to give tickets next time.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Thank God we are exempted from your chastisement.

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR: Since you do not have the pleasure of belonging to our Party, you are exempted. The question is this. Once upon a time we had six babies, three died and three survived—the tragic process of tremendous biological wastage. Today we find and this is a great thing and we want to welcome it, people have four children and four are alive, three children and three are alive. This decline in death rate means better mother care, better infant care, better nutrition, perhaps even in the limited resources we have and, therefore, it is a wonderful thing. That is the reason why we cannot have more. Our friend from our Party, whose name I do not readily recall, said 'We have this great empty land and why should we blame the population growth?'

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : You criticise every speaker and you criticise education and other things.

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR : The question is this. On the question of population I want to look at this question very carefully. We have three ways of doing it. One is the agricultural development or agricultural revolution. Second is large-scale industrialisation, third is internal migration, fourth is international migration and fifth is family planning. I dismissed agricultural revolution. There are only two ways of raising food. One, increase the yield per acre, per man on the land already cultivated. You look at the map of the Agriculture Ministry which says, cultivated land 'X' million acres, then lying fallow 'Y' million acres, then land under forest 'Z' million acres and then comes the last category—land cultivable but uncultivated. This is very fascinating. Land cultivable but uncultivated—millions of acres and you say that you have been living here since Mohen-jodaro and the Indus Valley civilisation is roughly 3,000 B.C. or 5,000 years old. Then look at the map and see where is this land. Now you have a very interesting answer. There is the Rajasthan desert, the area between Northern U.P. or between Nepal and U.P. or northern Gujarat over which Pakistan and we fought, half the year into the sea and half the year out of the sea. Can we do something about this land ? There was much sense in the talk by our political and ideological opponent, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel. This time also he said about Israel. It is a very small country, it is a handkerchief of a country. They dare not, as the Prime Minister said, afford the luxury of having a desert or arid land or semi-arid land. It was very hot when I went there this summer but I flew down to the South, and saw how they were trying to bring the hot sand, where nothing grew for 5,000 years, even before the time of Christ or even before the time of Moses, square inch by square inch, under cultivation. They have a tractor which takes out the rocks, another one which takes the small pebbles, another one which takes even minor things and then finally some kind of a small dust, which is really sand and then they put fertiliser. Then comes water. They convert the sea water into potable water, drinking water, fresh water and put some fertilisers and lo and behold, it begins to sprout. I went and saw it. We ought to do something like that. I have written something about it in the newspapers but there are people who either do not understand about it or do

not bother about it. We can bring the latest technical know-how from Israel to the Rajasthan desert. We know that in Jodhpur we have the Central Arid Zone Research Institute. I have studied these for a long time and I have been to Gobi desert in China, the great inland desert of Australia. I am perhaps the only member of the House who has seen the Atacama desert in Peru. I visited last year the great Mohami desert in Southern California in North Mexico and they are all doing miracles with these deserts with the available technological resources. I am simply distressed about this because we can do but we are not doing anything. About the question of agriculture, I simply say that we can put an enormous number of people and till the land and produce more food.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. L. RUTHNASWAMY) : Unfortunately, Dr. Chandrasekhar, there is a limit to the time.

DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR: Give me one more minute Sir, and I will finish. We ought to do something about it. Then we come to the question of internal migration. I wish we can do it. Why should Bengal be so crowded ? Why should Kerala be so crowded ? In ordinary civilised countries, the resources and men can be matched and you can take 450 million people and distribute them among the sixteen States but we dare not do it in this country because of chauvinism, linguistic loyalties, religious loyalties and such irrational loyalties coming in the way. Therefore matters had come to this. A southerner cannot make a living in the north, and a northerner cannot make a living in the south. So we have to do something about it and we have to promote national integration. And the more we talk about it, the less the result achieved because, on the one hand, we are wanting to promote national integration and, on the other hand, doing something to pursue much opposed national language policy, which simply removes the East and the West and the South out of the national picture. I am voicing particularly Southerners sentiments. Perhaps I am not behaving like a 100 per cent party-man because I am telling you the sentiments of the non-Hindi people on the language question. It is not that Rajani is talking nonsense on the language question. He is only reflecting the wishes of the people

there. Bengalis are agitating in favour of retaining English. They want English to continue. Maharattis and Gujaratis want English. Madrasis and Andhras and Keratites was English. It is not because we are not a part of the Union. It is because we want to have a sense of belonging, a sense of this great adventure of united India of which we want to be an integral part. And, therefore, I believe that if this is to be done—I must congratulate Mr. Dharia for coming with this—it does not matter what the *modus operandi* is. But today we dare not slide any further. Sometimes when the opposition says, when some of the Members of the Opposition say things, when they speak of food hunger and starvation deaths, we do not take them seriously although the problem is there. But today it is not just a Communist starving or a Congressman starving or a Jan Sangh man starving. People are starving and we cannot tolerate this sight in a country which is justly famous for 'the great minds and great systems of intellectual thought that we have produced. And, therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, thanking you for your indulgence in permitting me to speak at length, I want to commend this Resolution. It is not just a rhetorical exercise that on Fridays the non-official Members can voice their grievances on behalf of the people. It is not that they are fond of hewing their own voices and so they speak, it is a voice in which are encompassed many voices whose feelings of agony moved us *dad* made us voice them here. Those of us who have had the opportunity or the privilege to travel a great deal in the country are witness to the travail, the struggle, the sorrow and the agony in which our fellow workers in far-flung, distant, remote villages continue to remain. In the name of political freedom, in the name of decency, in the name of honesty, in the name of political freedom, in the name of character I hope this Government and we, you and I, Opposition included, will do something about improving the condition of our people.

Thank you.

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश):** माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे मित्र श्री धारिया जी ने सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है और जिस पर बहुत से मित्रों ने

अपने-अपने विचार रखे, उसके संबंध में मैं भी अपने विचार आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इस समय हमारे देश में महंगाई का प्रश्न ही सबसे बड़ा और ज्वलन्त प्रश्न है और उसके संबंध में बहुत से मित्रों ने अपने सुझाव अनेक प्रकार से रखे। लेकिन हमारा ऐसा ख्याल है कि इस समय देश में केवल महंगाई का ही सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न नहीं है बल्कि महंगाई के साथ कुछ और भी छोटे-छोटे प्रश्न जुड़े हुए हैं। जब तक हम इन प्रश्नों को निश्चित रूप से हल नहीं करेंगे तब तक महंगाई की समस्या को किसी भी प्रकार हम दूर नहीं कर सकेंगे।

यह सारे के सारा—महंगाई का जहाँ तक प्रश्न है और जैसा कि हमारे मित्र श्री डा. ह्याभाई पटेल ने कहा यह ईश्वरकृत नहीं है बल्कि यह कांग्रेसकृत है। पिछले 12 वर्षों से जो कुछ देश के सामने समस्याएं आई हैं, उनके ऊपर ठीक तरह से विचार नहीं किया गया। हमें इस बात की प्रसन्नता नहीं है कि हम बार-बार कांग्रेस का नाम लेकर अपने मित्रों पर दोषारोपण करें, लेकिन जो सत्य है उसका प्रतिपादन करना ही पड़ेगा।

हमारे यहाँ पर आज से बहुत वर्ष पहले सोने की मुद्राएं चलती थीं। मुस्लिम काल में दीनारों और अर्शाफियां चलती थीं। अंग्रेजों के काल में सोना और चांदी का सिक्का चलता था। लेकिन कांग्रेस के राज में सिक्के का चलना दूर रहा, स्वर्ण तक धीरे-धीरे समाप्त हो गया। एक घटना यह भी हुई। इसके बाद आगे चलकर देश में जो महंगाई बढ़ी, उस महंगाई के बढ़ने के लिए हमारे मित्रों की तरफ से बार-बार आश्वासन दिया जाता रहा और कांग्रेस की तरफ से बहुत मित्रों ने आज भी उसी भाषा में बयान और वक्तव्य दिये जिस तरह से कहीं पर आग लगती है, मोटर चलती है या आक्रमण होता है, तो मिनिस्टर अपने घर में बैठकर जनता के नाम भाषण दे दिया करते हैं। इसी तरह से ठीक

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

उसी प्रकार की बातें हमारे मित्रों ने भी यहां पर अभी बतलाई।

इसके बाद श्रीमान्, मैं अपने मित्रों से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि आपने यहां पर योजनाएं बना-बना कर, ऐसी झूठी योजनाएं देश के सामने रखी जिससे देश का करोड़ों रुपया सजाप्त हो गया। इस तरह के एकाध नहीं, अनेकों उदाहरण हैं और इसमें से केवल मध्य प्रदेश का एक उदाहरण श्रीमान् के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। जिस तरह से 12 वर्ष में घूरे के दिन फिरते हैं उसी तरह से मध्य प्रदेश में एक कांग्रेस मित्र के दिन फिरे और वे कांग्रेस मिनिस्टर बन बैठे। उन्होंने चम्बल योजना पर एक लाख नहीं, दो लाख नहीं, बल्कि 93 लाख रुपया खर्च कर डाले। बाहर से इंजीनियरों के जितने मंडल आये उन्होंने जांच करने के बाद बताया कि जिस स्थान पर डैम बनाया जाना है वहां पर बालू है और पहले ही साल में चम्बल का डैम बह जायेगा। अब जो वर्तमान में डैम बनाया जा रहा है वह तीन मील नीचे राजस्थान प्रदेश में है और इस तरह से पहले डैम बनाने में लाखों रुपया खर्च कर दिया गया। अगर किसी दूसरे देश में इस तरह की बात होती तो उस मिनिस्टर को कभी भी रहने नहीं दिया जाता। इसी तरह की कई दूसरी घटनाएं भी हैं और उनका कहां तक बयान किया जा सकता है।

आप महंगाई कम करने का चाहे कितना ही यत्न क्यों न करें, लेकिन हमारा यह दृढ़ मत है कि जबतक कांग्रेस सरकार है तबतक इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। पहली बात तो यह है कि जब कभी महंगाई बढ़ती है तो उसका कारण देश में चीजों की कमी होती है और जिसकी वजह से भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता है। जब भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता है तो कर्मचारी ज्यादा वेतन की मांग करते हैं और हमारी सरकार वेतन की दर बढ़ाने के लिए जनता पर टैक्स का भार लगाती है। हमारी सरकार ने

टैक्स का भार किन अंशों में लगा रखा है यह अभी तक भारतवर्ष के इतिहास में नहीं देखा गया। टैक्स एक ही स्थान पर नहीं लगाया जाता है बल्कि अनेकों स्थानों पर जनता से टैक्स लिया जाता है जिसकी वजह से महंगाई बराबर बढ़ती ही चली जाती है। इसका कारण यह भी है कि हमारी सरकार ने जो योजनाएं बनाई हैं वे निकम्मी सिद्ध हो चुकी हैं और जनता ने एक मत से यह राय दे दी है। हमारी सरकार की योजनाओं की वजह से ही हमारे देश में महंगाई बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। मैं अपने कांग्रेस बेंचों के मित्रों से पूछना चाहता हूं कि वे कृपा करके बतलायें कि हमारे देश में या प्रान्तों में जो पब्लिसिटी आफिसर हैं वे क्या काम कर रहे हैं। जहाँ तक प्रान्तों में इन अफसरों का रखा जाना है वह तो कहीं तक उचित भी हो सकता है, लेकिन जिले-जिले में, तहसील-तहसील में इस तरह के पब्लिसिटी अफसरों का रखा जाना कहां तक उचित है? ये लोग अपने पास दस बीस क्लर्क लिये होते हैं और इस तरह से कुनवा परस्ती बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है और 6 महीने में सिर्फ एक बुलेटिन ही प्रकाशित करते हैं। मैं यह मालूम करना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह के पब्लिसिटी आफिसरों के रखने से हमें क्या लाभ है? इस तरह के आंकड़े देखने में तो बहुत अच्छे लगते हैं और आंकड़ों का उदाहरण देकर जब कोई बोलता है तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि उसने बहुत स्टडी की है और वह यह बतलाता है कि पर कैपिटा इतनी इन्कम हुई है, पर कैपिटा इतना हमारे देश में उत्पादन बढ़ा है और इतना व्यय हुआ है। लेकिन गांवों में स्टैटिस्टिक डिपार्टमेंट के जो कर्मचारी हैं वे घूमते रहते हैं और उनके पास काम नहीं है। इन लोगों के पास हाथी की तरह बड़ी-बड़ी मोटरें हैं, इतने अधिक डिपार्टमेंट हैं कि जिसमें लाखों रुपये का खर्च होता है।

मैं अपने योग्य मित्रों से यह बात भी पूछना चाहता हूं कि उन्हें खादी पहिनने से क्या लाभ है? उन्होंने खादी इसलिए पहिनी थी

कि अपने देश का रुपया देश में ही रहेगा। लेकिन उन्होंने अपने जीवन में ज्यादा से ज्यादा 1 हजार रुपये की खादी पहनी होगी। लेकिन वे बाहर से एक लाख रुपये की रोलस रॉयस कार मंगाते हैं, दूसरी तरह की कारें मंगाते हैं, जिसकी वजह से महंगाई बढ़ती ही चली जाती है। हमारे योग्य मित्र हमें उत्तर देंगे कि इस जमाने में इतनी महंगाई बढ़ रही है और बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है, तो उन्होंने सड़कों में मील के पत्थरों को किलो मीटर में बदलने के लिए करोड़ों रुपये बरबाद क्यों किये। हमारे यहाँ पर गज और बाँट को मिटा कर के, नई प्रकार की नाप और तौल की प्रणाली चला कर के और कानून बना कर के यह कहना कि पुराने नाप और तौल के बाँट नहीं चलेंगे, इसकी इस समय क्या आवश्यकता पड़ गई थी और कहां से इन पर बड़ा भारी हमला हो रहा था।

अगर हमारे मित्र यह प्रश्न लें कि साहब, लड़ाई के कारण हमारा इतना खर्चा बढ़ गया था और लड़ाई का बोझ हमारे ऊपर बढ़ गया था, तो हम उनसे पूछते हैं कि पहले भी अंग्रेजों के जमाने में लड़ाइयाँ हुई थीं और दूसरे देशों में भी लड़ाइयाँ हुई, केवल लड़ाई के कारण यह अनुमान कर लेना कि अपने यहां का खर्चा बढ़ गया और इस लिये करारोपण किया जाय और करारोपण करने के बाद महंगाई भत्ते दिये जायें तो इससे महंगाई की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती। इससे महंगाई और बढ़ेगी। हमारे मित्र श्री धारिया ने और एक दो कांग्रेस के वरिष्ठ मित्रों ने बड़ी दबी जबान से यह बात स्वीकार की है और अन्त में इस बात को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि 18 वर्षों तक उन्होंने एक मत से केवल कांग्रेस के डंडे के बल पर शासन किया और देख लिया कि कांग्रेस का शासन फेल हो गया। इसके बाद हमारे मित्र श्री धारिया ने अपील की कि यह महंगाई की समस्या किसी एक दल की समस्या नहीं है, सब पार्टियों को मिल कर इस पर

विचार करना चाहिये। हमारा ऐसा विश्वास है कि इस समस्या को ऐसा रोग लग गया है...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, I rise on a point of order.

Is there quorum in this House now?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): Yes.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : तो श्रीमन्, इस प्रकार से अपने यहाँ पर जो महंगाई बढ़ रही है वह महंगाई अब ऐसी सीमा पर आ गई है कि सब मिल कर भी विचार करें तब भी इस समस्या को हल करना बहुत मुश्किल है।

इसी तरह से बड़े-बड़े कार्यों और बड़ी-बड़ी तनख्वाहों इत्यादि के बारे में बात कही गई। एक बात का उत्तर और मैं मंत्री जी से चाहता हूँ। बार-बार कांग्रेस का ध्येय समाजवादी कहा गया। अवाडी कांग्रेस में यह प्रस्ताव पास किया गया था। क्या हम को आप बता सकते हैं कि संसार के किसी देश में एक आदमी की 18 रु० तनख्वाह हो और उसी देश में एक आदमी की दस हजार रुपये तनख्वाह हो। कहीं पर भी ऐसा नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन हमारे इस देश में जो सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी की बात कहते हैं उनके लिये निश्चित रूप से यह एक बहुत बुरी बात है। हम यह कहते हैं कि यह देखना चाहिये कि जो छोटे कर्मचारी हैं उन छोटे कर्मचारियों के भी बच्चे हैं। उनके बच्चे भी पढ़ने की अभिलाषा करते हैं। उनकी लड़कियों के भी विवाह होते हैं, वे भी अपने बच्चों को प्रोफेसर और इंजीनियर बनाना चाहते हैं। सौ रुपये, दो सौ रुपये दे कर के उनके बच्चों से आप यह चाहें कि उनसे बड़े से बड़ा काम करा लें, तो यह निश्चय ही आप नहीं करा सकते।

यह भी नहीं हो सकता है कि महंगाई की जो अभिवृद्धि है वह इस प्रकार से कभी रुक जाय। यह बराबर बढ़ती चली जा रही है

**[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]**

और बराबर बढ़ती चली जायगी। हमारे एक दो मित्रों ने दबी जवान से कहा कि साहब, फांसी की सजा तो नहीं दी जानी चाहिये लेकिन फांसी से कम की सजा देना जरूर अच्छा है। हम कहते हैं कि जनाब, आपसे यह संभव नहीं है। कांग्रेस के मित्रों से ऐसी आशा ही नहीं है। एक तरफ तो ये यह कहते हैं कि सजाएं देनी चाहिए दोषारोपण करने वालों को और दूसरी तरफ वही कांग्रेसी कलेक्टर को, सुपरिंटेंडेंट को डराते हैं और मुकदमे जिन पर चलाये जाते हैं उनपर मुकदमे चलाये जाने से रोकते हैं। हमें मालूम है कि भूपाल के पास बिदिशा में एक ऐसा ही केस हुआ। एक भ्रष्टाचारी कांग्रेसी ने वहां भ्रष्टाचार किया था और कलेक्टर इस मत का था कि उसको सजा दी जानी चाहिये। उसके बाद बहुत से कांग्रेसी, कहीं मंडल के पंच, कहीं सरपंच, कहीं दूसरे एम० एल० एज० ने वहां पहुंच कर के और दबाव डाल कर के उसपर मुकदमा नहीं चलाने दिया। तो यह एक प्रकार की समस्या नहीं है, चतुर्मुखी समस्या हो गई है और कांग्रेस के बस की बात नहीं है कि महंगाई को किसी प्रकार से रोका जाए।

**श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र :** जन्म दिन के लिये 65 लाख रु० जमा होता है कलेक्टरों से।

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा :** जैसा कि हमारे योग्य मित्र ने कहा...

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh):** That shows the popularity of the man. [Interruption.]

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा :** भार्गव साहब के कहने के अनुसार उससे बड़ी पपुलैरिटी यह भी हुई कि हमारे दल के द्वारा नहीं, कांग्रेस दल के द्वारा एक गधे की वर्षगांठ भी वहां पर मनाई गई और उसका जुलूस भी निकाला गया और और जुलूस निकलने के बाद उसका फोटो भी छपा। एक तरफ यह है तो दूसरी तरफ इसका भी नज़ारा भार्गव साहब देखें कि

यह हमारे यहां चल रहा है। यह हम आपसे कहते हैं कि आप इस बात पर विश्वास रखिये कि आप की आलोचनाएं हम ही नहीं करते, आप के दल में ही बहुत से ऐसे दल उत्पन्न हो गये हैं जो आप की आलोचनाएं करते हैं। एक प्रांत बतलाइये जिस प्रांत में आप लड़ रहे हों। आप क्यों लड़ रहे हैं। जब त्याग और बलिदान की बात है? आप लड़ इस लिये रहे हैं कि यह सत्ता का युद्ध है। आप जानते हैं कि एक आदमी सत्ता पर बैठा है, उसे पकड़ करके नीचे करें और दूसरा आदमी उस स्थान पर बैठे। इस लिये आप लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं और इस लिये अब जनता का विश्वास आप पर नहीं है। यही कारण है कि आप के बार-बार अपील करने के बाद भी आप की अपील का कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता। आपने महंगाई रोकने के लिए व्यापारियों से अपील की कि ऊंचे मूल्यों पर वे वस्तुएं न बेचें लेकिन रत्ती भर उस अपील का प्रभाव नहीं हुआ। आप अपना राज्य खिसकने दीजिये, आप देख लेंगे कि एक महीने में सारा प्रबन्ध हो जायेगा। आप अगर चाहते हों उसका उदाहरण, तो पंजाब में धर्मवीर जी का उदाहरण देख लीजिये। एक दो महीने उनको वहां पहुंचे हुए हैं और उन्होंने जो वहां कर दिखाया है वह कांग्रेस राज्य के लिये शर्म की बात है। वहां पर उन्होंने ऐसा प्रबन्ध कर दिया है कि आज वहां गेहूं मारा-मारा फिर रहा है। जितनी भी जीवन उपयोगी वस्तुएं हैं वे आज वहां पर बहुतायत से मिलने लग गई हैं। हमारे कांग्रेस के महाप्रभु, हमारे मालिक, जो हम पर राज्य करने की आकांक्षा करते हैं, उन्हें भगवान ने उतनी बुद्धि नहीं दी है और उनके कारण ऐसा हुआ है। इस बात का उत्तर दें हमारे मंत्री जी कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में भी अधिक गेहूं और चना उत्पन्न होता है। वहां पर महंगाई की कोई बात नहीं थी। हमारे बिदिशा जिले में 50 रु० बिबटल के हिसाब से गेहूं बिक रहा था। आज वहां पर 50 रु० बिबटल वाला गेहूं 55 रु० में है और हमारे बंगल में दो जिले के बाद

जबलपुर में 130 रु० विबटल के हिसाब से गेहूँ बिक रहा है। यह महंगाई के लक्षण हैं। अभी धार जिले में जाकर के हमने देखा कि वहाँ महंगाई तांडव नृत्य कर रही है। वहाँ पर महंगाई का हाल यह है कि वह आदिवासी क्षेत्र है उस आदिवासी क्षेत्र में आठ-आठ सौ आदिमियों की लाइन प्रातः से सायंकाल तक लगती है। उनके पास पैसा नहीं है, उनके पास धन नहीं है। वे पाँच सेर मक्का के लिये वहाँ खड़े रहते हैं और सरकार की कृपा हो जाती है तो कह दिया जाता है कि अब नहीं हैं, दूसरे दिन आओ। फिर वे दूसरे दिन आते हैं। महंगाई का स्वरूप भवनों में बैठने वालों को मालूम नहीं पड़ता, महंगाई का स्वरूप मोटरों में बैठने वालों को मालूम नहीं पड़ता, महंगाई का स्वरूप अच्छी तरह से भोजन मिलने वालों को मालूम नहीं पड़ता। लेकिन दरिद्र जनता जिस जनता की तरफ से हम यहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं, उस जनता के दिल से जा कर के पूछिये कि आज महंगाई का कैसा नृत्य हो रहा है देश भर में। जब हम यहाँ से जाते हैं तो सबसे पहले वे हमसे यह पूछते हैं कि कहिये, साहब, महंगाई कब घट रही है। हम कहते हैं कि महंगाई घटाने की आवश्यकता है, महंगाई घटाने के यत्न किये जा रहे हैं। फिर वे पूछते हैं कि साहब, कितने टैंकसेज लग गये और ये टैंकसेज लग गये तो हम क्या करें। आज तीनों चीजें साथ-साथ चल रही हैं, एक प्रकार का सम्बन्ध तीनों में चल रहा है। एक तरफ भ्रष्टाचार ऊँचा जा रहा है, दूसरी तरफ महंगाई ऊँची जा रही है और सरकार की योजनाएं कभी समाप्त नहीं हो रही हैं। हम आपसे पूछते हैं कि अगर आप की योजनाएं अच्छी हैं तो मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने बी० डी० ओज० के पद समाप्त कैसे कर दिये और बी० डी० ओज० के पद समाप्त करने को आपने सहन कैसे कर लिया। यहाँ के मंत्रालय ने बड़े चुप्पे-चुप्पे एक आध्र नोट भेजे कि हमारी राय में बी० डी० ओज० के पद समाप्त करना ठीक नहीं है लेकिन आप की बात नहीं वहाँ चली और बी०

डी० ओज० के पद वहाँ समाप्त कर दिये गये। बी० डी० ओज० ही नहीं, वहाँ पर जितने भी योजना के कार्य हैं उनमें किसी के पास भी कोई काम नहीं है और जितने वहाँ पर आदमी हैं, जब वे किसानों में रुपया बाँटते हैं तो उनका काम केवल यह होता है कि वे पाँच रुपये प्रतिशत कटौती लेते हैं, रिश्वत लेते हैं। यही एक काम उनके पास रह गया है।

**श्री डाह्याभाई व० पटेल :** चुनाव का बड़ा काम है उनके पास।

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा :** तो आज सारी की सारी यह कार्यवाही हो रही है और इसको अविलम्ब समाप्त किया जाना चाहिये। हम समझते हैं कि महंगाई के बारे में हम और हमारे कांग्रेसी योग्य मित्र सब इकट्ठे बैठ कर के आज चर्चा कर रहे हैं। हमें कभी-कभी शंका होती है। एक बार से अधिक हम इन विषयों पर चर्चाएं कर सकते हैं और हमने चर्चाएं की हैं। ऐसी स्थिति आने वाली है कि आगे चल कर के जिस तरह से अमेरिकावादी चीन में जो स्थिति आ गई थी, क्रांति के पहले, वही स्थिति यहाँ भी आ जाय। वहाँ एक-एक हजार येन में एक समय का भोजन मिलने लगा था। ऐसी स्थिति अपने यहाँ पर आने वाली है। अभी लोग, सारी जनता, अखबार इस बारे में एक मत नहीं हैं। लोग समझते हैं कि डिवेल्युएशन फिर आने वाला है। जिनके पास करन्सी है, जिनके पास सौ रुपए हैं, दो सौ रुपए हैं, एक हजार रुपए हैं, जब डिवेल्युएशन की बात आती है तो उनकी कल्पनाएं क्या हो सकती हैं। हमारा ऐसा मत है और नम्र निवेदन है कि यह देश तीव्र गति से क्रांति की तरफ बढ़ता जा रहा है। जब आपके बार-बार के अनुरोध, आपकी आकाशवाणियों के फरमान, आपके आदेश और निर्देश सारे के सारे धरे रह जायेंगे। आखिर बात क्या है। कहीं पर किसी जगह झगड़ा होता है, कहीं आग लगाई जाती है। आपकी बात लोग सुनने को तैयार नहीं हैं, आपके

## [श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

रक्षक दलों की पिटाई होती है, उन पर गोली चलती है, पुलिस वाले अकर्मण्य होकर देखते रहते हैं, आपके मजिस्ट्रेट पिटते रहते हैं। सबसे बड़ी बात—और जो क्रान्ति का बीज है—यह है कि आपके कर्मचारी आपके विरुद्ध खड़े होते हैं। इससे ज्यादा शर्मनाक बात किसी शासन के लिए नहीं हो सकती। जो कर्मचारी अपने मालिक से तनख्वाह प्राप्त करते हैं वे उसके प्रति निष्ठावान रहते हैं। आज कर्मचारियों की हालत डाबांडोल हो गई है। आपके प्रति उनके विश्वास में कमी आ गई है। उनके मन में शंका उत्पन्न हो गई है। वह बढ़ रही है। यह देश त्याग और बलिदानों का देश रहा है। जब आप चमक-दमक की बड़ी-बड़ी मोटरों में घूमें और एक-एक हजार रुपए के बिजली और पानी के खर्च में बैठे रह कर उपदेश देते रहें ईसा मसीह की तरह तो चल नहीं सकता। उपदेश देते हुए कहा जाता है कि पूरा का पूरा समाज खराब हो गया है, हम क्या करें, हम कहते हैं कि यह बिल्कुल गलत है। हमारे देश में प्रथा है और कहावत है “यथा राजा तथा प्रजा”। महाभारत में भी है—“राजा कालस्य कारणम्” गांधी जी को आप बात करते हैं। गांधी जी में चरित्र था जिसके कारण देश में उस समय धोती कुर्ता दिखलाई पड़ता था। गांधी जी के समाप्त हो जाने के बाद आप लोगों ने अमरीका और जर्मनी की यात्राएं कीं, इंग्लैण्ड और कनाडा की यात्राएं कीं, बहुत बड़े-बड़े डेपुटेशन ले गए। आपने हमारे ऊपर सफेद हाथी लाद दिए। इन सफेद हाथियों की क्या आवश्यकता है—इन दूतावासों ने क्या किया है? जब हमारे यहाँ पर दो युद्ध हुए—पाकिस्तान का युद्ध और चीनियों का युद्ध, बड़े-बड़े आर० के० नेहरू और बी० के० नेहरू लड़े रहे हमारे ऊपर; इन संकटों में संसार का एक देश भी हमारे साथ नहीं रह सका। हमारे यहाँ वाणिज्य मंत्रालय के आधीन कुछ संगठन काम करते होते तो शायद फायदा होता। इन पर करोड़ों रुपये क्यों नष्ट किए जा रहे हैं।

किसी को फालतू और बैठा देखा उसके लिए फौरन एक नौकरी बना कर तैयार कर दी। मंत्रालय ने उसके लिये फौरन एक चिट्ठी लिख कर भेज दी और वह अपनी नौकरी से लग गया। क्या काम है, कितना काम कर रहे हैं इसको कोई देखने वाला नहीं है। यही कारण है कि आज संसार भर में अपने राज-दूतावासों की जो स्थिति है उस पर एक बार से अधिक पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी में छीछालेदार हो चुकी है।

जैसी बाहर की हालत है, ठीक उसी प्रकार से भीतर की हालत है। आज महंगाई की जैसी हालत है उससे ज्यादा शर्मनाक बात देश के लिए कोई और नहीं हो सकती। हमारे इस देश में रोटी और कपड़ा को सबसे ज्यादा महत्व नहीं दिया जाता, सम्मान को महत्व दिया जाता है। जो कहते हैं कि रोटी-कपड़े को सबसे ज्यादा महत्व दिया जाता है, हम उनसे कहते हैं कि अपने देश में गौतम बुद्ध ने क्यों रोटी-कपड़ा छोड़ा। कोई उत्तर इसका नहीं दिया जा सकता। लेकिन इस महंगाई के समय में हालैण्ड में लड़के बच्चे गोद में अपने-अपने कपड़ों को ऊँचा किए घूम रहे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, उनके लिए पैसा दो, अनाज दो। आज हिन्दुस्तान की ऐसी स्थिति हो गई है। हम समझते हैं और हमारा मत है कि कांग्रेस में बहुत से योग्य और विद्वान् मित्र हैं और समझते भी हैं लेकिन उन मित्रों की आज चलती नहीं है। हम समझते हैं कि एक मत होकर धारिया जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उस प्रस्ताव को पास तो करवा लेंगे, लेकिन उससे फल निकालने वाला नहीं है। उन पर भी अगर दबाव पड़ गया तो वे इसको शायद वापस ले लेंगे। यह बात भी है। ऐसा होता रहता है।

श्री डाह्याभाई व० पटेल : जरूर करेंगे।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : इस विषय पर एक मत होकर चर्चा की, हमने विचार किया, एक दूसरे के विचारों से आदान-प्रदान हुआ।



श्रीमान् आपके द्वारा हम इस सदन से निवेदन करते हैं कि यह समस्या कोई छोटी समस्या नहीं है। हम और आप ज्वालामुखी पर बैठे हुए हैं, विस्फोट होने वाला है। किसी दिन सवेरे सुनेंगे अखबारों में कि हिन्दुस्तान का सर्वनाश हो गया। उस स्थिति को लाने से पहले सजग हो जायें, समझ जाएं तो अच्छा होगा। इन शब्दों के साथ अपने योग्य मित्र के प्रस्ताव का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are thankful to our friend, Shri Dharia, for bringing in this Resolution to pinpoint the serious situation which

we are facing and thereby have the views of all the parties and members of this House to show how best to solve this problem.

Sir, everybody admits that there is a steep rise in the prices of essential commodities of life and therefore it requires to be treated in a way which could bring immediate results. One can see that this price rise is not a" feature of our country alone. In so many countries of the world this steep rise in prices is going on. I was only yesterday looking into the Bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India for June 1966. It has given figures to show the actual rise in prices in our country. It is as follows:

Index number of wholesale prices  
(Base year 1952-53=100)

	1961- 62	1964- 65	1965- 66	May 1965	28th May 1966
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rice .. .. .	105	134	141	128	166
Wheat .. .. .	91	130	138	130	139
Jowar .. .. .	112	189	197	197	198
Milk .. .. .	117	151	167	172	184
Spices & Condiments .. .. .	140	164	181	162	220

These are the figures given by the Reserve Bank of India in its Bulletin of June 1966.

Now, Sir, the Resolution urges upon the Government to take immediate, stern and deterrent steps to bring down the prices. The question is whether this problem was not before the Government since years. Did not Government try to bring down the prices of essential commodities of food and clothing? In spite of its efforts Government has not been able to bring down the prices; that we have to admit but there are reasons for it. We have to consider what the Government has done. We are having a parliamentary democracy; we are not a Fascist State or a dictatorship. In the first instance we tried to get the surplus from the surplus States and the Food Corporation was established. Of course it was the beginning and the Corporation tried its hand in the four southern States and tried its best to keep the prices under control. Now it is expected that its functions will extend to other parts of the country also. Then another thing is there

are zones. There are surplus States and deficit States. We have considered this question in this House also several times. There are complaints in the surplus States that the farmers do not get a fair price and in the deficit States the consumers have to pay very high prices. To remedy this the only way is to remove the zones and treat the country as one unit as far as the food zone is concerned. We discussed this in the AICC also. There are only two ways. Make the country one unit and allow the free movement of food-grains throughout the country. There will be nothing like surplus States or deficit States. There will be no zones whatsoever. If that could not be done, the only alternative is to have controls, resort to monopoly procurement and monopoly distribution of the essential commodities of life, especially foodgrains. Government has to consider whether this is feasible, whether administratively the Government will be able to do it successfully. These are problems for the Government to consider and come to a decision. I am afraid

[Shri M. C. Shah.] it would be difficult. The only alternative is to treat the country as a whole, as one unit. Let us all have a common feeling that we are one nation and one country. Just now one of our hon. Members was saying that the price of one quintal of wheat varied substantially in areas within a distance of only five miles. Such a situation does not bring about a feeling of national unity. If there is difficulty, we must all share. If there is happiness, we must all share it. In that way the country should be considered as one unit. If there is any difficulty technically, as I said earlier, let the Government take the responsibility for monopoly procurement and distribution and see that even in the remotest corners of the country the consumer gets his requirements at a fair price. And if that is not possible, the only alternative is to make the country one unit and let the normal economic forces play their part.

I remember that even in the time of our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a suggestion was thrown that the portfolio of agriculture should be held by the Chief Minister. He should be made responsible to see that all the difficulties that come in the way of higher agricultural production should be immediately done away with and that could only be done by the Chief Minister. Unfortunately that was not accepted. In no State, as far as I know, is the portfolio of agriculture with the Chief Minister. I would urge that it is necessary to do so. In the situation through which we are passing, it is very necessary that the highest attention should be paid to more and more agricultural production and that can only be done if the Chief Minister is entrusted with this responsibility. Of course, there are certain circumstances beyond our control. There is lack of rainfall. If there is drought one cannot help it, but there are routine difficulties from which our agriculturists suffer. They do not get fertiliser at the proper time. They do not get pesticides at the proper time. They do not get good seeds in time. The farmer should get his requirements at the proper time and at the proper price. That is not being done and the result is that the farmer himself, though he is very anxious to have more and more per acre production, feels exas-

perated. There is a feeling, of exasperation in the minds of the farmers in the rural areas. There is actually nobody to help him even though Parliament and our Ministers talk so much about agriculture production. That has to be remedied. That can only be done if the Chief Minister is given this responsibility with a warning that if he does not succeed, he has to be removed.

Then, Sir, there is the question of hoarding and blackmarketing. Even if sufficient quantity is available, big business purchases it with a view to hoarding and making money. They are creating all kinds of difficulties. This has to be dealt with. We saw, I think only yesterday, the photographs of blackmarketeers and hoarders in Punjab. They were taken in the streets of the city and were prosecuted. Why should not the same thing be done in all the States? Everybody desires that this must be stopped, but it cannot be stopped by mere talks. Some action has to be taken. Of course, some reasons are advanced that this could be done only in Punjab because there is Governor's rule. There were no pressures on Mr. But if any politician or a Minister were to do it, perhaps there would be so many pulls and pressures against him that he would not be in a position to resist them. But this is a problem facing the country and, therefore it is necessary that our Ministers, whoever is in charge of it, must have that much courage to deal very firmly with hoarders and blackmarketeers. Unless that is done, people will have no faith in whatever we say or in whatever we speak here in Parliament or in the promises given by high officials and high authorities. We say that the welfare of the community depends upon our middle-class and lower middle-class people. They are in great majority but have we ever cared to see what their actual position is? Is it possible for them to make both ends meet, to have a square meal even once a day, with the high level of prices that prevail in our country now? Once I remarked that if a man is a graduate, he goes into service. He has a small family—a wife and two children. And what is the salary we give to him? Is it possible in any way that he will be able to run his family, with honesty, on the salary that he gets? The result is that we have «o

many complaints of corruption, of going against one's conscience. If this has to be removed agriculture must develop because it is the base of our economy. Therefore, it is very necessary that we should see that the agriculturists are in a position to produce as much as is necessary for our country. For years we have been importing foodgrains from other countries. We are all promising that we will try our best to see that the country becomes self-sufficient at least in the matter of agricultural production and it will not be necessary for us to go out and request other friendly countries to supply us with wheat, rice and other foodstuffs. Now, there must be a definite resolution that by a certain period we shall so evolve our agriculture, that it will be possible for us to increase our agricultural production, so that we may become self-sufficient and we may not have to request other countries to at least supply us with foodgrains. Of course, I am aware of one thing. Unfortunately we have to rely on rains. The vagaries of the monsoon are well known in our country. Last year it was a year of great drought and it was so severe. Such a famine the Gentry has not faced during the last fifty years. In those circumstances it was necessary, and the country had to appeal to other countries, which had surplus of foodgrains, to help this country tide over this difficulty. But that cannot be said of a normal year. In a normal year we must see that we do not import, any food-grains. We are very short of foreign exchange and we cannot afford to spend foreign exchange for importing foodgrains. Therefore, it is essential that we have a phased programme under which, say, by the end of five years, by the end of the Fourth Plan, the country becomes self-sufficient in food and it is not necessary for us to go out and request other friendly countries to help us in getting food-grains. Therefore, I would suggest that it is very fortunate that in the Fourth Plan greater emphasis has been given to agriculture. We have learnt by experience of the three Plans that the basic economy of the country will depend upon how we fare in our agriculture, and therefore in the Fourth Plan we are told that the greatest emphasis will be laid upon agricultural production. But as I said, merely stating that the greatest emphasis should be given to agricultural production will not suffice.

All necessary measures have to be taken and also the necessary machinery should be created so that even in the remotest village the farmer gets his requirements in proper time and in proper quantity. If that is done, I am sure that within that period of five years, India has the capacity, our farmers have the knowledge, our farmers have the will, to have a higher per acre production, and by five years with the grace of God it will not be difficult for India to raise agricultural production which is very necessary for feeding our people.

Another thing, this population explosion must be stopped by all means possible. We cannot permit it and all measures should be taken side by side so that there is a serious decline in the birth rate. Thank you very much.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, on this point which has been very appositely and pointedly raised by the resolution of the mover, Shri Dhurja, there have been many speeches and you have, Sir, seen that many were lyrical over the achievements of USA, Israel and Taiwan, and many were lachrymose over the lack of achievements of our country. Of course as far as we are concerned, it is we who are often accused of looking up to other countries either for inspiration or otherwise. But I have found here in this House during the short term of my tenure that really those who are not Communists do look up to either the U.S.A. or Taiwan or even Israel for inspiration. As a matter of fact from an analysis of the speeches that we deliver in this House, we make very few references either to the U.S.S.R. or to the Peoples Republic of China, but it is still alleged that we look up to other countries for inspiration and they do not. That is by way of introduction merely because many have grown very lyrical over the achievements of the U.S.A., Israel and Taiwan.

As far as Taiwan is concerned, I do not know how actually Taiwan could be put as a model to us. The ruling clique, the coterie which is ruling Taiwan, that very coterie was responsible for the misdeeds and evil deeds that drove the Chinese

[Shri A. P. Chatterjee] people to revolution. Actually the Chinese people had driven that coterie out of the mainland, and that coterie is now nestling in the lap of American imperialism in that island. Before they were driven out from the mainland of China we know what happened there. We know how for a cup ' of tea one had to take a cartload of notes, in order to purchase a cup of tea. Even then it is very astonishing and surprising that there should be people in this House who will be referring to the coterie and clique of Taiwan for their inspiration as a model to this House. That was rather a surprising thing for me.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, without really looking to any other country for guidance and inspiration let us look to science, let us took to scientific methods for the purpose of eliminating our evils and for the purpose of solving our problems. As a socialist, as a Marxist, I feel that (here is one science which can solve the problems of the country, of any country, and which can also point out where the ills are, where the ills lie. That only gives a pointer to where the disease is. Unless you know where the disease is really, you cannot cure the disease. It is no use lamenting over our position, over our economic distress. It is no use lamenting over what has happened to our country. It is no use lamenting over the fact that every day the prices rise, that every day we cannot hold the price line which always goes ahead of us and we cannot really reach the price level with our wages. It is no use lamenting over all these things. The fact is this that we cannot solve any of the problems of our country we cannot really cure any of the ills of our country unless we really proceed see-tiflally to think what is the basis of these ills which we are suffering from.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, if you ride a horse, you cannot drive with your face towards the tail. If you ride a horse with your face towards the tail, however strongly you may whip the horse the whip will not carry the horse far nor the rider far. That is the position as far as this country is concerned. We are thinking of improving the lot of the common man. We are thinking of improving the condition of the country. What are we doing, what is our

Government doing for that purpoje7 Our Government is doing exactly this thing that it is simply putting premium on those forces which are really taking our country back, I mean the capitalist forces, the forces of capitalism, the forces of monopoly capitalism, which are taking our country back and which are the basis of all our ills.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know and the House knows that as far as this Congress Government are concerned, the Congress Government have during the eighteen years of their rule, or I would rather call it misrule, during eighteen years of their misrule they have been playing a seesaw game between control end decontrol. Now they are controlling and the next day they are decontrolling. If not the next diy— it may be rhetorical for me to say the next day—two or three years later they decontrol. This seesaw between control and decontrol, to whose benefit is this game played by the Congress Government? There is no answer to this and I will say that this goes to the benefit of the monopoly capitalists. Then the next question arises. Does the Congress Government consciously do this? I will say that the Congress Government consciously does this. Therefore, either the Congress Government is a fool! or a villain. Perhnps the Congress Government itself would not like me to call it a fool because nobody would like to be called a fool. Therefore, I will say that the Congress Government is a villain because knowing that they aie playing the game of the monopoly capitalists they are playing that game and yet deceiving the people and saying, "What can we do?" They are throwing up their hands to the heavens and snying, "What c^n we do? The economic forces, the forces of the law of economics are taking \is to where we do not know".

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARAN-IPYE (Nominated): Sir, there is no Minister in the House. I beg your pardon. He is there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RTJTHNASWAMY): The Minister is sitting in the wrong place.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERIEE: The Ministers do wrong things and sit io wrong

places also. *(Interruption)*. Sir, as I was submitting before the House, they throw up their hands to the heavens and they also expect us to throw up our hands to the heavens and say, "What can we do?" I can only cite a particular instance. You know that the other day there was a great water scarcity in Bombay, and for this water scarcity in Bombay who was responsible except the ruling class? Do you know what the Congress Government did? The Congress Government asked the Churches to ring their bells of prayer, the Mosques to sing their 'Azans' and the Temples to ring their bells of prayer again. They said: "It is God who is to blame, it is God who is to come to our help, to pray to God". Even the "Statesman" said that the Government and the administration were encouraging the people to do prayers in order that they might be taken out of the rut of water scarcity. What is this? This was merely the view of the administration in order that the people might be taken off their path of real protest against the misdeeds of the Congress Government towards the path of religious mysticism. *(Interruptions)*. The same machanism is practised elsewhere. The same ruse is practised upon the people everywhere. Therefore, when we say that the prices are high, that the economic conditions are too bad for the people, the Congress Government comes forward and says, there is the population growth, there are lesser rains, that the Government is hedged in by China on the one hand and by Pakistan on the other, as if there is no other country in the world whose frontiers are not surrounded by powerful nations, as if it is only our country with frontiers with powerful nations.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Powerful and hostile both.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Well, I think that there have been countries in the world where unfriendly countries may have been on their frontiers. But that had never taken the economy of that country to ruin. The economy of one country is never dependent upon whether a strong or a hostile nation lives on its frontiers. If anybody says that, then I will say that I will have to learn economics again. The economy of our country does not depend upon whether China is strong or whether

Pakistan is strong or whether there is any broadcast against us over (be Chinese radio or whether there is any broadcast against us over the Pakistan radio. The economy of a country depends upon its internal resources. I will tell you, Sir. Well, they have so long recited Israel and Taiwan, that rotten Taiwan. I even feel it a shame to utter the name of Taiwan whose ruling clique created misery on the mainland of China. Very well. They have taken their names. Let me take the sacred name of a socialist country, I mean, the USSR. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know that when the Soviet Union was born after the November, 1917 Revolution, fourteen nations invaded the Soviet Union, fourteen hostile nations on the frontier of that country. The shadow of a Chinese soldier comes across our frontier and thereafter we have banner headlines in our newspapers, saying that the Chinese are on the war path against India. *(Interruptions)*. Why, what is the ground? If the shadow of a Chinese is seen even that upsets anybody. *(Interruptions)* But then, Sir, after the 1917 Revolution, fourteen countries invaded the Soviet Union to prevent it from resuscitating its economy. Did that prevent the Soviet Union from consolidating its economy? *(Interruptions)* Well, they got their independence in 1917. And their First Five Year Plan was mooted in 1928 and if anybody knows the history of the Soviet Union, he would know that the economy was reconstructed, that means, the 1916 level was restored as early as 1923. And as you know, the civil war went on till about 1922 and they got their economy restored to the 1916 level as early as 1923 or 1924. And then their First Five Year Plan began. And from 1928 to 1933 they built up their economy though they were surrounded by capitalist and hostile nations. I say 'hostile' with deliberation and everybody would agree with it, at least Shri Arjun Arora will agree with me. After this First Five Year Plan between 1928 and 1933, they were so powerful as to withstand the might of Hitler and Germany. Sir, you know further that when the Second World War came—that was in 1939—German hordes invaded Soviet Union in 1941 and between 1941 and 1945 the Soviet nation lost one crore of men only.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is the price policy?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am just saying that it is not because of population or because of certain countries on their frontiers, but because of their internal resources, their economy improved. It is really the socialist law that will really determine whether a country can improve economically or not. That is the position.

I was submitting before you that after 1945, the Soviet Union was almost in ruins, so to say. After that big war, one crore of people died. But what do we find thereafter? Between 1945 and 1953, they not only restored the economic position that prevailed there in 1943. They even went further up, two-fold, three-fold. That was the position. Why was it so? It was so because they never had the capitalists, monopoly capitalists, to please, their policies were not hitched to the wagon of capitalism or to the wagon of monopoly capitalism. But what is happening here? Look at our State of West Bengal. There is the Chief Minister. But I should not refer to the Chief Minister by designation, let me refer to the Congress Government as such. The Congress Government there, in West Bengal, says, so far as food is concerned, what can we do? We are doing our utmost. But, Sir, you know that after the last disturbances in West Bengal between February and April, we had set up a non-official Enquiry Commission. That was presided over by three ex-Judges of the High Courts of Allahabad, Rajasthan and Calcutta and they came to this finding that yes, there was rice shortage no doubt. But that shortage could be got round. Even with that rice shortage, we could keep the people away from starvation. But where was the rub? The rub was in distribution. And why was this rub in distribution? It was because—the three ex-Judges of the three High Courts of India came to this finding—the jotedars and the blackmarketeers and the hoarders had cornered the foodstuffs in the State of West Bengal. Why did not the Congress Government do anything in the matter by taking out the hoarded foodstuffs from the clutches of these blackmarketeers and these traders in the blood of human beings? It was because their representatives are on the Congress Benches in the West Bengal Assembly. That is also in the Report itself. The Congress Government depends upon them for money, for the sinews of election funds

and for their support in the rural areas. That is why they cannot touch their skin. That is the position also in the case of monopoly interests. You were present in this House when cement decontrol was being discussed and you have seen how the Congress Government by decontrolling cement had really played into the hands of monopolists—why 'played into the hands', I should not use the word 'played'. By actually decontrolling cement they gave an opportunity to the cement monopolists to earn more and more profits.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): You have exceeded your time.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: They did it consciously because they are under their power, it is the class rule of the monopoly capitalists.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): Your time is up.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Two minutes more. I have taken only 15 minutes. There have been speakers who have taken half an hour and thirty-five minutes. It is only 15 minutes now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): You spent a lot of time on Russia.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I will finish within two minutes because it is your order.

Therefore, these are the concluding observations which I make here. I see the anxiety of the Members on the Congress Benches. I appreciate that anxiety and I give credit of honesty to those Members on the Congress Benches who have expressed their worry and anxiety about the rise in prices. They have expressed their anxiety about the economic chaos prevailing in the country. But I can tell the Congress friends, those friends on the Congress Benches: The way in which your Government is taking the country is not the way in which the crisis can be solved. If you want to have the crisis solved, have real socialism, not the socialistic pattern, that hoax which was made out at Bhubaneswar and which was hatched, I

think, at Indore or somewhere. I forget the name of the place. It was hatched, and then it was made out in Bhubaneswar. Then Mrs. Indira Gandhi the other day said, "If it is necessary I shall go away from the paths of my dear father if it is necessary in the interest of the country". She has already done that.

SHRI A. D. MANI: She denied it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Has she denied it? Anyway, it was in the press. In any event the point is this. That is not the way in which this economic crisis has to be solved. That is not the way in which prices have to be lowered. The only way in which the prices can be lowered down, the only way in which the economy of this country can be improved is the way of socialism, socialism not of the Congress brand but socialism in which the capitalists will be expropriated. Until that day comes, the expropriation of the capitalists, the expropriation of the monopoly capitalists, well, our country will not improve. Of course, that day is coming very soon in spite of the wishes of the Congress Government.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would limit my speech only on the specific subject that the motion has brought before us, that is, the price rise, I am not interested to speak on what is happening in Taiwan or in Israel or in the Soviet Union or in the U.S.A. We are concerned in this august House with a very dangerous question facing the entire country today, namely the prices.

Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, you are well aware that the prices of essential commodities in our country have been constantly rising for some three years past and this abnormal magnitude, this abnormality is still continuing^ there is no halt to this abnormality.

Sir, so far as I have studied the small booklet distributed to us by the Government of India, entitled the "Economic Survey of India", herein regarding the price increase it is stated that during the three years ending March 1966 the price level rose by 36.5 per cent. The wholesale price of foodgrains rose by 42.1 per cent and the working class consumers' price index

rose by 33.8 per cent. Sir, I have also other figures to show that the working class consumers' price index for the Calcutta centre, for the Bombay centre and for the Nagpur centre—well, I do not want to take much of my time simply quoting these figures—have registered an abnormal increase, and this abnormality has no end. What I am constrained to say is—as my hon'ble friend who moved this resolution said—that the price rise has been abnormal. Well, I have got no point to argue with him about that. Sir, I am constrained to observe here through you and communicate to the Ministry and the Government that this price rise as recorded in the Government's Economic Survey of India is not the true reflection of the actual price prevailing in the market. So far as my experience goes, you will find, Sir, that the price noted by the Government of India is not the actual price with which you are to buy essential commodities in the market. In West Bengal, Sir, you would kindly note that rice sells at the rate of Rs. 2 per K.G. : it never sells in the open market at rates less than Rs. 1.50 per K.G.

Sir, if you had any chance of listening to the All India Radio price bulletin, you will be astonished to find that they are quoting certain prices which are absolutely imaginary or hypothetical. The A.I.R. bulletin says that onion is available at the rate of 37 paise on Delhi. But if you actually go to the market, you will find that onion sells at the rate of not less than 75 paise per K.G. I do not like to increase the number of examples of this type as announced by the Government and the All India Radio, the mouth-piece of the Government. My point is this. The cost of living index, which has been circulated to us, does not actually correspond with the actual price prevailing in the market. Therefore, Sir, I would like to bring it to your kind notice that the working class of Maharashtra had to fight a very grim and stubborn struggle against the Government in order to highlight these very points. The Calcutta organisation which prepares the cost of living index on the basis of the prices prevailing in the imaginary world does not give the actual prices. It gives fictitious, hypothetical and imaginary prices.

Sir, I do not want to dwell much on this point, But these are prices which are

(Shri Chitta Bam) called abnormal though the actual price in the open market is much more higher than this. Now, Sir, when that is the position, what does the Government want to do? They make pious declarations in season and out of season that she and her Government is engaged in the grim battle against price rise. But what I have found of the Government policies so far announced and the Government policies so far accepted is this that what they have done is very meagre. The Government announced that they would appoint a Commissioner of Civil Supplies. They announced that they had appointed a Cabinet Sub-Committee. They announced that they wanted to amend the Essential Commodities Act in this behalf. What have they done? They have frequently made appeals to the business community not to raise the prices of essential commodities. And finally, they want to check the price rise by opening consumer cooperative stores. Sir, they say that they would go and analyse all these things point by point. But you find that nothing has resulted which may check the price rise.

Sir, the post of the Commissioner of Civil Supplies has been created but nobody has been appointed against it. Even if he were appointed, what are his duties? What I have heard and learnt from the newspaper reports is that his duty would be simply to keep track over the price movement. He has only to get recorded price movements in the different parts of the country. Does this simple work of recording price movements bring down the price? This is my question to my friends opposite.

Then, what will the Cabinet Sub-Committee do? They will do the same thing as we have witnessed in the past. They will be simply discussing and noting on

the margins of the files needlessly, fruitlessly and laboriously. I do not know who are there of the Sub-Committee. But the work which this Sub-Committee is supposed to do is already being done in the Secretariat. Therefore, can this Sub-Committee bring down the prices? This Cabinet Sub-Committee is not going to yield any results for the people suffering outside.

Sir, then there comes the question of regular, frequent appeals to the business community. Our Prime Minister and other Ministers continue making appeals to the business community that they should behave as good citizens of the country, that they should not charge more, that they should not make huge profit out of the miseries of the people and that they should hold the price-line.

The merchants say: 'Give us more concessions, decontrol and do not do anything which makes us angry.' Therefore there is reciprocity. Sir, I want some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): But the time is not unlimited. You have only fifteen minutes and you have exhausted it already. Will you finish in five minutes?

SHRI CHITTA BASU: It is very important. I have many more points to make. I will take at least another ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): The House will now adjourn to meet again on Monday at 11 o'clock.

The House then adjourned at one minute past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 1st of August, 1966.