

[Shri Uma Shanker Dikshit]

President in pursuance of sub-clause (i) clause (c) of the above Proclamation, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 156(E) in Gazette of India dated the 3rd March. 1973.

(3) A copy of the Report dated the 1st March, 1973 of the Governor of Orissa to the President.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-4376/73].

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY:
Will it be circulated?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, it will be circulated.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE SEVENTY-SEVENTH REPORT

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur): I beg to present the Seventy-seventh Report of the Public Accounts Committee on paragraphs relating to Financial Results and Earnings of the Railways included in the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year 1970-71 Union Government (Railways).

13.45 hrs.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (RAILWAYS) 1972-73

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): Sir, I beg to present a statement showing Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget (Railways) For 1972-73.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Sir, I want to draw the attention of the Government to the grave crisis facing the rubber growers in Kerala. The production of the tyre factories has been reduced drastically because of the power cut. So, the off take of natural rubber by the

tyre factories is very much less. Now, only 50 per cent of the total production of rubber is consumed by the tyre factories. So, there is a glut in rubber in the market. Unfortunately, at such a time, the Government of India have sanctioned the import of natural rubber. So, I would like the Government to make a statement on this.

MR. SPEAKER: He can talk to his friend the Minister and get a reply.

MR. SPEAKER: The Law Minister will come on the 7th.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: (Diamond Harbour): Sir, what about item No. 14-B?

MR. SPEAKER: I am not permitting it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Would he like to speak after lunch?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I will always bow down to the Chair. Here is a concrete example. The moment you say it, I obey it.

MR. SPEAKER: I am not going to be satisfied with these minor concessions.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): This obedience is because of the lunch.

13.48 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch
till Fifteen of the Clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after
lunch at four minutes past Fifteen of
the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

MOTION RE: INCREASE IN PRICES OF FOODSTUFFS AND OTHER ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: (Diamond Harbour): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House is alarmed and distressed at the continuous increase in prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities and the Government's failure to arrest the same."

We Indians are about the poorest in the world and we are getting poor to poorer every day. Yet, in this country, we have recorded the highest price rise in the world.

What do we see here? I quote:

"Prices have been rising since 1956. Between 1956-66, (Second and Third Plan period) the price level went up by 80 per cent. From 1960 till now, by another 56 per cent; in the past one year by 8 per cent. The increase in consumer prices is much more.

Refuting official explanation to the effect that prices are rising all over the world. This is true, but the world price level rose by about 40 per cent in the last 9 years while in India it went up by over 90 per cent. Moreover the impact of even 1 per cent. price increase in India is much greater than a 5 per cent increase in economically developed countries."

This is what the *Tribune* of July 29, 1972 says:

"International Labour Office data reveal that in July, 1971, the general price index had risen by 90 per cent in India;

"while the corresponding percentage for some other countries: were Kenya 18.6 Shri Lanka 29.5 Thailand 19.1, Iran 17, Mexico 28.4 and Pakistan 45.1....."

The figures for the developed countries reflect the same range:

"Canada 30.2, USA 32.4, Australia 32.5...."

The highest percentages abroad has been in Japan, i.e., 52.8. But that country's economy stands in a class apart.

So, Sir, the condition in this country has been really miserable.

What about wholesale price index? The index numbers of wholesale prices with base year 1961-62 being 100, have jumped, from 1962 to 1972, to 200.7 and given the same momentum, it is quite likely that, during the financial year 1972-73, the price rise would be of the order of 15 per cent, if not more—even exceeding the dubious record of 1966-67 when prices rose by something of the order of 14 per cent.

The second depressing feature of the price situation is that the usual post-harvest decline in prices was conspicuous by its absence. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the consumer price index for industrial workers, all-India, was 169 in 1965-66, and it was 254 in October 1972. This is also a fraud. Mr. Chavan is living in a fool's paradise, because he had given an assurance.

Here it is said:

"The assurance of the Finance Minister Mr. Y. B. Chavan, today at the Congress Parliamentary Party general body meeting that the prices would show a downward trend in the next few weeks did not seem to satisfy many members Is he not living in a fool's paradise?"

This was on 12th August, 1972. I feel sorry for Mr. Chavan's ignorance.

Here the Food Minister's statement of 21st February 1973, says:

"After showing the usual seasonal fall during October-December, 1972, the prices of cereals have again shown an upward trend. The rise in the prices of coarse cereals has been particularly pronounced. The index of wholesale prices of cereals on 3rd February 1973 was higher than last year's corresponding index by 16.2 per cent."

[Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu]

This is such a silliest thing as this. Actually, every time, it has been a post-Budget feature. And today it is not less than 280 points compared to the base year that we have taken.

A survey conducted in 25 big cities shows this tremendous rise, without any exception, somewhere even 300 per cent., and there has been no sign of any effort on the part of the Government to arrest the deterioration, not to talk about improvement in the situation. *The Economic Times*, in a very interesting article, has said:

"Organisation of consumers interviewed appear to be alarmed at the seeming collusion between Government and the price racketeers...."

Mr. Chavan colluding with the monopolists.... (*Interruptions*).

'....for the Government seems to endorse the price increases effected by wholesalers and retailers.'

It also says:

"Bread prices have increased in the city by 5 to 10 paise a loaf. Atta is dearer by 30 per cent than six months ago. Maida prices are higher by 40 per cent...."

It is much more than that.

"What is more distressing is that retail prices are rising out of all proportions to the increase in wholesale prices, eroding the income of the average consumer."

It also says:

"Three things stand out in the mind of the ordinary consumer. (1) He has no protection from the onslaught of the rising prices. (2) As in the case of milk' price are raised by the Government without a thought on the impact of the hike on the consumer. (3) The prices can be raised with impunity; as in the case of sugar which is in

short supply but public distribution of which has been drastically cut and as in the case of cotton cloth prices of which have been raised despite sharp fall in the prices of cotton."

It also says:

"The Essential Commodities Act can be flouted as reflected by the fact that electric bulb prices are 10 to 20 per cent above the official price list.."

And this morning we have debated Mr K. C. Modi and how the black-marketeers are protected and they are allowed to prosper. That is an example. It is strange that though there is actual shortage, you can get any quantity at a particular price.

If you go to the aspect of adulteration, you will be surprised that there are 32 artificial items which they mix, like vaseline, petroleum jelly which is very dangerous to your health in cooking oil, particularly, Dalda. I have got samples of of turmeric powder which is a mixture of soap stone and lead chromate. Even chilli powder is adulterated and even in children's toffee and sweets they mix soap stone. Atta is adulterated with powdered old and dried chappati and with dhal they are mixing seeds which are indigestible and they mix mineral oil with mustard oil which is causing all sorts diseases.

Now we have talked about this flour mill where one lakh quintals of wheat were found. Here, the Prime Minister speaks, 'Catch hold of the black-marketeers and hang them by the nearest lamp-post'. How hollow it sounds! You can judge it yourself. The Prime Minister's speech reminds me of that Pakistan economist—Makbool Haque. She has been badly let down. It seems that she did not know what she was talking about.

Her speech made earlier, according to the *Hindustan Times*, attributed the price rise to inflation:

"I am told that prices have shown some decline...."

And this is 13th July 1972:

"...and I expect them to come down further."

"She said price rise was not peculiar to India. There was hardly any country in the world where the prices had not risen. She maintained that in a developing economy, certain amount of price rise was inevitable. What the Government could do and was trying to do was to see that the poorer sections were assured of their basic needs at fair prices."

You can understand what a cheap joke it is.

The *Indian Express* has very rightly said:

"The Prime Minister seems to derive some sort of comfort from the fact that prices are showing an upward trend in many parts of the world. That prices are also rising in Timbucto is poor consolation for the Indian householder who has to pay more for almost everything he needs to buy. Moreover, it is not clear how inflation in America or Britain has raised the price of eggs in India by 13 per cent and that of milk by 8 per cent in a single week. Mrs. Gandhi attributed this to seasonal factors. Considering that prices have been rising in and out of season and that they never come back in their original level, the lean season in this country would seem to last the whole year."

That is the position.

The Prime Minister's speech in the current Budget session was devoid of any truth. She has misled the House. She has said:

"The other matter of great concern to us is that the rise in prices of food. A situation of shortfall in agricultural production has been exploited and a psychology of scarcity has been created...."

Now, I want to ask in that connection the hon. Prime Minister through Mr. Chavan how without her connivance this could have happened? Is it not a surrender to the monopolists? If we produced less, we will eat less but why prices are rising so speedily. 'A psychology of scarcity has been created.' By whom? The Congress Ministers made forecasts of scarcity to help hoarders and black-marketeers. The *Economic and Political Weekly* has rightly said that if we have such Ministers who say such things, why do you need black-marketeers to give us price hike in the country?

The crux of the thing is a complete surrender by this Government to the monopolists and this is being done in return to the services rendered. Which idiot in this country or in this House will believe that the monopolists have been paying Mrs. Gandhi and her Party liberally to bring socialism and to commit suicide. The scare was created by arrangement and by scarcity fore-casters and the Food Ministry also by creating hopes in the minds of the people and by talking about the myth of green revolution.

Around the 9th or 10th August last year the Food Minister said that the shortfall will be to the tune of 15 million tonnes. The Finance Minister and the Planning Minister said—I am quoting *Indian Express*:

"The Chief Ministers who have assembled here to consider the question of the take-over of the foodgrains trade, heard the Finance Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, outline the grim nature of the food situation which the Planning Minister, Mr. D. P. Dhar, thought might

[Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu]

warrant a reduction in the quantum of the issue of foodgrains where informal rationing is in force."

Mr. Chavan, you are creating a scare in the minds of the people to give benefit to the hoarders and the black-marketeers. How do they help? Take for example, how the Government of India has been helping these big producers, hoarders and black-marketeers and profiteers?

Let us take the case of sugar. From the very beginning at the recovery stage they have been stealing with the connivance of the Government. At the recovery stage, they have been bidding undershooting to the extent of 20 per cent and the Government had posted Excise Inspectors and they also fixed their monthly bribe which was Rs. 2000 so that they could shut their eyes when the actual recovery which was 10.4 per cent could be shown by them as 9.4 per cent and later on the Government has become a great believer of the monopolists and sugar tycoons and I have also stated it before and there has been no contradiction, that they have paid not less than Rs. 8.6 crores in the last elections. They were allowed to do so under the self assessment scheme. How pious are our tycoons in the minds of the people?

I come to the pre-decontrolled figure of 1971—this is done very recently. They were allowed Rs. 1800 per a metric tonne of 1700 kg and the production was to the extent of 34 lakhs tonnes and out of it, 65 per cent is the levy sugar and the balance 35 per cent plus the hidden production by undershooting the recovery of 15 per cent and that makes it 50 out of 115. On the levy sugar also there is a hidden profit which gives them about Rs. 24 crores a year. The *Deccan Herald* has very rightly mentioned that by conservative estimates in one year the sugar tycoons were allowed to make about Rs. 200 crores. It has rightly pointed out:

"The sugar mills have not worked in the national interests and their activities have in the last one year earned them, according to a conservative computation, over Rs. 200 crores by what is euphemistically called market sale of sugar. That this is considered exploitation of the people in their distress none would doubt. But what is shocking is inactivity of the Government . . ."

Of course, for consideration.

" . . . There have been repeated appeals, threats and pleas made to the sugar industrialists not to profiteer on the one side and also to let the cane growers on the other by depressing recovery rates of the cane. More than a mere suspicion exists in public mind that such activities openly conducted and acquiesced in by the administration could not have happened unless there is official connivance at higher levels."

I am charging Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan and his Government that they have been conniving with these tycoons to allow them to plunder the common man and get a share out of it for themselves. I have mentioned once before, and I do not want to go very further, that this Rs. 8.64 crores brought them this opportunity. The money went to the *bahujis*, there are many *bahujis* in the country, ruling the country, receiving money and finally this money finds its way into the party funds. I do not want to talk about the treasurer of the Congress Party who has been piously defending the interest of Ms. Modi this morning, who had hoarded one lakh quintals of wheat to sell it at Rs. 400 a quintal while he had purchased it at Rs. 80 a quintal.

In spite of this, Government have paid a subsidy to the sugar industry to the tune of Rs. 70.13 crores during the period 1961—76. I am afraid I do not have the figures after that. My source is the Reserve Bank's survey.

Then, we come to procurement. Look at procurement. Because big people must be allowed to buy and hoard, and big jotdars must be allowed to sell their stuff at their price, therefore, they must be given enough freedom to obstruct procurement. The *Times of India* says:

"Till now, hardly 1.5 million tonnes of rice have been procured, and if existing trends are any indication, aggregate procurement is unlikely to exceed 2.3 million tonnes. The position in coarse grains is much worse, and even 1.50 lakhs tonnes of these grains are not expected to be procured over the entire country, despite the fact that their output, even in the difficult years, will be around 16 to 17 million tonnes. The failure to procure in a year, when the demand of the public distribution system is enormously increased, should be described as what is colossal administrative debacle. The failure to procure, is, therefore, essentially the failure of the political and administrative will. None of the Chief Ministers seemingly wants to alienate those elements in the countryside which constitute their hard core of support, namely the surplus farmers and proprietors. There have been other failures too."

That is the position, and that is how they are allowing blood-suckers to prosper and go unpunished, and that is how they are being encouraged. I shall go further to show this.

Again, what happened to the Food Corporation scandal? We want to know whether a reorganisation has been done, and what steps have been taken against those offenders and culprits who have been bungling with the Food Corporation's money? I know a lot of money went to the party funds. There had been a report published by the West Bengal Government—Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi will know this—which was a confidential report which was out only about two days

ago. It is the Report of the Committee on Quality Control on Foodgrains. It says that even if 10 per cent of the total value of Rs. 210 crores be considered as stolen, the figure comes to Rs. 21 crores. Still why do they go unpunished? Where did they market the stolen product? We want answers from Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan these questions here and now.

There has been failure in rationing in Bombay and Calcutta, and it has been drastically reduced and black-marketing has been encouraged, and modified rationing, in fact, has stopped.

The Agriculture Ministry has a cell called sugar and Dalda cell. I know that there are people who are on the pay-roll of firms like Hindustan Levers and others. There is a man called Jain; we want to know the value of his assets, and we want to know if Government will institute an inquiry through the CBI and find out how well they have prospered. After all, at the end of everything comes the ruling party, above all, the fountain-head, not the shadows but the substance of it.

Then, I come to the pro-monopoly fiscal misdeeds. The *Economic Review* had very rightly said: about monetary developments and credit policies:

"During the last few years, money supply with the public has been growing at an accelerated rate, the annual rate of increase in money supply having risen from 10.8 per cent in 1969-70 to 11.1 per cent in 1970-71 and further to 12.9 per cent in 1971-72. At the same time, the growth of real national output has witnessed a declaration. The annual rate of growth declined from 7.3 per cent in 1969-70 to 4.6 per cent in 1970-71 and is estimated to have declined still further to less than 2 per cent in 1971-72."

As a consequence the imbalance between aggregate demand and aggregate supply in the economy has tended to

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widen. The analysis of the monetary data reveals that in 1969-70 the major expansionary influence on money supply emanated from the country's balance of payments transactions and the increase in the net bank credit of the commercial sector."

It is a creation, it is the misdeed of the government itself.

About deficit financing in 1969-70 the actual was Rs. 46 crores; in 1970-71 the actual was 285 crores; in 1971-72 the actual was Rs. 385 crores. In 1972-73 the budget estimate was Rs. 251 crores but then through the back-door a revised estimate was made of Rs. 550 crores. It did not include the overdrafts given to the States which ran to Rs. 400 crores. So, the total deficit financing was Rs. 971 crores which Mr. Chavan skillfully hid from public eyes.

The credit policies are equally disastrous. There is no coordination with the object of price control. The Reserve Bank of India has failed and there should be a thorough probe immediately of the activities of the Reserve Bank. The Reserve Bank is supposed to control fiscal measures of this country and put a check on prices but it has failed to do so. They have created big buildings and only God knows how much money has been wasted. What is their performance? We want to have a thorough probe into the activities of the Reserve Bank of India.

Now, I take up selective credit control and credit squeeze. I want to ask what is the performance. What is the outcome? What have you derived out of it and what is your trick? You talk about credit squeeze. You do it in a blanket way. You grant it to tycoons dealing in sugar, textiles, etc. You cut on the one side and he switches the money to the other, and as such your whole purpose is defeated. This is your policy. What about indirect taxation? You have said after taking all these changes into

consideration the overall—how evasive you are Mr. Chavan—budgetary deficit will still be Rs. 550 crores. This figure excludes Rs. 421 crores loans to States for clearance of over-drafts. Now I come to indirect taxation. How it has grown and the disadvantage of it is that it spirals down multiplying itself by leaps and bounds on the common man. The rich are spared. For 1966-67 your direct taxes are 58.72 crores and in 1967-68 it was 5 crores whereas the indirect taxes were 42.79 and 67.71 crores respectively. 1968-69 the direct taxes were Rs. 10 crores and the indirect taxes 55.73 crores. In 1969-70 the direct taxes were 13.50 crores whereas the indirect taxes were Rs. 108.84 crores. In 1970-71 the direct taxes were Rs. 13.75 crores whereas the indirect taxes were Rs. 153.41 crores. In 1971-72 the direct taxes were Rs. 27 crores and the indirect taxes 174.35 crores. As regards the 1972-73 and 1973-74 the budget estimates are 16.5 and 18.6 crores respectively whereas the indirect taxes are Rs. 155.1 crores and 273.57 crores.

In support of what I have said just now. I quote from the *Illustrated Weekly*:

"In India, for example, there appears to have been in recent years a distinct shift of income in favour of the rich farmers, traders, smugglers, speculators, contractors and propertied classes at the expense of the rest of the community (more particularly at the expense of the fixed income classes and weaker elements). And since India's rate of growth of output has slackened, the considerable shifts in relative prices accentuated income inequalities and social tension besides eroding money value and impairing incentives to save and invest".

Then about unproductive expenditure? How is it going up? In 1950-51 under Administrative Services, it is nil; police Rs. 3 crores, debt services nil. In 1963-64, Administrative services Rs. 77.37 crores, police Rs. 25.07

crores, foreign debt services Rs. 278.35 crores. Look at the budget estimate for 1973-74. We do not know what is actually in store for us. Administrative services expenditure Rs. 279.44, police Rs. 124.37 crores, debt services Rs. 834.85 crores. Money raised from the common man in the form of additional taxation is being diverted to unproductive and non-plan expenditure mainly to strengthen the bureaucratic and police machinery in the country so that the ruling classes are protected.

Let us take the example of defence expenditure. Shri Chavan claimed to be holding the defence budget. But in the last two years, he has spent Rs. 200 crores every year more than what he had promised. How does he expect to hold the price line when the price of everything is going up for the maintenance of the defence services, for the maintenance of the police? Accommodation costs more, uniform will cost more, food will cost more because you are required to give a certain amount of calories to keep the soldier in trim. He is no magician who can say that these will be procured at fixed prices to suit his convenience.

I come to the final item. Here is an abstract from a beautiful editorial in the *Hindustan Times*:

"Underlying the crisis is surely the very poor economic management, indecision and drift for which the Government must squarely own responsibility".

On top of this, the rampant corruption, both collective and individual, money collections by the political party from the tycoons and monopolists promising them the opportunity to plunder the common working man, is working at the root of it. For every item of plunder, the monopolists have been made to pay money to the coffers of the ruling party, namely, the Indian National Congress, no doubt in return, to consolidate themselves

politically, to remain in power and to fill their own pockets, they have surrendered to the monopolists and driven the common man who earns his livelihood at the cost of his sweat and blood to utter desperation and distress.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That this House is alarmed and distressed at the continuous increase in prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities and Government's failure to arrest the same."

डा० कैलास (बम्बई-दक्षिण)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के पहले कि मैं इस अहम और गहन प्रश्न पर अपने विचार सदन के सामने रखूँ मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु तथा प्रोफेसर समर गुहा को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने सभासदों को अपने विचार व्यक्त करने के लिए तो मौका दिया ही लेकिन सरकार को भी कीमतों को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिए क्या क्या उपाय किये हैं सदन के सामने रखने का भी उन्होंने मौका दिया। मैं चाहता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु अपने भाषण में राजनीति को न ला कर कांग्रेस पार्टी या सत्ताकूट पार्टी के विरुद्ध बात न करते हुए किन किन उपायों से कीमतें रोकी जा सकती हैं उन पर अगर कुछ विचार प्रकट किये होते तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता। इस में कोई शक नहीं ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने रिजर्व बैंक से लेकर मार्केट में होर्डिंग की परिभाषा और उन को बुरा भला यह सब कुछ कहा लेकिन कहीं भी अपने भाषण में उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि क्या ऐसे कदम उठाये जाने चाहिए जिन से अब कीमतें न बढ़ें या स्थिर हो जायें या उन का रुख घटने की तरफ हो जाय। मैं जिस प्रकार इस प्रश्न को समझ पाया हूँ या मैं समझता हूँ कि 1967 के शायद साठे मंसार में इस प्रकार का एक वातावरण पैदा हुआ है कि सभी देशों में

[डा० कैलास]

रोजमर्रा के काम में आने वाली चीजों के दाम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने भी कुछ आंकड़े सभा सदन के सामने पेश किये और मैं भी कुछ आंकड़े पेश करना चाहता हूँ। उन से यह सिद्ध हो जायगा कि चाहे विकसित देश हो या विकासशील देश हों उन में किस तरह से मूल्य बढ़े हैं ये आंकड़े 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970 और 1971 के हैं। इस से साफ जाहिर होगा कि जितनी कीमतें और देशों में बढ़ी हैं चाहे वह विकसित देश हों चाहे विकासशील देश हों, केन्द्रीय सरकार की सफल नीतियों के कारण कीमतों की वृद्धि में भारत का नम्बर उन में सब से आखिरी है। समय तो थोड़ा सा लगेगा लेकिन मैं एक मिनट में थोड़े से आंकड़े उपाध्यक्ष जी, आप के सामने रख देना चाहता हूँ। मैं फ्रांस का उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूँ। अगर हम इन्डेक्स नम्बर आफ होलसेल प्राइसेस 1963 का 100 मान कर चलें तो फ्रांस में 19.6 परसेंट प्राइस राइज 1971 तक में हुआ है। फ्रांस में 1967 में इंडस्ट्रियल प्राइक्वट्स में 106.3 और फार्म प्राइक्वट्स में, जिस में गेहूँ, चावल, दाल वगैरह सब आता है, 104.6 प्राइस इंडेक्स था। 1968 में इंडस्ट्रियल प्राइक्वट्स में 104.6 और फार्म प्राइक्वट्स में 108.0 था। 1969 में 115.8 और 116.0 हो गया। 1970 में 124.0 और 123.0 यह इंडेक्स था। इसी प्रकार 1971 में इंडस्ट्रियल प्राइक्वट्स में 127.1 हो गया और उस के फार्म प्राइक्वट्स के आंकड़े इस समय मेरे पास नहीं हैं।

दूसरा उदाहरण मैं न्यूजीलैंड का देना चाहता हूँ। 1967 में 1106.9, 1968 में 114.9, 1969 में 121.0, 1970 में 127.1 तथा 1971 में 137.1 होलसेल प्राइसेज का इंडेक्स था। अगर हम परसेंटेज आफ प्राइम राइज बीटवीन 1967 और 1971 निकालें तो वह 28.3 परसेंट आता है न्यूजीलैंड का।

इसी तरह यूनाइटेड किंगडम का भी देखें तो 1967 में 107.5, 1968 में 117.3, 1969 में 121.4, 1970 में 126.0 और 1971 में 132.4 प्राइस इंडेक्स था। अर्थात् 23.2 प्रतिशत वृद्धि मूल्यों में हुई है ये वृद्धि 1967 से 1971 के बीच में हुई है।

यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स के भी मैं आंकड़े बताना चाहता हूँ लेकिन उस में समय लगेगा। इसलिए सिर्फ वृद्धि की परसेंटेज देना चाहूंगा। वहां 13.9 प्रतिशत वृद्धि मूल्यों में हुई है 1967 और 1971 के बीच में। अजेन्टाइना में 88.1 प्रतिशत, ब्राजील में 120.0 प्रतिशत और हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ देखें तो उसके आंकड़े इस प्रकार हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में प्राइम इंडेक्स था 1967 में 154.0, 1968 में 153.0, 1969 में 156.0, 1970 में 166.0 तथा 1971 में 172.0 इस प्रकार से यह प्राइस इंडेक्स रहा है। इसका मतलब यह है कि भारत में मूल्य वृद्धि 11.7 प्रतिशत होलसेल कीमतों में हुई है।

मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह क्यों हुआ? एक तो चीजों का उत्पादन कम हो रहा है और दूसरे हमारी जनसंख्या निरन्तर बढ़ती चली जा रही है। लेकिन मैंने इस दूसरे दृष्टिकोण से सोचने का प्रयत्न किया है। संसार में जिस प्रकार पहले सरस्वती का राज्य था अर्थात् बुद्धि का जिस प्रकार राज्य था आज उसके स्थान पर लक्ष्मी राज्य कर रही है जिन्हें हम मोनोपोली हाउसेज कहें या लक्ष्मीपति कहें या जिनके हाथ में पास फाइनेंशियल इकानामिक पावर हैं ऐसे लोग राज्य कर रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में वर्ल्ड फिनामिनल के हिसाब से अगर लक्ष्मी का राज्य हटाकर, बुद्धि का राज केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकार में रहे तो लक्ष्मी की कीमत घटानी शुरू होगी लक्ष्मी जल्दी पैदा करने के जो तरीकें हैं और इन लोगों ने अब तक जो तरीका अपनाया हुआ है ब्लैक-मार्किटिंग करके होर्डिंग करके अण्डर या ओवर इन्वा-

इसिंग से जो रुपया कमाया जाता है उस पर अगर पूरा अंकुश लगे तब भी मूल्यों में अन्तर पड़ सकेगा। लक्ष्मी की कीमत घटाना कोई आसान काम नहीं है क्या इसी-लिये सरकार को डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करना पड़ रहा है।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु साहब जरूर हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी के बारे में यह कहे कि ओवर-इन्फ्लिंग राज्य सरकारों ने किया था उसका उन्होंने बजट में कोई जिक्र नहीं किया है

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्वाण :
जिक्र किया है।

डा० कैलास : आपने जिक्र किया है। इसीलिये मैं कह रहा हूँ कि जो बात वित्त मंत्री ने कही है उसको भी झुठलाना और जो नहीं कही है उसको तो झुठलाना इनका काम है। पर इस प्रकार बात करने से क्या फायदा है ?

इसलिये मैं कह रहा था कि जब तक केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारें इन धनपतियों का जिन्होंने राज्य सरकारों पर प्रभाव डाला हुआ है, केन्द्र सरकार पर प्रभाव डाला हुआ है, जिन्होंने राजनीति को अपने हाथ में लेने की कोशिश की है, जब तक उनका सम्मान नहीं घटेगा तब तक कीमतें घटना कठिन है। रिपब्लिक-डे पर मैं देखता हूँ मैंम्बर पार्लियामेंट होने के नाते मुझे एक खण्ड में बैठने का मौका मिलता है लेकिन जब मैं न असेम्बली में था और न लोक सभा में था तो मुझे मालूम नहीं मेरा नम्बर कहां आता, चाहे मैं कितना ही अच्छा सोशल-वर्कर क्यों न होऊँ। लेकिन जिस आदमी को केद हो चुकी है, जो जेल गया है उसको फ्रंट रो और सैकण्ड रो में बैठे हुये देखा गया है। हम चाहे जितनी सोश-लिज्म की बात करें, लेकिन जब भी हमारी ज्य सरकारों या केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ

से रिपब्लिक-डे या 15 अगस्त के जलसे होते हैं, वहां धनवालों को, ब्लैक-मार्केटियर्स को, डिफाल्टर्स को, जिन्होंने जनता और सरकार को धोखा देने का काम किया है उनको सम्मान दिया जाता रहेगा तब तक धन की ख्याति घटेगी नहीं। हमें इस वातावरण को बदलना है तथा जब तक उत्पादन को नहीं बढ़ायेंगे, जनसंख्या को नहीं घटायेंगे तब तक यह मूल्य वृद्धि का मामला जल्दी सुलझने वाला नहीं है।

फिर भी मुझे कुछ बातें आपके सामने ऐसी रखनी पड़ेंगी जिन से यह जाहिर हो जाएगा कि इस देश में 11.9 प्रतिशत जो बढ़ा है, वह कहीं और ज्यादा बढ़ जाता इतना न बढ़ता, अगर ये विपत्तियां हमारे सामने नहीं आतीं। यदि हमारे सामने 90 लाख या एक करोड़ रिफ्यूजी न आते और उनको खाना न खिलाना पड़ता जिसका असर आज होने जा रहा है तो शायद यह 11.9 प्रतिशत घटकर केवल प्रतिशत ही होता। अगर 14 दिन का पाकिस्तान का युद्ध हम पर न थोपा जाता। तो शायद यह घट कर 10 प्रतिशत के बजाय 8 प्रतिशत ही रह जाता। सूखा न पड़ता तो यह 6 प्रतिशत होता।

असली कारण मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ— जिसके बारे में अब कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं, पहले नहीं उठाये गये, इसका मुझे दुःख है इरीगेशन का—जब हम यह जानते हैं कि देश में इस वर्ष वर्षा किसी हिस्से में नहीं आती है कहीं ज्यादा आ जाती है। इस बात का ज्ञान होते हुये भी हमने माइनर-इरीगेशन स्कीम और मीडियम इरीगेशन स्कीम पर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया। यह भारी गलती है। हो सकता है कि हमें ऐसा मालूम न था कि हमारे मेजर

[डा० कैलास]

प्रोजेक्ट जिससे बिजली का उत्पादन होने वाला है, तथा सिंचाई के लिये पानी मिलने वाला है, उनमें देर लगेगी या वे समय पर धोखा दे जायेंगे। लेकिन अब हम ऐसी गलती नहीं करें तो ठीक होगा।

इतना ही नहीं सारे संवार के लिये आलं वर्ल्ड हेल्थ आर्गेनाइजेशन भी यह सोच रही है कि संसार की जनसंख्या इतनी बढ़ती जा रही है और खाने का उत्पादन कम होता जा रहा है—इस समस्या का किस प्रकार समाधान किया जाय। आज सिर्फ पार्लियामेंट ही इस पर विचार नहीं कर रही है, पर सारा संसार इस प्रश्न पर विचार कर रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में हमारी सरकार ने जो कदम उठाये हैं अब मैं थोड़ा सा उनको आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अगर एक चीज का दाम बढ़ता है तो उसके साथ दूसरी चीजों के भी दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। जैसे बजट में एक चीज पर कर लगाया गया है, लेकिन दूध पर तो कर नहीं लगाया गया, साग-सब्जी पर तो कर नहीं लगाया गया, परन्तु उसके दाम भी बढ़ गये। फलों पर तो कर नहीं लगाया गया लेकिन फलों के दाम भी बढ़ गये। यह भावनात्मक वृद्धि है। इस प्रकार के जो दाम बढ़ते हैं उनको रोकने के लिये दूसरा उपाय हमें ने इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन पर भी पूरा ध्यान देना होगा। इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन में जो हमारी आवश्यक चीजें हैं जिनके कारण हमारे उत्पादन में कमी आ रही है वे हैं: लोहा और सीमेंट। फर्टिलाइजर का भी इसमें महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। अपने छोटे कारखानों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये ताकि

ज्यादा लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके, देश की गरीबी दूर हो सके उसके लिये जरूरी है कि ऐसा व्यवस्था की जाये जिससे उनको बेसिक चीजें मिल सकें। आज उनके न मिलने से दूसरी चीजों के भावों पर असर पड़ता है। इसलिए इंडस्ट्रियल क्लाइमेट को सुधारने के लिये इस बजट में जो कदम उठाए गए हैं, उनका असर जरूर पड़ेगा। जिस समय मैं बजट पर बोलूंगा उन समय मैं कुछ ज्यादा फैक्ट्स आपके सामने रखूंगा—उस समय मैं आपको बतलाऊंगा कि हमने कारपोरेट सेक्टर पर कर क्यों नहीं लगाया, अल्कोहल पर कर क्यों नहीं लगाया, डेवेलपमेंट रिबेट को क्यों आज ढकेल दिया, लेकिन इतना जरूर समझ लेना चाहिये कि इस समय जो कदम उठाये गये हैं वे ठीक हैं। यह देखना है कि 11.7 का जो राइज हुआ है वह कम हो गया नहीं?

जो सब से बड़ा कदम इस समय उठाया गया है—वह है होल-सेल ट्रेड को अपने हाथ में लेना। पहले नहीं किया यह हमारी सब से बड़ी गलती हुई थी, जिस को अब सुधारा गया है और मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हमारी श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु और अपोजीशन के सभी साथी इस कार्य में हमारा हाथ बटाये ताकि हम इस काम में सफल हो सकें। होल-सेल-डीलरशिप में राज्य सरकारें और सरकार केन्द्र किस तरह से सफल हो कर आम जनता को राहत पहुंचा सकें, इस में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को लग जाना चाहिए।

मैं यह भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि “लांचिंग आफ ए मेसिव एमर्जेंसी एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम” —सरकार की ओर से

चालू किया गया है। इसी तरह से “स्टेपिंग—अप रिलीजेज आफ फूडग्रेन्ज फ्राम दि फेयर-प्राइसशाप्स” का काम भी शुरू हो गया है। इन कदमों से कीमतें स्थिर होंगी। अभी बम्बई की फेअर प्राइस शाप्स की बात कही गई है। वहां पर अन्न का थोड़ा क्वान्टम यद्यपि घटा दिया गया है, पर हर गरीब आदमी को, हर मिडिल क्लास आदमी को राशन मिल रहा है। मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु जी को बतलाना चाहता हूं—आपने अभी होर्ड्स का जिफ्र किया—इसहाउस में भी ऐसे लोग हो सकते हैं जिन्होंने एक-एक बोरी, दो-दो बोरी, पांच-पांच बोरी अपने घर में जमा कर के रख ली हो कि शायद कल अच्छा अनाज मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा। बहुत से लोगों को यह भय रहता है कि आज जो गेहूं हमें राशन से मिलता है या जो चावल मिलता है, शायद कल न मिले, इस लिए वे दो-दो, चार-चार बोरियों को होर्डिंग कर लेते हैं, इस तरह की होर्डिंग से करोड़ों बोरियां होर्ड हो सकती हैं, इस लिए मैं जनता से भी प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि आप विश्वास रखिए, आप को सब चीजें मिलेंगी, चाहे तेल हो, आटा हो, चावल हो, गेहूं हो, सब आप को मिलेगा। इन चीजों की होर्ड करने की जरूरत नहीं है, होर्ड करने से उन के दाम बढ़ेंगे क्योंकि वस्तुयें कम हो जायेंगी।

एक विशेष बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं—पेकमीशन की रिपोर्ट आने वाली है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट में थोड़ी सी सूचना दी है कि इस के लिए उन्होंने कोई प्रपोजल नहीं रखी है, लेकिन शायद कुछ और डालना पड़ेगा या थोड़ा डेफिसिट और बढ़ेगा। अगर हमें इस संकड़ी को तोड़ना है, इस सर्किल को तोड़ना है तो आप जो पैसा बढ़ायें, जो डीयरनेस एलाउन्स बढ़ायें, उस को कपड़े या अनाज के रूप में दीजिए या ग्रेचूटी या प्रोविडेंट फंड में जमा करवायें। आप अपने कर्मचारियों से कहिये कि यह जो एलाउन्स आपका बढ़ रहा है, इस से आप इतना कपड़ा फलां फलां फेअर शाप्स से साल भर में ले सकेंगे। हो सकता है कि आप यह कहें

कि यह प्रेक्टिकल नहीं है या नौकर वर्ग नहीं मंजूर करेगा। कुछ महीनों पहले प्रेक्टिकल तो होल-सेल ट्रेड को अपने हाथ में लेना भी नहीं था, बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन को भी प्रेक्टिकल पहले नहीं माना था, जिन चीजों के लिए हम कल तक कहा करते थे कि प्रेक्टिकल नहीं हैं, लेकिन आज वे सब प्रेक्टिकल बन गई हैं। जब आप इस स्कीम को लागू करना चाहेंगे तो मैं ऐसा मानता हूं कि आप का जो नौकरवर्ग है, वह कभी भी इस में अड़चन पैदा नहीं करेगा। उसे आप मकान के किरायों का कुछ हिस्सा दीजिए, खाने और कपड़े की जो चीजें हैं उन्हें कपड़े और खाने की चीजों के रूप में दीजिए, तथा समझाइये कि इसमें देश को लाभ होगा। ग्राम जनत को लाभ होगा। कारण साफ है कि अगर आप ज्यादा कंश देंगे तो उससे पर्चेजिंग पावर बढ़ जाती है। इसलिए जो डेफिसिट बढ़ेगा तथा उससे जो पर्चेजिंग पावर बढ़ना बन्द किया जाना चाहिए। मुझे दुख है हम सब कामन मैन की बात करते हैं लेकिन आप जाकर देख लीजिए सिनमाज में—मैं उनके विरुद्ध नहीं बोल रहा हूं—आप देखेंगे कि चार रुपए का टिकट लेकर खड़े हुए हैं सोने की घड़ी बांधे हुए और ट्रांजिस्टर सेट लिए हुए कौन लोग हैं। सिनेमा पर खर्च करने के लिए पैसा आ जाता है लेकिन अगर दो पैसे शूगर में या कपड़े में बढ़ जाते हैं तो शोर मच जाता है। मैं कोई विरोध में नहीं बोल रहा हूं। मैं कहता हूं अच्छा है इन्टरटेनमेंट के लिए जाना चाहिए लेकिन हमें सोचना चाहिए कि सिर्फ शोर मचाने से क्या प्राइसिज रुक जायेंगी, बात करने से क्या प्राइसेज रुक जायेंगी। हमें तो इसके लिए कांस्ट्रिक्टिव सजेक्शन्स देने चाहिएं जैसे ट्यूबवैल्स और वैल्स खुदवाये जायें, नहरें बनवाई जायें, माइनर इर्रिगेशन का प्रबंध हो और सरकार ने एग्री-कल्चर का जो इमरजेंसी का प्रोग्राम बनाया है उसको कसे पूरा किया जाय। मैं मानता हूं चीजों के दाम अवश्य बढ़ें हैं जिसके लिए हमें भी अफसोस है, वित्त मंत्री जी को भी

[डा० कैलास]

अफसोस है और प्रधान मंत्री जी को भी अफसोस है लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि चीजों के दाम बढ़ने न पाये तो उसके लिए लोकमत बना कर होर्ड्स को ठीक करें।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Sir, I do not know whether the same irony will overtake the fate of our country, as it happened after the last adjournment motion on price rise that we had in this House in last August. During the last six months the price has been shooting up. Today the situation has become so terrible that if you pay five paise to a beggar, immediately he requests for 20 or 25 paise saying that otherwise he cannot get even a piece of bread. In every house today the poor husbands are facing the blood-shot eyes of their wives because they are not in a position to provide two square meals a day to the children within their budgets. Statistically speaking, 65 per cent of our people are not in a position to provide two square meals to their family members or children due to the abnormal price rise. I do not want to go into the details. I want to say only this that the profession of the government about price stability remains as illusive as the 'Will-o-the-wisp'.

The Bangladesh refugees and the drought may have a marginal effect on price rise, but in reality it is the continuous process arising out of the wrong policies of the government for the last 25 years. Price rise in a developing economy is inevitable to a certain extent. But due to a reckless policy of money supply, deficit financing, non-developmental expenditure, indirect taxation, failure to tackle the parallel economy of black money and allied factors, the price has now exceeded all limits of the bearable capacity of the community. According to government statistics, 22 crores of our people are living below the poverty level. But if the misleading statistical practice of counting the national income in terms of national average is taken into consideration, about 67 per cent of the Indian people suffer from

the minimum need of purchasing capacity.

Instead of trying to create a mirage of confidence in holding the price line, the people should be told bluntly about the reality of the situation that price rise is inevitable and perhaps the worst is yet to come as a result of the drought. Government should try to prepare the mind of the people to face the grim reality of the situation and make efforts to mitigate as much as possible their miseries to avoid greater frustration and wider tension among the people.

Before dealing with some of the issues involved in relation to price rise, I want to make a few concrete suggestions about long-term and short-term policies that the government should follow.

The curve of deficit financing is so steeply upward that up till now, during the last four Plans, about Rs. 3,270 crores in total of deficit financing has been made. In addition to that, the pressure of about Rs. 7,000 crores of black money is there. Out of the proposed Rs. 6,615 crores of resources mobilisation in the Fifth Plan, half of it will come from indirect taxation on the common people. It is, therefore, inevitable that the price rise will continue and the purchasing power of the common man will face continuous erosion. Unless the Planning Minister has any magic wand in his hand, it will be fantastic to presume that during the terminal year of the Fifth Plan deficit financing will be reduced to zero.

To salvage the situation out of the worst possibility, the Government could adopt the following long-term measures. The money supply should be strictly balanced with the productive capacity to assimilate it. Deficit financing accordingly should be rigorously curtailed. Non-developmental expenditure which is now disproportionately high should be progressively curbed. Black money or parallel economy of the black-marketeers should be drastically dealt with according to the recommendations of the Wanchoo

Committee even if need be by adopting the policy of demonetisation. Wage-rise must be regulated and co-ordinated by providing essential commodities at controlled price. The consumption of upper echelon should be severely cut and the consumption capacity of the lower deciles should be increased by increasing their purchasing capacity by giving them necessary employment or providing other income inlets. All round austerity of non-essential consumption should be mercilessly pursued. Production of consumer goods should be given greater importance. Corruption at all levels must be wiped out taking deterrent measures. Agricultural and industrial production should be assured by developing a new technique of management-labour relation and assuring a remunerative price to the agricultural producer and enforcing minimum wage for the agricultural labour. Easy credit facility and fertiliser distribution should be guaranteed to cultivators by making necessary institutional changes in the distributive policy as also for its machinery.

About the short-term measures, to deal with abnormal price-rise and misery of the common people, the Government has taken a decision to take over wholesale foodgrains trade and embark upon an agricultural crash programme. For this, it is necessary that buffer-stock should be enlarged, if need be, by import of more than 2 million tonnes of foodgrains to effectively deal with the scarcity psychology of the hoarders as well as of the consumer.

Wholesale trade of coarse cereal should be taken over by the Government. The Government should take over wholesale stock of sugar, and vanaspathi. The production of edible coconut oil for cooking purposes should be given importance, because the price of coconut has not shot up so much.

The wholesale trade of foodgrains, both wheat and rice, should be quickly taken over by the Government and necessary procurement and distributive machinery should be geared up as

expeditiously as possible. The procurement and distributive systems should be separated and controlled by the Central and State Food Ministries. The fair price shops should distribute foodgrains, coarse cereals, edible oil, sugar and other food articles. The rural-urban imbalance of distribution of fair-price shops should be removed. It has been said that the number of fair price shops has been increased from 1,20,000 to 1,58,000. I may ask one question: How many of the new fair price shops have been opened in rural areas? So, the rural-urban imbalance of distribution of fair price shops should be removed by opening a larger number of fair price shops in rural areas so that the urban-rural ratio in regard to fair price shops may be 40 : 60.

Cotton price and textile price, which are showing hopeful signs of price stability, should be rigorously controlled and coarse textiles should be distributed on ration cards.

16 hrs.

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

Minimum wage policy for 27 million landless labour and other partial agricultural labour numbering 50.2 per cent of the agricultural population, who own less than one acre of land, should be quickly enforced to ensure increased purchasing power for the poorest rural community.

Drastic measures should be taken to minimise the current loss of about 26 per cent of foodgrains in storage stage, as also during the process of transport and procurement so that the estimated incidental expenditure of Rs. 77 per ton of foodgrains can be reduced to minimum.

Statutory Consumers Councils, with representatives from co-operatives, trade unions, agricultural labour

[Shri Samar Guha]

unions, consumers and all national political parties should be formed at all levels, from the Block to the State, to develop consumers' resistance movement on the one hand and to work as watch-dog committees to stop hoarding, profiteering and corruption in fair price shops and outside.

Procurement Advisory Committees should be formed at Block level to ensure remunerative prices to the cultivators by checking malpractices by procurement agencies.

Many procurement agencies identify some wheat the second grade, but whenever something is given to them, immediately it becomes the first grade wheat!

All Party Food Councils, from Block to State level, should be formed to keep watch on food storage and look into the problems of supply and distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities on the one hand and for ensuring smooth and timely credit facilities and distribution of fertilisers to the agriculturists.

Moratorium should be declared on realization of agricultural, fertiliser, flood, drought and other loans for two years.

A Central team should be formed to ensure regular road and rail transport for foodgrains and other essential commodities.

An Ordinance should be issued immediately providing for deterrent punishment to the hoarders of, and black-marketeers on foodgrains and other essential commodities and to stop malpractices in fair price shops.

Price rise has become a continuous process, except during the short period of the First Plan, due to bungling of the economic policy by the Government. Price rise during the Second Plan was 35 per cent, during the Third Plan 31 per cent, and during the two years of Plan Holiday 24 per cent; in the first three years of the Fourth

Plan, the compound rate of increase in price has been 4.1 per cent. The wholesale price of foodgrains from 3rd February, 1973 is higher by 16.2 per cent than the corresponding period a year before.

A bad doctor who fails either to diagnose the ills of his patient or to prescribe the recipe correctly, finds many pleas to cover his incapacity. Similarly, the Government is trying to find the Bangladesh refugees issue and the drought as the two alibi for the current price rise.

The people paid the Bangladesh levy and the Government also received foreign aid to meet the expenditure on Bangladesh refugees. It will be too tenuous a proposition to suggest that the Bangladesh refugees caused supply of extra money, causing deficit financing and consequential price rise. If the effect of Bangladesh refugees had been there, then it would have been there immediately—in the beginning of the year 1972. But it happened only in the latter part of the year and not in the beginning of that year. Drought' has also been attributed as another alibi. The drought in 1972 cannot be attributed as having caused an increase of 16.5 per cent in the price of foodgrains.

Till October last, the country carried on by consuming the carry-over stocks from the previous year's harvest, which was a Green Revolution year. The effect of the new harvest, after October 1972, which faced the constraint of drought, will be felt only in the following twelve months. Therefore, no reason can be assigned that drought really caused price rise from August 1972. In fact, if drought has any effect on the price rise it may be felt more sharply in the coming months.

Sir, the Finance Minister has said that the value of our money has been reduced to 39.2 per cent since 1949. What does it mean? It means that a person who was earning Rs. 100 in

1949, at least if he has to meet the requirements of his family which he used to at Rs. 100 earlier, he will have at least to spend Rs. 2.53 now. I want to know this from the Government the money value has fallen so sharply—2½ times—but as regards a corresponding increase in the income of the people, particularly the lower-income-group people, three crore wage-earners in the private and the public sector, and also 2.70 crore landless labour, and also those who own less than one acre of land in the rural area,—what is their condition? There is a fall in the value of the rupee, but no corresponding rise in the income of that echelon—leave aside our calculation; if we take your calculation, those 22 crores of people whom you have described as living below poverty level. As I have already said, I will just quote one sentence from the report of Reserve Bank of India:

“If any factor has contributed most to the abnormal rise of prices, that is the reckless money supply.”

I will give you some figures. In 1968 the rise in our gross national product was 2.5 per cent, but the increase in the money supply was 8 per cent. In 1969 the GNP was 5.2 per cent whereas the money supply was 10.5 per cent. In 1970-71 the GNP was 4.7 per cent whereas the money supply was 7 per cent. The figures for GNP in 1971-72 are not available, but the money supply was 12 per cent.

I will conclude. It is not due to the drought or Bangladesh refugee problem that there is a spurt in the rise of prices of essential commodities, but it is a continuous process. It started in 1949, and it is due to government policy. I would only urge that certain long-term and short-term measures be taken instead of creating the mirage of confidence that you are trying to hold the price rise which will prove as elusive as ‘will-o-the-wisp’. The price rise is inevitable to certain extent, but you should try to create an impression in the mind of the people that you are honest-

ly trying, and I will use the words, in cooperation with the people, to check the price rise.

My young friend, Mr. Munshi, is sitting here. You talk of cooperation from the Opposition. You will be surprised to know that in no committee at the constituency level any Member of Parliament is included. There the government and the party in West Bengal have become co-terminous. If you really want cooperation you should sincerely have it by generally seeking assistance of all the political parties.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is a large number of Members from the Congress Party who want to speak, and I have been requested to apportion ten minutes to each. I would request them to kindly bear this in mind. Now, Shri C. M. Stephen.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvathupuzha): Within a short period of time in the course of a few months, this House has been called upon to discuss this very vital and important national problem, a problem which according to me does and must transcend the barriers of party considerations, because basically it is a problem which concerned the millions of people. The last occasion when we had discussed this matter was on the 14th November last year. Three and a half months have gone by and we have again met, and a lot of time of this House was taken during the opening days of this session over the persistent demand that an adjournment motion or something like that on this question should be permitted. At least, this motion has come up before us.

One thing that was paining me to a certain extent was that in spite of this apparent and demonstrated anxiety to discuss this problem emanating from the Opposition Benches, the opportunities that have offered themselves have not been used constructively by many of the spokesmen from the other side.

[Shri C. M. Stephan]

I had the opportunity to go through the discussion on an adjournment motion in November. Having gone through that, one is left with a feeling of barrenness and futility, because nothing constructive has been forthcoming by way of suggestion or correction of the steps taken by Government.

Today, when we are discussing this matter, there is one fact on which there will be no dispute, and that is that the understanding and the recognition of this problem has been pointedly existing in this country. The President has adverted to this in his Address. In the budget speech of the Finance Minister, quite a lot of space has been devoted for referring to the price spiral phenomenon of our economy, and the *Economic Survey* also elaborately deals with this question and concedes that price rise is there. So, if the object of this discussion is to project the fact that price rise is existing in the country, then I would submit that it is an exercise in futility, because that is a conceded fact. What is really expected in a discussion of this nature is to evaluate the steps taken by Government, to evaluate the analysis made by Government and to put forward suggestions which may differ from this analysis or differ from this in regard to constructive proposals by way of improvement and so on.

When I sat through the speech of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, a feeling was creeping in my mind that one thing that he was least bothered about was the constructive aspect of this discussion. He was not in the least worried about the agony of the people; he was not in the least concerned about giving suggestions to improve the position. In the motion he has said that 'This House is alarmed and distressed'. According to me, these are the two words which pinpoint the difference in approach as between me and him. He says that he is alarmed. He

says that he is distressed. Going by the dictionary connotation, these two words betray a state of mind of frustration and hopelessness; he is completely alarmed and distressed and he leaves it at that. That is not the way that a question like this has got to be approached. As far as I am concerned, I refuse to be alarmed. I am not in the least alarmed for two reasons. One is that any person with a knowledge of economic science and who has been going through the events of the past few months ever since the date of the conflict with Pakistan, should have been prepared for a state of affairs in which the prices would go up.

Secondly, any person who was conscious of the situation that resulted in the failure of the kharif crop last year and which projected the possibility of the failure of the kharif crop this year should have been prepared for a certain amount of rise in prices. Being so mentally prepared, no responsible public person could possibly be alarmed, not the least the members of this House. We were prepared for this situation.

Then to get alarmed is not the proper reaction to a situation like this. The proper reaction is to find out certain solutions. It is my claim from this side that to the best extent possible solutions were attempted and put forward. Government have repeatedly stated what has been done. The budget speech has elaborately dealt with the steps taken. The President's Address also has enumerated the steps taken. An analysis of the reasons is also there. One is the money supply that became necessary as a result of the war we had to fight. It was stated even at that time by the Finance Minister that the country would have to get ready for certain consequences of that particular event. That was an hour of national glory. For that hour of national glory, the nation may have to pay a price and we are, to a certain extent, paying that price.

The second reason postulated by us is the failure of the khariff crop last year and the one that is forthcoming. The third is, of course, the hoarding and profiteering that would certainly follow in due course as a result of these things. The fourth reason, which is also not disputed, is the black money floating about. As far as regulation of bank advances could deal with it, they did put certain restraints. A credit squeeze was attempted, supply of credit was withheld to grain traders. But unfortunately, this parallel economy is functioning and, therefore, the banks could not utter the last word on that.

This is the analysis. Is there any difference of opinion with respect to the analysis? Of course, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu will jump in with a particular phrase to which he has become used to rather sickeningly frequently, to such an extent that it has lost all meaning—monopoly, monopoly and election funds.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: For whom the bell tells!

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: For a human nature of that particular characteristic, one may stand a certain amount of repetition, but not beyond that. Repetition beyond a limit without factual basis made in such a way that it becomes mere slogan-mongering makes the proposition lose its validity and becomes a laughing stock. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Whose laughing stock?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: He should learn the parliamentary procedure of letting the other member speak; if he wants to say anything, let him stand and I shall yield.

Anyway, what I am saying is that nothing more than that has emanated from him. Therefore, I will forget him, whatever he said on the floor of the House; I disregard the fulmina-

tions he made and just bypass him.

As I have said, certain solutions were attempted. The Motion refers to 'Government's failure to arrest the same', the rise in prices. The failure of the Government should be related to the steps which Government did or did not take. Certain steps were taken. Crash programmes were launched. An agricultural production programme, an emergency production programme, running to the tune of Rs. 150 crores was launched. A relief programme was launched. Now there is another step which is being proceeded with, takeover of wholesale trade in order that hoarding and profiteering may be curbed. These are the steps Government have taken. These have been enumerated. They may or may not be adequate. What further steps are being suggested, what further procedures are being suggested in order that the programmes could be effectively implemented,—it is these suggestions that we are expecting from the other side. Unfortunately, these suggestions are not forthcoming. That is the whole pity of these discussions. As far as we are concerned, we have done what should be done and what could have been done. We are ready to do whatever must be done in order that the situation may be alleviated. Can you put forward light on that? It is on that point that I feel concerned about certain arrangements that are being effectuated on the Opposition Benches. Take this question of take-over of the foodgrains trade. I find some sort of alliance is forthcoming and that is, they are ganging up for a particular purpose. Here is a question which is crucial to the country and a solution which according to us is crucial to the solution of that question. The question is, price-rise. The solution we are offering is crucial. One of the solutions is, take over of the foreign trade. My friends are there. The Jan Sangh says no take-over; the Swatantra party says no take-over. The syndicate says, God alone knows what is to be done. Nobody knows what is to be done. The marxist

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

party says that there should be an effective take-over.

So, what are you finding there? There is a gang-up on this particular question and particular problem. On this side, with us, they differ, but they gang up; they gang up and carry on demonstrations. They create difficulties. Instead of associating themselves with the Government, co-operating themselves with the Government, at least for the purpose of solving this basic problem, they are ganging up for creating difficulties, and creating a sense among the people that we will not be able to stand up to this problem and solve this problem. This is what they are doing, and they are trying to weaken the will of the nation to solve the problem. For that, they are ganging up.

Please give me two minutes more and I shall finish my speech. We find in Kerala a particular question; the Government officers, or a section of them came up demanding a wage increase. But 80 per cent of them said that they are not on strike. 20 per cent of these people were picked up by a strange conglomeration asking for an increase in salary for the Government employees. We find that the Swatantra party, the Jam Sangh, the Communist Party (Marxist) and the Kerala Congress were combining and carrying on a struggle, while the NGOs said that they have withdrawn the strike, and everything is perfectly OK.

What I am emphasising is, if the endeavour is to solve the problem, to see the anguish of the people and settle it, then the approach must be one of co-operation and assistance. Instead of that, they make political capital of the situation which is the inevitable result of a national problem. This attitude is nothing more than anti-nationalism and non-patriotism. That is what I say. Instead of making political capital of it, they must offer solutions which are in the best interests of the country and that would

be the biggest service that one could render to the country. The people will be judging the parties not by the way they are raising their voice, but the way they are reacting to a particular national problem. That will be the way in which the judgment of the people will be done; the way you are reacting, the way you acting to meet the problem. But then the reactionaries and the so-called progressive Marxist party are ganging up and blocking the steps taken by the Government to solve the national problem. Instead of strengthening the hands of the Government, at least for the purpose of solving the problem, if the steps taken are inadequate, you can suggest some measures and amend the steps. But then, without making those suggestions, you are blocking the whole way and stopping the people from proceeding further. That is the picture that we are finding.

One word more and I shall finish. This is not to say that this party does not have a responsibility. We are aware of the fact that we went to the polls along with a manifesto. We asked for the mandate of the people to keep the prices at a steady level. That is the pledge that we gave to the people and that undertaking has got to be redeemed. For that purpose, hoarding and blackmarketing have to be stopped. Here is a peculiar feature that although in the current year, production has gone down, except for 1971, even today our production is the highest in the annals of the history of this country. That fact remains. Therefore, if the prices are going up, money-supply is one of the factors, and it is a major factor that hoarding, blackmarketing and cornering are going on. Therefore we have got to battle with it. That is why the take over of grain trade has been attempted. We have to be merciless to the hoarders. This morning we discussed the question of the Mody Flour Mills. It so happened that the proceedings which were taken were withdrawn. I join my voice with the other friends in saying that effective

steps have got to be taken against persons who indulge in malpractices and even security measures have got to be taken against them. I must claim credit that my party in Mysore has today launched an anti-hoarding campaign against shop keepers and peasants, who hoard stocks. There will be no lack of will as far as my party is concerned. For heavens sake extend your co-operation. With your co-operation if you will give that but without your co-operation if that is not forthcoming this party will redeem its pledge and see that the price level is maintained.

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM (Coimbatore): I point my accusing finger at the Government. That is the first culprit for the alarming situation that has been created by the failure of the Government to maintain the price level. It is clear that no Government is going to be stable with this price spiral. The reasons for this price spiral are clear even to the blind. The first reaction is the hold of the monopolies on the economy. Of course my friend Mr. Stephen was tired and found it nauseating to hear the word 'monopoly'. If that is nauseating to him the repetition of the word Garbi Hatao is more nauseating. The situation has become so menacing that foreign agents like the CIA are prepared to declare that the month of May will witness food riots in the country. When they say so it means they are preparing for it. Why should we blame the CIA when the ground is created by the Government for them to operate?

The second reason is that the capitalist, landlord, the farmers in the rural areas have made the Government slide back, from the decisions that they took in the past. These are simple and clear reasons. But Government have been trying to give fallacious reasons for the present situation. Day in and day out, in season and out of season, the Prime Minister is comparing conditions in this country with those of other countries and calls it the global situation. In the

horizon of the Prime Minister the globe is only capitalist countries of the world and note the 14 socialist countries. Dr. Kailas was comparing the price situation here with that obtaining in France and New Zealand.

DR. KAILAS: Yugoslavia also.

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM: You have been confining yourself to one sphere, one area, that is the capitalist area. If you are prepared to refer to the other side of the world also, you will see that there is price reduction, and not price rise. If you compare yourself with France, New Zealand, America and UK, then please admit that you are building capitalism. Don't mask under the cloak of socialism. That would be the biggest political fraud on the people of this country if you say you are building socialism and compare yourself with France etc.

DR. KAILAS: You give us the figures of Russia and China. They are not available unfortunately. I gave the figures about Yugoslavia.

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM: The second argument trotted out is, too many mouths to feed. But why do you forget the fact that there are too many hands to work also? More hands means more production if you give employment to them. So, the argument about population is again a myth.

Then, this talk of Bangladesh. My God, there is a limit to it. If you are talking of national glory, don't bring down that glory by talking about it. You know you have spent Rs. 800 or 900 crores on it. Do you justify the price rise today merely on the basis of the amount of money spent on Bangladesh? I was shocked at the Prime Minister's reference the other day to Bangladesh in reply to the debate on the President's Address. She said, "Two years back people said we were going to fail." Who said she was going to fail regarding Bangladesh? Everyone of us wanted

[Shri K. Baladhandayutham]

that the country should win. Then she said, "After two years, it will be proved that what you say now is all wrong". I would like to tell her, not two years; you are not going to last even this year if the prices are not brought down.

Then they talk about natural calamities, as if this country has got only calamities and nothing else to boast of. You talk about natural calamities today. When there was green revolution, what was the position on the price front? Then also prices were rising.

All these arguments you have put forward are wrong. You say it is inevitable in a developing economy. That means capitalism is inevitable. When you build capitalism, the consequences were also inevitable. Then you talk about the inflationary pressure, the Keynesian theory and you are trying to solve the problem through eroding wages by price rise and employing some people by deficit financing. Is this the solution in a developing economy? Even in capitalist countries it has failed and you are trying to adopt it here at this very late stage.

I ask the Finance Minister, don't these four or five factors which you have mentioned hold good in the case of raw materials to industries? Then, is it that their prices are falling down? Price of cotton is going down and the profiteers are able to buy it at a lower rate. How does it happen? Unless you reckon with monopolists you cannot give an answer.

There are only two roads. The question of monopolies is a naked truth. It is no more an ideological question; it has become a practical question.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): State monopoly also.

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM: If you want to hold the price line, the choice is clearly demarcated. The

only way is to take over the monopoly houses. Unless you take over the monopoly houses, you cannot solve this problem, because they are always there in menacing proportions.

You talk about the take-over of the grains trade. But that is not going to take place at all, even if you want to. You ask for the co-operation of the opposition. But what about the co-operation of the Chief Ministers and the State Governments? I thought Shri Stephen would tell us what the Kerala Government have done.

Similarly what has happened about the take over of the textile mills and sugar factories? So far as sugar is concerned, government is responsible for the present position. Only last week I asked a question about the increase in the price of sugar by Rs. 19'56 per quintal. The answer was that it was because of the impact of the bonus levy. When I asked for information about the quantum of bonus, I was told that it was Rs 0.56 per quintal. The increase of Rs 19 was explained as due to "other well-known escalations". So, they are beyond your control because they are done by the monopoly houses. About the take-over of the sugar mills you say that the report of the committee is awaited. When that report is received you will appoint another committee like the Wanchoo Committee.

Shri Stephen was referring to the budget and asking "have we not done something?" There is a proverb in Tamil that if you want to jump over a well you cannot do it half way. I am afraid, government want to jump over the well and they are doing it half way with the result is that they are falling into the well.

They are talking about the distributory arrangements without physical control of the grain. Then, even when present kharif crop. All the measures curement is less as in the case of the present kharif crop. All the measures that they have been talking about

have not been implemented and when they have implemented, they are in the opposite direction.

Take the case of blackmoney. In our own State, there is one person who has defrauded the Centre of nearly Rs. 1 crore.

श्री एम० राममोपाल रेड्डु (निजामाबाद):

आप की स्टेट में ब्लैक मनी नहीं है, काउंटरफीट नोट्स हैं।

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM: Some departmental inquiry was instituted against him. Strangely enough the department fought for him. Now I hear that he has been exonerated and the whole amount has been written off. He had also to pay Rs. 35 lakhs as sales tax to the Government. Only today morning we have heard about the case of one Shri Modi. When we say that the blackmarketeers should be hung in the lamp posts, here is a case where a person in jail has been released.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH): Since the hon. Member has levelled a charge that a particular assessee has been let off by the department, he should specify the case. Because, to the best of my knowledge, there is no such case.

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM: I was referring to the case of one Shri Angappa Chettiar of Kumarapalayam. I am told that the whole thing has been squared up and he has been let off. Since I have mentioned the name on the floor of the House, I hope the Minister will look into it. I hope he will not be let off like Shri Modi.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Since he has raised it, I may say, I am aware of this case. This case has been examined a number of times by our Department and the allegations that have been made later on have not been found to be correct. (Interruption).

SHRI PILOO MODY: The Minister said, "I have looked into it." If the

Minister has looked into it, it can only be with the purpose of absolving that fellow. Otherwise why should it be necessary to look into it?

SHRI K. BALADHANDAYUTHAM: On this question, I agree with Shri Piloo Mody. That fellow has got himself freed by making a large donation to the ruling party. (Interruptions).

SHRI K. R. GANESH: The hon. Member in anger, and being caught, is saying a thing which is a naked** (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think, the use of that word ** is unfortunate. That should not form part of the record.

श्री नत्थूराम मिर्धा (नागौर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम इस सदन में इस समय इस देश में बढ़ी हुई और बढ़ती हुई कीमतों के बारे में चर्चा कर रहे हैं। यह बात सही है इस देश में पिछले कुछ महीनों में कीमतों में बहुत बढ़ोतरी हुई और इसलिए हमारे देश के जन-जीवन की उपयोगी वस्तुओं में जब इस प्रकार की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं तो निश्चित तौर से उन लोगों को जिन की अमादनी बंधी हुई है और जो इस देश के गरीब लोग हैं उन को काफी परेशानियों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। इस लिए इस सदन में बैठे हुए माननीय सदस्यों की यह चिन्ता और इस सरकार को यह चिन्ता होना स्वाभाविक है। पर मुझे दुख होता है कि जब इतने बड़े गहन विषय पर जिससे कि एक प्रकार के दुख की छाया सारे राष्ट्र के लोगों पर पड़ी हुई है, विचार हो रहा है उस समय सिर्फ एक लिमिटेड राजनैतिक चश्मे से उन चीजों को देख कर कुछ ऐसी कड़वी बातें कहना जिन को कहने में विरोधी लोगों को कुछ ज्यादा मजा आता है, जब मैं इस प्रकार की बातों

**Expunged as order by the Chair.

[श्री नरथू राम मिर्चा]

को सुनता हूँ तो मुझे दुख होता है। खास तौर से यह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अपने एक सीमित चश्मे से हिन्दुस्तान की और सारी दुनिया को देखती है। इस का एक चश्मा है देखने का। वह बहुत ही मिमित और बंधे हुए चश्मे से हर चीज को देखती है। ये लोग इस देश में या दुनिया में कुछ जो आर्गोनाइज्ड मजखूर होते हैं उन लोगों के बलबूते पर सारी दुनिया का नक्शा बदलना चाहते हैं। ये हमेशा यह कहेंगे इन को ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा दो, किसानों को जमीन बांट दो, दुनिया भर के सब लोगों को गाली निकाल दो और ऐसा कह कर एक ऐसी हवा बनाओ कि सब खराब ही खराब हैं। यह इन का बड़ा ही छोटा दृष्टिकोण है। अगर ये इतनी हिम्मत वाले हैं तो वोटों के वक्त में गांवों में जा कर लोगों से यह कहें कि हमारी व्यवस्था के अंदर सारे खेत, सारी जमीन सरकार की होगी और हम लोग सब मिल करके बराबर महनत करेंगे, बराबर बांटेंगे और बराबर खायेंगे। जिन किसानों के बारे में झूठ झूठ नारे उठा कर बोले गए हैं उनके खिलाफ इन सदन में बैठ कर बात करते हैं.....

(व्यवधान) आज जो देश में कीमतें बढ़ी हैं वह किसानों की खराब हालत की वजह से बढ़ी हैं। किसान इस देश में बुनियादी धन पैदा करता है, अनाज पैदा करता है, जो सारे उद्योगों की जड़ होती है उस को वह बनाता है, उस को आप जमींदार बता कर और उस की समस्याओं की ओर ध्यान न दे कर दूसरी बातों की ओर ध्यान ले जाते हैं। ठीक है, मजदूर की बात आप करें, आप अपना आर्किटेक्ट बनाएं उन के बल बूने पर लेकिन इस देश की 75 प्रतिशत

जनता किसान है, उस में छोटे और बड़े किसान सब कृषि उत्पादन करते हैं और उस के लिये जो हमारी नीति में कुछ गलतियां हैं उसकी ओर..... (इंटरमिशन) आप गला फाड़ फाड़ कर चिल्लाते हैं कि वह कर दिया वह कर दिया, मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह कृपा कर के इन किसानों की बात सोचें। आज देश में कई जगह अकाल पड़ा है, इसलिए कीमतों में बढ़ा उतार चढ़ाव है। हमारी हाट बाजारी व्यवस्था गलत है। उस के बारे में एक शब्द भी आपने नहीं कहा। आज कहने की नहीं बल्कि करने की जरूरत है, और उस के बारे में कृपा कर के वह एक व्यापक दृष्टिकोण अपनाएं। कुछ लोग ऐसा दृष्टिकोण रखते हैं अभी अनाज का व्यापार का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने का निश्चय किया तो वह कहते हैं कि ए० सी० आई० खराब है, यह काम जमेगा नहीं, सरकार फेल होगी। एक कदम उठा तो उस के पीछे पड़ गए। वह तो शुरुआत है। आज अगर देश में आप कीमतों में स्टेबिलिटी लाना चाहते हैं तो किसान के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लिये उस की हर प्रकार से मदद करनी पड़ेगी, उस की मार्केटिंग व्यवस्था में फेर बदल करना पड़ेगा और उस में कुछ काम सरकार को करना होगा और कुछ काम जनता के संगठनों को करना होगा लेकिन इन सब बातों की तरफ कितने माननीय सदस्यों ने ध्यान दिलाया है? देश की बुनियादी नीतियां जो हैं और हम लोकतंत्र चाहते हैं तो हमें उन को सामने रख कर चलना होगा। अगर आप अपने तरीके से चाहते हैं जैसे आप अभी कह रहे थे कम्युनिस्ट देशों के बारे में, मैं पूछता हूँ कि पिछले चार पांच सालों में मानसून की हालत बदलने से क्या रूस जैसा

देश मुसीबत में नहीं है, क्या उस को खाद्यान्न खरीदना नहीं पड़ा है ? आज दुनिया के कई देशों में और रूस में भी हालत में परिवर्तन हो रहे हैं । चीन के बारे में मैं नहीं जानता इसलिये उस के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहूंगा । आज अगर यह बात वे कहते हैं कि बढ़ती हुई आबादी दुनिया भर की चिन्ता का विषय है तो उस को फीड करने के लिये कृषि का उत्पादन ज्यादा चाहिये । यह उत्पादन सब देशों में कम हुआ है । एफ० ए० ओ० और दूसरी सभी रिपोर्टें यह बताती हैं । इन में परिवर्तन लाना है । कृषि के बारे में जो भी उतार चढ़ाव हुआ है, दालों में, धान में, गहूं में, गेहूं में पांच प्रतिशत, चावल में दस प्रतिशत, ज्वार में तेरह प्रतिशत, बाजरे में 41 प्रतिशत और मक्का में 48 प्रतिशत ('ट्रान्स') चीनी की बात जाने दें . . .

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु : पच्चीस साल की आजादी के बाद परसेंटेज आफ इरिगेटिड कल्टीवेटिड लैंड इतना कम क्यों है ?

श्री नत्थू राम मिर्षा : आप ठीक कहते हैं ; जो ठीक बात आप कहते हैं उस को मैं भी कहता हूं । ये आंकड़े मैं ने इसलिये दिए कि इन के जरिये आप को पता चल सके कि गरीबों के काम में आने वाले खाद्यान्न कितने मंहगे हुए हैं । ऐसा इसलिये हुआ है कि हमने बफर स्टॉक तैयार कर के नहीं रखा । बफर स्टॉक बनाने की नीति सही नीति है, कारपोरेशन बनाने की नीति सही नीति है । आप ने काटन कारपोरेशन बनाया, चीनी का काम एफ० सी० आई० को दिया, ये सब काम आपने सही किए । इस दिशा में आगे बढ़ना पड़ेगा ।

इस तरह से आप का जो इनवेस्टमेंट इन में हुआ है, उस का भी असर पड़ा है, जो लड़ाई में खर्च किया, जो अकाल में राहत के कामों में खर्च हो रहा है, साथ साथ चौथी योजना को ताक़ीद के साथ पूरा करने के लिये जो अधिक धन की व्यवस्था की, इन सब बातों का असर हुआ है, इनप्लेशन बढ़ाने में ये सहायक साबित हुई हैं । कुछ लोगों के पास ज्यादा पैसा है, चीजों की कमी है, और ये सारे कारण हैं जिन से कीमतें बढ़ी हैं । दुनिया का फिनोमिना भी ऐसा हुआ है । लड़ाई की हालत, पैसे का देश में ज्यादा फैलना और वे तमाम बातें जो हुई हैं इन से हम आज इस स्थिति में पहुंचे हैं ।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इन सारी चीजों में जिस तरीके से आज इनवेस्टमेंट आप का हुआ है और जो कृषि पर विशेष रूप से जोर दिया गया है जिस में कि रचनात्मक कुछ कार्य करने की व्यवस्था की गई है उस का असर आज नहीं अगले साल होगा । अगर अगले साल ठीक बरसात हो तो इन सारी चीजों पर असर पड़ेगा । जब किसान के यहां ज्यादा उत्पादन होता है तो कीमतें गिर जाती हैं, बाजार में वाजिब दाम नहीं मिलते हैं, इसलिये हमारी पूरी की पूरी हाट व्यवस्था को बदलने के लिये इस सरकार को तेजी से कदम उठाना होगा ।

मैंने एक दिन पहले भी कहा था और आज भी कहता हूं—किसान को आज सब्जी का दाम क्या मिल रहा है, अण्डे का क्या दाम मिल रहा है, दूध का क्या दाम मिल रहा है, और इन की पैदावार पर उस का क्या खर्चा आता है । मेरे जैसे आदमी को भी एक

[श्री नरयू राम मिर्षा]

किलो दूध पैदा करने के लिये दी रुपया खर्च करना पड़ता है और दूध का दाम एक रुपया मिलता है। बाजार में जाइये, चारा महंगा है, अब जानवर को तो मार नहीं सकता, उस को जिन्दा रखना हैं, इसलिये खर्च करना पड़ता हैं। इसलिये हमें अपनी मार्केट व्यवस्था को सुधारना होगा।

अभी आपने काटन-कारपोरेशन बनाई है, उस का कुछ असर पड़ा है। पिछले सालों में आपने देखा होगा किसानों ने गन्ना खूब पैदा किया, जब गन्ना तैयार हो गया तो उस के भाव सस्ते हो गये। उस के बाद किसानों ने गन्ना बोना बन्द कर दिया, दो साल तक चीनी की कमी रही और भाव बढ़ते गये। अब आपने फिर सोचा और अपनी नीति में कुछ परिवर्तन किया तो अब इस का असर दो साल में आयेगा।

उत्पादन के सिलसिले में जो उतार-चढ़ाव आते हैं, अगर इन सारी चीजों को रेगुलेट नहीं करेंगे, किसानों के इनपुट्स की जो चीज पैदा होती है, उन के दामों में स्थिरता नहीं लायेंगे तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर किसानों की चीज स्टेबिल दामों पर मिलें, बंधे हुए दामों पर मिलें और उन की कास्ट-आफ़ प्रोडक्शन को ध्यान में रख कर अर्थ व्यवस्था को जमाने का प्रयत्न करें तो निश्चित रूप से चीजों के दाम गिरगे और लोगों को वाजिब कीमतों पर चीज मिलेगी। इस के लिये बड़े पैमाने पर हाट-व्यवस्था को इस देश में बदलना होगा। इस लिये मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ जो कुछ भी इन्वेस्टमेंट आप कर रहे हैं वह ज्यादातर कृषि और किसानों के लिये कीजिये।

छोटे और बड़े किसानों के सवाल को लेकर इस हाउस में कई दफ़ा एक गन्दा वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश की जाती है। सीलिंग के कानून को ला कर आप ने बड़े किसानों को डील कर लिया और अगर कुछ कमी रह गई है तो उस की पूरा कर लीजिये, लेकिन बड़े और छोटे किसानों को लेकर इस हाउस की व्यवस्था को बिगाड़ने की कोशिश मत कीजिये—यह हाथ जोड़ कर मैं आप से अपील करना चाहता हूँ। अगर आप किसान को मजबूत बनायेंगे, उस की अर्थ व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनायेंगे, अगर उस के पैदा किये हुए सामान का उस के कास्ट-आफ़-प्रोडक्शन का ध्यान रखते हुए, वाजिब दाम देंगे, बीच के बिचौलियों को हटा कर वितरण की व्यवस्था को ठीक प्रकार से जमायेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से जो हालात आज पैदा हो रही हैं उन से हम बच सकेंगे। अगर कोई भूल हम से हुई है तो उन को ठीक करने की आवश्यकता है, आगे वे भूल न हो इस बात को ध्यान में रख कर चलने की ज़रूरत है।

16.54 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair.]

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Madras South): I rise to support the motion moved by my friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

A case was made out by Dr. Kailas that the rise in prices is an international phenomenon and he quoted labouriously a list of figures to justify his case. I differ with him. He has quoted some figures which are convenient to his case but the realities are different.

I have got the latest figures published by the International Labour Organization at Geneva. Between 1963 March and 1972 the index rose by about 95 per cent in India. That is the highest in the whole world.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is it wholesale price?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I do not know whether it is wholesale or retail. The index rose by 21 per cent in Thailand, 22 per cent in Morocco, 25 per cent in Kenya, 28 per cent in Iran, 32 per cent in Ethiopia and 35 per cent in Mexico, 36 per cent in Sri Lanka and 45 per cent in Pakistan...

SHRI PILOO MODY: India?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: 95 per cent. It is meaningless to compare the price rise with the developed countries like UK, Japan and America, as these countries are working under conditions of full employment or nearer to full employment. Here, in our country, about 40 per cent of the population are still below the poverty line, that is, they could not earn more than Rs. 20, per month according to 1960-61 prices. Sir, this ruling Party came to power by uttering the slogan of reducing poverty or 'garibi hatao' Sir, what is poverty? Poverty is defined by the Plan approach document in terms of the minimum levels of consumption. The common man does not worry about the indices of various kinds which make the confusion worse confounded. He weighs poverty by the purchasing power of the rupee and by the prices. Prices have increased by 95 per cent between 1963 and 1972. That means, under the Congress regime poverty has increased by 95 per cent. That is the accusation I make.

Who is responsible for this steep increase in prices? I join hands with some of my friends and accuse this government, and this Union government alone, for the increase in prices. The State governments are there. They are also in the pitiable plight of

the consumers. I want to quote from the Administrative reforms Commission's report on Centre-State relations:

"We think that the Central Government cannot reasonably plead that it is not their responsibility to meet the increased expenditure of the States in this behalf. In fact, it is the policies of the Central Government that are responsible for inflation and increases in prices and the cost of living."

Sir, may I point out how the Central Government is responsible? It is mainly their taxation policy and especially their indirect taxation which is very rigorous. They touch the poor man. Out of the anticipated income of Rs. 4800 crores about Rs. 2741 crores including the present increase of Rs. 118 crores this year are from excise duties. It means that 56 per cent of the total tax income comes from indirect taxes on essential commodities. Have we made any examination? So far no official examination has been made about the impact of indirect taxes on the essential commodities used by the common man. According to one estimate indirect taxes of the Union Government account for 50 to 70 per cent of the total ex-factory cost of six items. For example, regarding cloth 50 to 75 per cent increase is due to excise duty; regarding sugar 75 per cent is due to excise duty; in the case of cement it forms 60 to 70 per cent and as regards steel it is 50 to 60 per cent. That is why, Sir, the disastrous effect of excise duties on the prices of essential commodities has not been taken into account.

Secondly, take the customs duty. this year also, customs levy has been imposed for Rs. 156 crores. The customs and excise duties form 76 per cent of the tax revenues of the Government of India.

17 hrs.

But, what happens in other cases? Income-tax, corporation tax, wealth tax and other direct taxes form only

[Shri Murasoli Maram]

24 per cent. These have not been increased in the present budget. Corporation tax, income-tax and wealth tax have not been increased; the Finance Minister has not touched estate duty; he has not gone near the gift tax, but he has increased customs and excise duties, and that is why the corporate sector is extremely happy after this budget because the Finance Minister has spared them. Honestly, the Finance Minister should accept that the contribution of the rich is much less than that of the poor in this budget.

Thirdly, I accuse the commodity production policy of the Government of India as being solely and purely responsible for the increase in prices. Last year, agricultural production declined by 2 per cent and foodgrains production by 4 per cent. In the Economic Survey, the achievement in agricultural production in 1971-72 is shown as 1.7 per cent and as -3.5 per cent in foodgrains production. But no figures have been given for 1972-73. Is this the kind of Economic survey which the country expects when the food prices are increasing to unreachable heights? That is the question that I want to ask.

There are many parts of India which can produce enough foodgrains for the whole country, but the policy of fertiliser production and subsidies to the agricultural sector have been left to the whims and fancies of the Union Government. There is always a plea that because of shortage of production, too much money chases too few goods. I do not think that this is something which can be accepted by us. Does production determine prices? Probably, it does to some extent. But in India, we have seen certain concrete instances to the contrary. In 1965-66, when Shrimati Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister, the production of foodgrains increased from 72.3 million tonnes to 107.81 million tonnes as a result of the green revolution. But ironically, in that year; foodgrains

registered a big increase; the biggest jump in price rise was in wheat during that year and prices went up very steeply. That is one instance to show that with increased production, the prices automatically do not go down.

Further, I would accuse the monetary and banking policy also as being responsible for the price rise. In economics, we know the effects of deficit financing about which my other friends have spoken very well, and therefore I need not repeat the arguments about it. Even if demand and supply are in equilibrium,—it never happens that way—the excess of money generated by Government will play havoc or increase the prices.

What we have seen is that the increase in money supply has been faster than the increase in goods and services. That is one of the main reasons, and that is the villain of the piece in this drama of rising prices.

Who produces excess money? Definitely, it is the Government of India: Why? They do so to finance expenditure. And which expenditure? The answer to this question forms the core of the problem. It is the structure of governmental expenditure, plan as well as no-plan which is partly responsible for the calamity in prices.

Take, for example, money supply. The money supply nearly doubled between 1966 and 1972, but the net national product of primary goods production like agriculture, forestry and fishing decreased from Rs. 52 crores to Rs. 40 crores on 1960-61 prices. This deficit financing and the increase of money supply is nothing but a breach of trust. They are eroding the value of the rupee thereby.

In economics, bygones are bygones. One cannot cut back the supply of money all of a sudden. No Finance Minister has such a magic wand by which he can cut back the money supply. But the additional bank credit for non-productive expenditure of the

Central Government can be cut. Let me give an example.

In the government sector, in 1971-72, the additional bank credit created was to the extent of Rs. 1,025 crores. Can you imagine that this does not come under parliamentary scrutiny? You cannot find this in any of the budget papers. During the First Plan, it was Rs. 60 crores, during the Second Plan it was Rs. 277 crores, during the Third Plan it was Rs. 264 crores, but in 1971-72, the additional bank credit created by the nationalised and other banks for the government sector was Rs. 1025 crores. This is nothing but deficit financing by backdoor. It does not come under parliamentary scrutiny. I would say this is nothing but a fraud committed on the people of India and on this House. It does not come within our purview. They have done it on their own. This is why prices are galloping.

The Reserve Bank is supposed to be an autonomous body, but in fact, it is not so. It has become like another department of the Government. This monetary autocracy is the reason for the increase in prices.

Price discipline should be enforced through sophisticated methods involving watch-dog parations and cost studies. But where is it? In Britain, they have the Price Board. That was why the Administrative Reforms Commission in its report on Economic Administration had recommended that a 'Commission to be known as the Commission on prices, costs and tariffs should be set up by law for undertaking the determination of prices of industrial products, industrial raw materials etc.'. So far this has not been done. Government resorting to *ad hoc* and haphazard measures which will never solve the problem. That is why these galloping prices are the major problem. It will create a kind of revolution which no one can prevent. It is round the corner. I request Government to spell out its programme so that it can tackle it on an emergency footing.

श्री विमूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : सभापति

[महोदय, श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु जो प्रस्ताव लाये हैं वह निराशावादिता और हिम्मतपस्ती का है। यदि उन के अन्दर देशभक्ति होती तो वे ऐसा न करते। पिछले साल यह लोग सरकार से तकाजा करते थे कि लड़ाई करो, लड़ाई करो, लेकिन लड़ाई करने के बाद साल भर के अन्दर उन में हिम्मतपस्ती आ गई कि साहब, खाना कम हो गया। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह जिन देशों के हिमायती हैं, अर्थात् चीन, रूस और ईस्टर्न योरप, वहां खाना क्यों कम हो गया? सवाल यह है कि अभी तक कोई भी आदमी दुनिया में मौसम पर कब्जा नहीं कर सका और न कर सकता है। यह प्रवृत्ति का नियम है। इसलिये सब से जरूरी बात यह है कि उन लोगों को खास मौसम के ऊपर इस का प्रबन्ध करना होगा कि फसल के फेल होने पर खाना जुटाया जाये।

दूसरी बात में श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु को यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां एक इंजीनियर है जिस की इंग्लैण्ड में चीनी न मिलने के कारण फर्स्ट वर्ल्ड वार में, नमक के साथ चाय पीने की आदत पड़ गई। आज वह नमक के साथ चाय पीता है। चीनी तो आज काफी मिल रही है। साल भर से खाना ठीक से नहीं मिल रहा है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर किस आदमी का चेहरा आज कमजोर दिखाई पड़ रहा है? क्या किसी एक आदमी का भी चेहरा कमजोर है? क्या श्री पीलू मोदी का चेहरा कमजोर है?

हमारे विरोधी दल के भाइयों में से, कितनों ने रबी की बुवाई और पिछले सात्र

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

धान की खेती की है यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ ? इनको खेती का अनुभव नहीं है और न ये खेती का हाल जानते हैं।

खेती में क्रमिक ह्रास नियम लागू होता है लेकिन कारखानों में यह लागू नहीं होता है। वहाँ ला आफ इनफ़्लेजिंग रिटर्न लागू होता है। खेती में पचासों आफ़त हैं। खेती की पैदावार किसी के हाथ में नहीं होती है, जो नेबर को या भगवान को मानता है वह यही कहेगा कि उसके हाथ में होती है।

आप एक बात पर गम्भीरता से विचार करें। जब हम कमी की बात करने हैं तो उसका क्या परिणाम होता है, यह हम को देख लेना चाहिये। अब हम लोगों को पता रहता है कि हमारे घर में खाना है तो हम को जल्दी भूख नहीं लगती है। यह एक साइको-लोजिकल बात है। लेकिन जब पता चल जाता है कि हमारे घर में खाने को नहीं है तो बहुत जल्दी भूख लगने लग जाती है। इसी तरह से इनका जो रस्ता है यह जो अभाव है इसको और भी ज्यादा बड़े अभाव में परिवर्तित कर देने में सहायक होगा। इस प्रस्ताव और इस बहस की वजह से देश में कीमत और बढ़ जाएंगी। इस वास्ते इनका यह प्रस्ताव देश हित में नहीं है, यह देश को नुकसान पहुंचाने वाला प्रस्ताव है।

1967 में 26 प्रतिशत कीमतें बढ़ीं जबकि आज ग्यारह परसेंट ही बढ़ी हैं। मैं पूछता हूँ कि ऐसी स्थिति में घबराहट क्यों ? आगे चुनाव आने वाले हैं और इस तरह से हो हल्ला मचा करके ये उन में फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं। अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार अपनी प्रोजेक्ट्स को पैसा दे कर न चलाए और स्टेट्स को पैसा न दे तो ये हल्ला करेंगे कि स्टेट्स को पैसा नहीं देते हैं। अगर दे दिया जाता है तो कहेंगे कि इनफ़्लेशन पैदा कर रहे हैं। कुछ न कुछ तो करना पड़ेगा। हमारी विरोधी पार्टियों को स्वस्थ परम्परायें डालनी चाहियें

धीं और इन पर चलना चाहिये था, स्वस्थ समालोचना, रचनात्मक आलोचना उनको करनी चाहिये। लेकिन वे ऐसा नहीं करते हैं। गांधी जी ने कहा था ड्रेन इंसपैक्टर्ज के बारे में कि हिन्दुस्तान में ये गन्दगी ही देखते हैं। जब भी सैसन शुरू होता है या जब भी यह खत्म होता है तो इनको हर चीज़ खराब ही मालूम होती है, कोई अच्छाई इनको दिखाई ही नहीं देती है।

देश में इन्दिरा गांधी ने जो काम किया है हजार बरस में किसी ने नहीं किया है। पिछले दो हजार बरस में हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में ऐसा अच्छा काम नहीं हुआ है जैसा श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने किया है। लेकिन अब ऐसे आदमी हैं कि एक साल भी नहीं गुजरा है कि आपने उनके यश को भुला दिया है।

मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। जो इरिगेशन वाला, ट्यूबवैल वाला प्राजैक्ट आपने हाथ में लिया है, उसको आप पूरा करें। यह जो प्रोग्राम है इसको आप जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा करें ताकि आपकी पैदावार बढ़ सके। गंडक प्राजैक्ट की वजह से मेरे गांव में पानी आ गया और उससे 50 या 60 या 70 प्रतिशत धान होगा। लेकिन मेरे बगल के गांव में पानी नहीं गया है। वर्षा भी नहीं हुई है। इसका परिणाम यह है कि चारे के अभाव में पशु आदि मर रहे हैं। आप रचनात्मक स्टेप उठाएं, ऐसे कदम उठाएं ताकि पैदावार खेती की बढ़ सके। आप ट्यूबवैल अधिक से अधिक संख्या में लगाएं। साथ ही आप किसानों को रिम्यूनरेटिव प्राइस दें। किसान जो पैदा करता है आप चाहते हैं कि उसका माल आप एक रुपये में चार किलो ले लें लेकिन जो टैरेलीन बनाने वाला है आप यह चाहते हैं कि उसको पांच रुपये गज मुनाफा हो। यह नहीं चल सकता है। इण्डस्ट्रियल गुड्स और एग्री-कल्चरल गुड्स, दोनों की आप इंटेग्रेटिव प्राइस दें तब काम चलेगा। आप किसान को भूल जाएं तो पैदावार नहीं बढ़ेगी। जब तक

खेती की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ेगी आपका कोई काम नहीं हो सकेगा, आप कोई काम नहीं कर सकेंगे। किसान की पैदावार और अन्य चीजों की एक इन्ट्रेंटिड प्राइस होनी चाहिए। आखिर कपड़ा, धान और दालें आदि खेत से ही पैदा होती हैं। ग्राज कटोरी का दाम पांच रुपये है और दूध आने किलो। लेकिन कुछ लोग चाहते हैं कि उनको गुड़ एक रुपया किलो के हिसाब से मिले। कटोरी और गुड़ का दाम एक जैसा होना चाहिए।

सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि खेती की क्या हालत हो रही है। क्या माननीय सदस्यों को यह पता है कि इस साल पानी दिया गया है, लेकिन कीड़ा लगने से फसल तबाह हो गई है? (व्यवधान) माननीय सदस्य कलकत्ता में एयर-कन्डीशन्ड मकान में रहते हैं। उनको क्या पता है? (व्यवधान)

प्राइस राइज विरोधी लोग करवा रहे हैं। (व्यवधान) मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चुनाव लड़ने के लिए उनके पास पैसे कहाँ से आते हैं। श्री पीलू मोदी चुनाव लड़ते हैं। उन्होंने चुनाव में कितना खर्च किया और वह पैसा कहाँ से आया?

श्री पीलू मोदी : क्या आप मेरे चुनाव के खर्च और अपने चुनाव के खर्च की शर्त लगायेंगे?—तो बाहर आ जाइये। (व्यवधान)

श्री बिभूति मिश्र : इस हाउस में विरोधी लोगों की तादाद इतनी कम हो गई है कि ग्राज केवल 41 मेम्बर ही खड़े हुए। वे क्या विरोध करेंगे? वे यहाँ भले ही विरोध करें, लेकिन ये मोट मोटे और धनी आदमी खेत में काम नहीं कर सकते हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री हुकम चन्द कछुआध (मुरेना) : आप भी करोड़पति से कम नहीं हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री पीलू मोदी : मेरे चुनाव के पैसे में एक पैसा भी गूजरमल मोदी या पोस्टर वाले मोयन्का के पास से नहीं आया। (व्यवधान)

डा० कैलाश : आपका पैसा नवल टाटा और जे० आर० डी० टाटा के पास से आया है (व्यवधान)

श्री बिभूति मिश्र : मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमने धनी गरीब सभी लोगों से चन्दा मांग मांग कर अग्रजों से लड़ाई लड़ी थी, लेकिन हमने कभी विदेशों से पैसा नहीं लिया : (व्यवधान)

श्री पीलू मोदी : प्रजिडेंशल इलेक्शन में आपने सोवियट मनी इस्तेमाल किया। क्या वह इस देश का पैसा था? हम मास्को के सैटलाइट बन गये हैं। क्या मास्को इस देश में है? आपको कुछ पता नहीं है। आपको बड़ी बड़ी बातें करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। आप किसान, खेत, गांव और कुम्हों की बात कीजिए। (व्यवधान)

श्री बिभूति मिश्र : आप जैसे बहुत से मोटे आदमी आये और जेल से डर कर भाग गये। हम अभी भी हिम्मत से, पत्थर और लोहे की तरह डटे हुए हैं। आप हमारा मुकाबला न कीजिए।

रूस की बात जो यह कहते हैं तो 1942 में ये कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वाले हम को पुलिस रॉ पकड़वाते थे और हम जेल जाते थे। आप हमारा मुकाबिला नहीं कर सकते।

इसलिए मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह बहस जिस तरह से हो रही है और ज्योतिर्मय बंसु साहब जिस ढंग का यह प्रस्ताव लाए हैं इस प्रस्ताव में देश का कल्याण नहीं होने वाला है बल्कि कीमतें और बढ़ जाने वाली हैं। बिल्कुल साइकोलाजिकल यह बात होगी कि हिन्दुस्तान में खाना नहीं है। किदवाई साहब ने कहा यद्यपि खाना कम था तब भी कहा कि जितना चाहे हमारे पास खाना है सबको हम खिला देंगे लोगों को कमी नहीं हांगी। नतीजा हुआ कि कीमतें नहीं बढ़ीं। आप यह बहस करके

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

और इस तरह की बातें करके देश का अहित कर रहे हैं।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु : आन ए प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर। विभूति मिश्र जी कह रहे हैं कि खाना कम खाओ खाना मत खाओ प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि शक्कर कम खाओ कपड़े के बारे में क्या होगा ?

श्री विभूति मिश्र : कपड़े के बारे में मैं बताता हूँ। हमारे ऋषियों ने बताया कि मूँज का इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए। चार गज कपड़ा पहनना चाहिए। मोहनदास कर्मचन्द गांधी कितना कपड़ा पहनते थे ? ...

श्री हुकम खन्ना : आप सौ रुपये का कुर्ता पहने हुए हैं ...

श्री विभूति मिश्र : जरा आकर के और छू करके देखिए यह किस चीज का कुर्ता है और कितने का है... (व्यवधान) ...

सभापति महोदय : यह बात ठीक नहीं है। यह क्रास टाक मत होने दीजिए। उनको बोलने दीजिए और आप सुनिए। आप बोलते हैं तो वह सुनें।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : सभापति महोदय मेरा समय तो ये लोग ले लिए। सवाल यह है कि अगर हम चाहते हैं कि डेमोक्रेसी रहे तो डेमोक्रेसी में कोई व्यक्तिगत क्रिटिसिज्म मत कीजिए। हमारे सिद्धान्त की समालोचना कीजिए और जहाँ तक देशभक्ति का मामला है उसमें सब मिल कर साथ दीजिए। नहर खुदवानी हो, द्यूबवैल लगवाना हो और जो इस तरह के खेती के काम आने वाले काम हैं वे काम किए जाने चाहिए। लेकिन एक बात है। मुझे मालूम होता है कि विरोधी पक्ष में खेती का काम जानने वाले बहुत कम लोग हैं।... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री पीलू मोदी : स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को छोड़ कर।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के आदमी तो बड़े बड़े महलों में रहते हैं। वह क्या जानें खेती की बातें ?

मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितना भी फैंक्ट्री का और फील्ड का सामान है उन दोनों की इंटिग्रेटेड प्राइस रखिए। खेती को मत मारिए। किसानों की हालत आप चल कर गांवों में देखिए कि उनकी पैदावार की क्या कीमत मिलती है और फैंक्ट्री में जो चीजें पैदा होती हैं उनकी क्या कीमत है ?

दूसरी बात खेती के काम आने वाली और उससे सम्बन्धित जितनी स्कीम्स हैं सिंचाई की द्यूबवैल की उसको प्राथमिकता दीजिए और जितने लखड़ी गुड्स हैं उन पर टैक्स लगाइए। जैसे आप ने टैरीलिन वगैरह पर और सिगरेट पर टैक्स लगाया यह आपने बड़ा अच्छा काम किया। ज्यादा अच्छा होता कि आप सिगरेट की खेती को ही बन्द कर देते और उस खेत में मक्का और गेहूँ करते जो इन लोगों को खिलाते। यही मेरा कहना है और सरकार का जो सिद्धान्त है वह ठीक है। सरकार का साथ लोग देंगे। ये विरोधी नहीं देंगे तो जनता तो सरकार का साथ देगी और जनता सरकार के साथ रहेगी।

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad): Mr. Chairman, the Indian people are known for their perseverance but galloping prices have exhausted the patience of the common man. We are committed to banish poverty but in actual practice we have placed heavy burdens on the common man. He has now lost the faith in the present political leadership and also in the total apparatus of democratic functions. The poor man feels he has been exploited beyond a point. Economic policies have miserably failed to raise the living standards of those who are known to live below the poverty line. But still the Government leaders do not feel tired to claim that the economy has

turned the corner. I really do not know which economy they mean because in the Indian economy there has been nothing but galloping prices.

Participating in the budget debate last year I predicted a price rise of 15 per cent. Now the Government has conceded that the index of wholesale prices stood at 216.7 on 10th February compared to 191.5 on 12th February, 1972. It is a little more than 25 points or 13.2 per cent. If you see the entire fiscal year, the prices during the last fiscal year have gone up beyond 15 per cent. All Plan calculations have gone wrong and it has hurt the low income and fixed income groups. It has upset the cost calculations of the Industrial sector and thrown out of gear the entire apparatus of saving and investment effort. What is more disquieting and unfortunate is the effect that in the immediate future there is hardly any hope of prices showing a downward trend. At the moment there is so much of pressure on prices because of the impact of drought and power shortage, that they are sure to result in further increases in prices in the near future.

I am pleased to see the standard of the debate. Like the medical experts, we should analyse the causes of the disease to find a satisfactory solution to the problem. We all know that the cost push inflation is the real cause of the problem. We all hear that the Government is very fond of alibis which hardly impress the common man. We have also heard that the unfavourable weather has now been given as a fair alibi. But we must analyse the deeper causes which are responsible for the creation of the basic imbalance in the economy. The prices were rising even before the weather clerk failed. It is no use putting the blame at the door of rain God. The real fact is that the prices are rising, and they are largely responsible because of our economic policies.

It is also asserted in Government circles that price rise in a developing economy is a must. But the development will become meaningless if the price rise is at the rate of 15 per cent a year. I will concede that in a developing economy the prices do rise, but in no case more than 2 to 3 per cent. Whenever the prices rise more than 2 to 3 per cent., I will say that there is something basically wrong with the policy or that they are not being pursued effectively.

The Prime Minister has described inflation as a world-wide phenomenon. But she forgets what is happening in the Western countries. Why do we compare the figure of price rise in India with that of developing countries where the incomes are rising still at a faster rate? If you compare the incomes with price rise, you will come to the conclusion that this is because of the faulty policies that we pursued for the last 25 years.

We do not know that there is an uproar in most of the countries whenever the prices rise beyond four or five per cent? We know that in Holland when the prices went up beyond seven per cent the Government was in doldrums and was threatened to be collapsed. This is the situation and still the Government talks in terms of growth with stability. Growth with stability is a national objective, but the Governmental policies are wholly responsible for the galloping prices. It is no use for the Finance Minister to assert now and then that it is a temporary phase and it is largely because of poor agricultural production. If it is so, I will say, it is just a sad commentary that with all the planning and forecast, India is left at the primitive stage of being overtaken by events, looking helplessly for aid from everywhere.

Our Food Minister just before the kharif crop promised an era of plenty and was exploring the possibilities to export foodgrains. But we know what has happened. There was an

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attempt to gloss over the entire situation and the kharif crops finally ditched him to such an extent that the nation got an impression that the Government was doing nothing but to bluff the people and presenting such figures which were totally wrong.

There is still an assertion that the shortage is not more than 4 million tonnes. But we know it is not less than 8 million tonnes. The Government is now pinning all its hope on rabi crop and still importing food to an extent of 2 million tonnes at a cost of Rs. 160 crores.

This is all the result of an anti-kisan Budget which the Finance Minister presented last year. We had pointedly pleaded with the Finance Minister last year that the Budget proposals would certainly hamper the agricultural production. He had levied heavy excise duty on fertiliser and power-driven pumps which has largely resulted into a lesser production. It is no use expecting the production to go upto 112 million tonnes in the next year so long as the Government is talking in terms of land ceiling, unremunerative agricultural income-tax and the take-over of wholesale trade. What we need at the moment is that all possible incentives should be given to farmers which will help in the increase of production. If we do not provide incentives to farmers, I can assure you that the next year will be a grim one and the production will not be more than 100 million tonnes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's time is up now.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: I have not covered even one-fourth of my points. Any way in the end I can tell you that the ideology cannot feed the people. The poor is fed up with your negative instances which have done nothing but to hamper production. Scarcity conditions must go if the prices are to be stabilised. Mere political stability will have little

meaning if there is no price stability. Price stability is a pre-condition to political stability. The poor has now reached a saturation point when he would prefer political confusion, anarchy and, if necessary, bloodshed, rather than political stability with galloping prices.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Calcutta South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I agree with some of the points raised by the hon. Members of the Opposition in connection with the rise in prices. But I deny certain other charges which have been allged against our party in connection with implementing our policies in recent years.

I really feel that sometimes surprised to know that in our country the situation is only counteracted by emotions and not by reality. The hon. Members from the Opposition, particularly, the Members of the C.P.I. have nicely pointed out that it is unwise on the part of the Government to bring in every moment the Bangladesh movement in connection with the rise in prices. I am quite aware of the situation that may be the liberated people of Bangladesh may feel sometimes unhappy to know that for their support the people of India are suffering. One may like to forget that. But can you deny the truth which is very much before us as to what has happened within the last 2-1/2 years to the people of our country? I confess that the rise in prices, particularly in respect of essential commodities is now to such an extent that both the down-trodden people and the middle-class people are at confusion as to how they will survive with their families. I do admit that the reason for the recent price-rise is not the result of economic problems of the last three years but the result of the general economic situation of the last several years

and my party, the then Congress Party, was not able to implement the actual programmes and the policies through our economic schemes. I do consider that the split in the Indian National Congress which we call the revolution in the Indian National Congress was not essentially an attempt to make Shrimati Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister but essentially to highlight the problems of the country and the policies in which the then party leadership was not very much sincere. I do confess, Mr. Chairman, that soon after the revolution, we, ourselves, the Congressmen and our Governments at the Centre and in the States have rightly taken up certain programmes to implement, but we have had only a very short time.

I do not challenge the statistics given by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. Most of them are, possibly, correct, and there is no denying the fact that increasing rate of price rise as compared to the past is really bad enough at the moment. But the charges which have been levied against our Party by the hon. members on the Opposition and particularly by the Mover of the motion, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, are really wild and unfortunate. I did not expect that the Parliamentary forum where the problems of the people could be highlighted better by co-operation, with constructive suggestions, would be taken advantage of, with political motives, to assassinate some character of the Party. It is quite known today in our Parliamentary democracy that all the political parties, whether it is Congress or Communist, speak for social justice and socialism. We find that there are many problems in our society. But socialism cannot be achieved just by some economic pressures and confrontation. It requires some social revolution within the society which lies under grave corruption.

Today, in the morning, there was an uproar in the House about the affairs of Medi. An hon. Member from

the Opposition tried to hint that my Government and Party were very much with this sort of people, hoarders and that was why prices were increasing. I want to submit that it is our Party, in spite of the ruling Governments in many States, which, without depending on the police administration, compelled not one or two, but dozens of hoarders to go under jail custody, and such instances were quite large in West Bengal—which Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu knows. If it is really found that people like Mr. Modi—I am not talking of Mr. Piloo Mody but of Mr. S. K. Modi—are really serious in such affairs—hoarding materials—they should, in my opinion, not only be punished, but their entire business licence should be withdrawn and they should not be allowed to continue any further.

Achievement of socialism in terms of economic confrontation is a big task. I like to submit to the hon. Finance Minister that today the way the judiciary is functioning, beginning from the lower court to the Supreme Court, the concept of the law today, is not quite adequate to cope with the problems of the people, and it is the downtrodden people who suffer the most. Even the worst black-marketeer manages to get released from the grips of the court, and even if the matter is taken to the higher court, by the same concept of judiciary, he gets released and walks out freely as a royal citizen.

I do feel that the slogan which our Party has given, 'Garibi Hatao', is a symbol of the bigger socialist target which has to be implemented step by step by different courses of action. We have not had enough time for it.

My submission to the hon. Finance Minister is this. Apart from drought and other natural calamities which have been largely responsible for the price rise and other things, it is the big monopoly houses in India which are indirectly controlling the whole nation. I can support my statement with documents and papers. In Calcutta, C. L. Bajuria, K. K. Birla,

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Kanoria and a few others, ever since the Bangladesh struggle started, have been trying to have a link with the Central Government secretariat to know how they can bring about the collapse of the whole economic set-up of the country which is basically run by public sector and government undertakings. When I say it, I say it with all responsibility. We shall certainly see a tremendous downfall in the losses of the public undertakings and a tremendous rise in their profits and elimination of the wealth concealed in the private sector. It is nothing but an arranged game by the monopolists of our nation which is largely responsible for it.

My first submission would be this: to tackle and deal with this price rise problem, the Central Government, particularly, our Finance Minister shall take drastic measures against all the big monopolists of the country, whoever he may be and whatever the industry he may be running, not to give them any further opportunity to deprive our people any more and this should be done before the next Republic Day. I can cite several examples. Recently sugar became scarce in Calcutta. I know it was caused by these sugar magnates who under the initiative of these big business houses deliberately and intentionally did not withdraw their own material from the railway wagons and left them not cleared in the Shalimar railway yard. I came to know of it through my own friends. It was their plan that if only they could create scarcity for two months, automatically prices would go up and people will forget the past when the material was there already for two months in the railway yards. The same sort of business tactics are being adopted all over the country. So, I think this is one of the problems.

Secondly, it is unwise to accuse the Prime Minister and the Party and the Government. I see even to-day in the bureaucracy we require certain changes. You find everywhere, either in Delhi or in Calcutta, the big houses

which are newly built and decorated either by an ex-Secretary of the Central Secretariat or a retired I.C.S. or a retired IPS officer—how did they make it, I do not understand, in this difficult economy? Where could they find all this money to build palatial houses after maintaining their families? How did they make all that money? You go and dine with them—both the Congress Party, the Communist Party and the Marxist Party—there is no difference. This is the problem of the whole society in which the largest amount of socialism shall have to be created.

I come to the conclusion with a specific remark. I would like to make a hint to my CPI friend who has charged that it is not proper every-time to drag in Bangla Desh. I am not dragging in Bangla Desh. I remember the day, the 6th December when the question of recognition of Bangla Desh came up. It is this Parliament which stood out firmly that we shall have to create self-reliance. We do not care U.S.A. We shall not depend upon their wheat. It is our peasants and working people, the people who will drop the last drop of their blood, to keep the torch of Bangla Desh freedom and continue to fight on the western sector. The amount, whether it is Rs. 800 crores or Rs. 1000 crores, is not the factor, but the amount we promised on that day, we are not finding it in reality. I feel proud that we achieved the freedom of Bangla Desh and to protect our people in the western sector, we are suffering to-day, I feel proud of it. It is the cost of patriotism we shall have to pay whenever the country faces it. When the C.P.I. friend and the Marxist friend accused our Party and the Government that it is unwise to draw Bangla Desh, I should say, I am not dragging. I will cite examples, one after another. Not a single Party, whether C.P.I. or the C.P.M. in the recent publication of their bulletin have pointed out the actual cost, the actual cost of the calamities for which thousands and millions of the poor peasants and the

people are now suffering. I think it is two-thirds of the country which is under drought. They did not publish. They are trying to befool the people concealing the whole truth to the nation. They are not publishing what an amount of buffer stocks we had to spend immediately after the war to meet the challenges due to drought and I think those who say that we are betraying the people, it is these opposition parties, taking advantage of the parliamentary democracy, cherish their own narrow political interests and are betraying the cause of the nation. I am here not to defend my Party but to defend the nation.

In the F.C.I., as rightly pointed out by Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, there are some officers and staff who are trying to frustrate the cause of the public undertaking.

These are some suggestions of mine and I do hope if our Finance Minister can take severe measures against these monopolists who are playing cards with the Swatantra friends in the night and in the morning with the Marxist friends and often with some other political parties....

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Ausgram): Sir, what is the talking about.... (Interruptions).

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNDGI: Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and his party have accused that our Home Minister is collecting money from big monopolists. I would like to inform the House that it is the Party, the Marxist Party, whose lawyers, no less than responsible legislators of his Party, have gone to the court to defend the coal-miners after the Government's take-over of the coal-mines. Can they deny it? Mr. Chairman, Sir, I expect our Finance Minister to take all possible care to extend the facilities to the poor people to control the prices. I think our Finance Minister will take revolutionary mea-

surces to check the mal-practices of the monopolists at this crucial hour.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Kendrapara): Sir, listening to some of the speeches from the Congress side and the beautiful smiles and the appreciative nods of the Finance Minister I was thinking as though the real problem today was the Opposition and not so much the price rise. The pedagogues of the Congress benches had really even begged justification over this issue. But to state the problem in its proper perspective I would invite the attention of the Finance Minister to page 42 of the Economic Survey which had been circulated on February 23, 1973. At page 42 in para 152 the entire problem has been stated in almost brutal frankness. It says: Despite vigorous efforts made by the Government to control the price rise the wholesale price index registered an unusually large increase in 1972.

I have gone through this Economic Survey and nowhere it has been analysed what were the vigorous steps taken by the Government. All these slogans of the Government have remained so far empty shibboleths. I ask the House to consider dispassionately, and the Finance Minister to answer, whether forward trading had been completely banned; whether credit squeeze against agricultural commodities has been completely affected; whether speculative activities have been forestalled—nothing of the kind has been done and yet these gentlemen have the cheeks to say that it was as though the Opposition was causing the price rise. I charge the Finance Minister and the Government of India that no steps of the kind as indicated earlier have been taken and the slogan of 'garibi hatao' of the Congress Party has resulted today in 'garib hatao'.

What is the crux of the matter? Despite the plethora of promises the prices of essential commodities continue to rise. It is being said that the only trump-card in the hands of

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the Government is take-over of whole-sale trade.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Why does he not read out the whole paragraph?

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: I shall read it out for his pleasure.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Not for my pleasure but for his enlightenment. He will get a better understanding of the position.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: It further says:

"There was a manifestation of these wrong tendencies generated by continuing increases in expenditure and the unsatisfactory behaviour of agricultural production since 1971-72."

why was there progressively continuing increase in unproductive expenditure? Even though the Finance Minister has assured this House day in and day out that there should be restraint on unproductive expenditure, why has the expenditure gone up? It is tommy-rut to say that there has been drought and there has been increase in expenditure on account of relief. What about the Rs. 26 lakhs being spent on the renovation of the bungalows lived in by a few grand Moghuls sitting on the other side? How much expenditure have they saved on the Raj Bhavans and on those who are working like stooges of the powers that be? It is for Shri Yeshwantaro Chavan to answer these questions: Has he stopped forward trading completely? Has he banned it? Has there been credit squeeze by nationalised banks in respect of credits against agricultural commodities? Have the speculative activities been completely banned? Nothing of the kind has been done. The crux of the matter is that Government have failed to check the rising spiral of prices; rather the Government has abetted it.

During 1972, the general rise in price level was 13 per cent which was four times as much as the increase of 3.9 per cent in the previous year. Is it due to Bangla Desh? Is it due to the drought? Even the *Economic Survey* mentions it somewhere that the post-harvest decline in prices was conspicuous by its absence. Why was that so?

Even the seasonal commodities displayed a contraseasonal rise in prices. Why did that happen? The Food Minister was waxing eloquent over the green revolution. What has happened to his green revolution today? The green revolution was just a mere fluke. I know that in the *Economic Survey* it has been pointed out that there were more than 128 districts in the country where there was neither irrigation nor did the rainfall exceed 1215 m.m. a year. In those districts, what was required was really dry farming. The green revolution ought to have come about not where there is flow irrigation and where there are irrigation facilities, but in those dry districts. Therefore, I say that it is not the green revolution which has brought down the prices. It was yet another slogan.

As for Bangla Desh, we had made more than adequate provision for it. Even today we are paying the Bangla Desh levies, and we shall be paying till April this year, and we are making adequate provision in this regard. I would ask the hon. Finance Minister to show us in any of his previous budget speeches wherein he has said that due to Bangla Desh there was going to be a price spiral. He never said nor had warned anything of that kind. He merely hinted obliquely at the fact that because of Bangla Desh we might be prepared for some unforeseen consequences. Those unforeseen consequences did not mean 20 per cent rise in food-grains prices. The Congress Government has taken this House for a ride, and I say that this is no party issue; it is not a partisan issue. I would like to warn Government that if the

price rise goes on continuing in this unbridled scale, it will not only end in anarchy but it will result in the end of the democratic experiment that we are having today.

Due to lack of time, I am not able to discuss some other aspects. I would have liked the hon. Minister to tell us what percentage of the price the customs and excise duties constitute.

In the Approach Paper to the Fifth Plan, it has been stated that the market price of a commodity is built up of three components, one of which, the most important, is indirect taxes. The increase in the indirect taxes component tends to raise the market price. Therefore, the Approach Paper did give this suggestion:

"The only way to upset the price impact of indirect taxes is through economies in material and operational costs".

May I venture to ask the Finance Minister what steps even the public sector industries have taken to bring down operational costs? Nothing of the kind.

Look at the Indian Railways. The operational costs are going up. They are running parallel with the increased income. This is the achievement in public sector industries.

In fine, I should say the failure of the Government on many fronts, in many aspects, both fiscal and managerial and technical, has resulted in this unbridled price rise and coupled with corruption and the craze for raising political funds, has made the life of the common man miserable. Money value has eroded. Today the rupee's value is 25 paise. This has resulted in all-round disaster.

Therefore, I conclude saying that the time has come when this matter should be lifted from the partisan morass and the Finance Minister should really give a new dimension

to his thinking and not indulge in slogans which has resulted in mere shibboleths.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar): Mr. Chairman, I have been hearing the debate with rapt attention. One thing has become very much clear to me, namely, that the Mover of the Motion has miserably failed to put his viewpoints. The language of the Motion is:

"That this House is alarmed and distressed at the continuous increase in prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities and the Government's failure to arrest the same".

No doubt, the Mover of the Motion has put forward certain statistics quoting from here and there and then he made the observation that the price rise is the highest in India. I do not know how he came to this conclusion. Whatever that may be, probably he meant thereby that the impact of this price rise is really very very great in this country. And I do not deny that.

As a matter of fact, what happens when the price of commodities increase? Price increase has its own economic implications. Increase in prices means that the demand is more and production is less. Dealing with this, what do we find in the last few years, keeping the production at a very low ebb, demand has gone up tremendously because of certain factors. Firstly, the money supply has gone up; secondly, there is increase in population; thirdly, production in all respects has gone down, both in the essential commodities, foodstuffs and other national products; fourthly, the development projects expected to function at a certain level could not function at the expected level; and fifthly, there are the corrupt practices being adopted by hoarders, profiteers, monopolists and smugglers; these also seem to be on an increasing scale.

18 hrs.

Taking this overall situation into view, what do we find? As I said

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earlier, the impact of this price rise on the average people, the lower income groups, these persons living next or below the poverty line, is really very high. I can quote one simple statistics to prove my contention. In 1960-61, the national income at the price-level prevailing then was Rs. 13,294 crores and money supply

was Rs. 2,889 crores.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please continue tomorrow.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, March 6, 1973/ Phalguna 15, 1894 (Saka).