

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Twelfth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 10th August, 1967."

The motion was adopted.

15.10 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. WAGE FREEZE
POLICY—contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up further discussion of the Resolution moved by Shri C. K. Chakrapani on the 28th July 1967. Out of the 3 hours allotted, 1 hour 51 minutes have been consumed. 1 hour and 9 minutes remain. Shri S. Kandappan will continue his speech.

Shri S. Kandappan (Mettur): Sir, I was saying the other day that the whole approach was lopsided. The Government, instead of talking of wage freeze, should have earnestly tried to see that this inflation that is going on unchecked in this country, is put an end to at the earliest possible opportunity. After all, it is not an impossible thing to check the prices. If the Government do not do it, I am afraid, they are putting the cart before the horse by talking of wage freeze; that will only create resentment among the wage-earners in the country.

Here I should like to point out the efforts made by the DMK Government in Madras, not because it is our government there but because it is a good example and it is possible that within the limitations and resources that are available to Government they can go ahead for fixation and stabilisation of prices in the country.

Practically since we took over the rule in Tamilnad we have not changed any policies to any great extent there; actually, the economic policies that had been pursued already by the Congress Government there had been adopted and followed fully. What we have done is this. There was a drive, a real and earnest effort to see that the price level is fixed. To begin with, our Government made the "one rupee one measure" policy and they were able to fulfil that policy to a very great extent in major urban centres like Madras city, Coimbatore and elsewhere, with the result that within a few weeks of our taking that measure the cost of living index had been considerably reduced.

Shri P. Venkatasubbalah: (Nandyal) Madras measure?

Shri S. Kandappan: Yes.

It is almost at a fixed level now. Though it has not fallen to a very great extent afterwards due to so many other causes, it has not increased anyway.

During the last three years the total rise in the prices is of the order of about 46 per cent and I am sure the Government is quite aware that one of the most contributing factors to this price rise is foodgrains. If they are able to control this rise in prices with regard to this essential commodity, that is, the foodgrains, I am sure, the Government will be in a position to bring down the cost of living index to a bearable level if not to a minimum level. So, the Government should think on these constructive lines. Then, there would not be any grudge or agitational approach to this problem. I am sure of it.

So, I would like to know from the Minister, when he is answering, whether they are seriously going to adopt any policy or evolve any method by which they will be in a position to control the cost of living index in the country. I would like to suggest that if

it is not possible to have an overall price fixation, at least for the wage-earners, the Central Government employees and other poorer sections of the country let them have some sort of Government co-operatives or Government stores from where they can have an assured supply of their essential day-to-day needs at a fixed price. Then, they will be in a position to make both ends meet.

This would be the constructive thing. I hope, the Government would see to it that before they go on talking about wage freeze and unnecessarily antagonise the working population and the wage-earners in the country, they take this positive, concrete and healthy step of price freeze. This will not only help the wage-earners in the country but this will also have a healthy effect on other economic sectors in the country because now we have the complaint from the industrialists and from other sectors that there is no limit and there is no saying what the price will be at any given time. So, the most serious problem facing this country is this irregular movement in prices and that too with regard to essential commodities.

I would like to point out one thing before I conclude and that is with regard to a sort of unhelpful attitude that this Government is showing towards the non-Congress State Governments, particularly, the Madras State Government. When the Madras State Government has taken the step of controlling the prices, actually, the economic policies announced by the Central Government are nullifying the effects of the step that our Government has taken. I mean the unhelpful attitude with regard to the inputs on the agricultural front. When we are going ahead with the programme of producing more and more foodgrains in the country and, at the same time, looking to the interests of the consumers and controlling the prices, it is really very strange—it is very inconvenient for the State Governments—that the Central Government,

in its wisdom, thinks that they can remove the subsidy on fertiliser and that they can remove the subsidy on foodgrains also. They have also levied certain taxes on diesel and all that.

These are the things which have contributed to the investment cost with the result the farmers are clamouring for more and more price for their produce and if the State Government has got to pay more to the farmer, naturally, they will be in difficulties and they will not be able to subsidise, at the same time, the consumer, that is, the foodgrains that go to the consumer.

If the Central Government is not able to help us in a big way, I would request them at least to see that as far as the State Governments are concerned, when they evolve some measures to control the prices, the attitude of the Central Government must be helpful in the sense that they do not interfere and they do not hamper the policies of the State Governments. That is my request to this Government.

Lastly, I would like to say a word about the wage, D.A. and all that. It has been reported in the papers that the Government is quite adamant, quite clear in their mind, as to what they are going to do. Probably, they are already thinking in terms of taking some measures against the forthcoming agitation that will be launched by the Central Government employees. That will be the most unfortunate thing for this Government to do. I would like to say one thing about the attitude of this Government. I think it is very mischievous on the part of the Finance Minister or on the part of the Central Government to say that they would take the views of the Chief Ministers in this matter and that they would consult the party leaders and all that kind of consensus that they are forcing on others. The Central Government employees are the concern of the Central Govern-

[Shri S. Kandappan]

ment. If the Central Government is not able to make up its mind and if it, unnecessarily, refers the question to State Governments, naturally, we know the predicament and the delicate situation in which the State Chief Ministers are placed. As it is, there is already a wide gulf between the pay-scales of the Central Government employees and those of the State Government employees. When you refer this question to a State Chief Minister, whether he is a Congress or a non-Congress Chief Minister, naturally, he will be hesitant and he will be in a very delicate situation either to recommend it or to go against it. The Central Government is fully aware of it. Actually, many Members from this side and even the leaders of the Federation of the Central Government Employees have already pleaded that something must be done towards improvement and the enhancement of the pay-scales of the State Government employees also. What I am submitting is that the Government, instead of having these evasive approaches in order to stall the issue being decided, instead of bringing in the Chief Minister unnecessarily, where they are not at all wanting the Government should decide the question on its own merits. Before it is too late, let them make the announcement and see that there is no trouble ahead by way of strike or other problems because of this dearness allowance.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) : श्रीमन्, चक्रपाणि जी जो यह प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने लाये हैं उस के लिए मैं उन को बधाई देता हूँ। बधाई इसलिए है कि जब यह डीअरनेस एलावेंस का मामला आज देश में लाया गया है और उस के ऊपर बहस हो रही है... (व्यवधान)... हाँ, गंभीर है और पेचीदा भी है और दूसरी एक एक बात यह भी है कि इस सदन में इस मसले को लेकर चर्चा करने का मौका अभी तक नहीं मिला था। इस मौके पर इस प्रस्ताव के जरिए हम लोगों

को यह मौका मिल रहा है। पहले तो मैं आप को और आप के द्वारा हमारे जो वित्त मंत्री हैं उन का ध्यान एक बात की तरफ आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। आज भारत में यह चर्चा है कि वेजेज और प्राइसेस को फ्रीज करना चाहिए। मगर यह फ्रीज की बात जो है यह भी एक झूठ है। हम समझते हैं कि हमारे देश में जो हमारे मजदूरों के वेजेज हैं, उन को जो तनख्वाह है, वह अभी फ्रीज हो गई है, एक जगह उस को जमाया हुआ है, उस को आगे बढ़ने नहीं दिया जाता है। एक जगह बांध रखा है और आज झगड़ा अगर है तो वह जो हम को आज मिलता है उस से कम मिलने जा रहा है, उस को रोकने के लिए हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हम तो डी-फ्रीज की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। यानी नीचे जो हमारा जाता है वह नहीं जाना चाहिये। आज वही हालत शुरू हुई है। हम देखते हैं कि हम को डीअरनेस एलावेंस के लिए लड़ाई लड़नी पड़ती है और जो भी झगड़ा है मोरारजी भाई के साथ वह सिर्फ इतना झगड़ा है कि जितनी मंहगाई बढ़ती जाती है उस के मुद्दावजे में हम को उतना पैसा मिलना चाहिए। यानी पहले जितना पैसा मिलता था उस के कम नहीं मिलना चाहिए, यह हमारी मांग है। लेकिन यहाँ भ्रम पैदा किया जाता है कि हम लोग ज्यादा मांग रहे हैं। यह बात नहीं है : अभी कल यहाँ के जो नेता लोग हैं विरोधी दल के उन के साथ मोरारजी भाई की बातचीत हो रही थी और उन्होंने क्या बतलाया कि 175 करोड़ रुपया हम लोगों को देना पड़ेगा अगर मंहगाई के बारे में खास कर के गजेन्द्र गडकर कमेटी की सिफारिशों को अमल में लायें तो और उस के बाद दलील यह है कि 175 करोड़ रुपया अगर हम मजदूरों के हाथ में दे दें तो प्राइवेज और भी बढ़ जायगी। उन को बताया गया कि ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। रिजर्व बैंक की तरफ से यह मत रखा गया है कि प्राइसेज जो बढ़ती हैं वह वेजेज के कारण नहीं बढ़ती हैं। बल्कि प्राइसेज

बढ़ती हैं, कीमत बढ़ती हैं इसलिए वेजेज की मांग भी बढ़ती जाती है। लेकिन यह मोरारजी भाई मानेंगे नहीं। हमारे इस देश में और हर एक देश में यह होता है, इसे मान लेना चाहिए कि जो प्राइसेज होती हैं उस में एक सबजेक्टिव फॅक्टर भी रहता है। जैसे मोरार जी भाई खुद बखुद चर्चा करते हैं कि 175 करोड़ रुपया हम मंहगाई के लिए दे दें तो प्राइसेज बढ़ जायेंगी। अब मोरारजी भाई खुद बखुद यह कहेंगे तो उस का नतीजा यह हो जाता है कि प्रागे चल कर वह तो हम लेने वाले हैं ही, मोरार जी भाई उस को रोक नहीं सकते हैं, जो हमारा हक है वह तो हम ले लेंगे और मोरार जी भाई देंगे लेकिन उस का नतीजा यह होगा कि लूटने वाले जो हैं पहले से अपनी तैयारी कर के रखे हुए हैं कि जब भी मंहगाई भत्ता मिलेगा तब मोरारजी भाई के कहने के अनुसार कीमतों को बढ़ा देंगे। कीमतों को बढ़ाने के लिए मॉरार जी भाई प्रॉत्साहन दे रहे हैं यह जो हमारी चीज है उस का झगड़ा पैदा कर के, अगर यह झगड़ा न होता तो कभी कोई पूछने वाला भी न होता, लेकिन अभी चर्चा चल रही है और मोरारजी भाई अपनी तरफ से कह रहे हैं कि अगर हम मंहगाई भत्ता दे दें तो कीमतें बढ़ जायेंगी। तो जिस दिन वह देंगे उस दिन पान की दुकान वाला भी अपनी कीमतें बढ़ा देगा क्योंकि यह माहौल पैदा किया जाता है, और हुकूमत की तरफ से किया जाता है और हम लोगों की, मजदूरों की बलि दी जाती है।

ए० माननीय सदस्य : स्टेट्स में न बढ़ने दीजिए।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : स्टेट में क्या? जब घ्राप के हाथ में केन्द्र की हुकूमत है तब स्टेट वाले क्या खाक करेंगे? यहाँ जब मोरारजी भाई बैठे हुए हैं जहाँ चार महीने में चार करोड़ का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हुआ है, मोरार जी भाई खुद कहते हैं कि 80 करोड़ का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हुआ है तो क्या

हम लोग बढ़ा रहे हैं। कीमतें बढ़ाने के लिए एक तरफ तो डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ ऐसी हवा पैदा करते हैं कि मजदूरों को देंगे तो और भी कीमतें बढ़ जायेंगी। यह तो घ्राप का प्रॉत्साहन चल रहा है। जब लूटने वाले हैं उन को घ्राप प्रॉत्साहन दे रहे हैं। हम इस का सख्त विरोध करते हैं। मोरारजी भाई का और हुकूमत का यह कहना है कि हम सब जगह कीमतों का फ्रीज करने जा रहे हैं। कैसे करेंगे? प्राइजेज को फ्रीज करने के लिए पहले हमारे मजदूरों के बंधों पर फ्रीज लगा दिया क्या यही से धर्म चक्र गुरु किया जायगा? चाहिए तो यह था कि जिनके पास ज्यादा पैसा है, ज्यादा मिल्कियत है, उन का पैसा पहले बम करें। उस दिन जब हमारे मित्र डा० लोहिया साहब ने प्रस्नाव रखा कि 15 सौ से ज्यादा किसी का खर्च नहीं करना चाहिए तो मॉरार जी भाई ने उस की खिल्ली उड़ाई और मजदूरों के लिए यह कहते हैं कि तुम को अपना खर्च ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए क्योंकि देश का इस में नुकसान होगा। लेकिन जिन के पास ज्यादा है, 15 सौ से ज्यादा जिन के पास पैसा आता है उन से क्यों नहीं कहते कि तुम्हारे ऊपर इनकम टैक्स लगाएंगे, उस के अलावा और भी पैसा तुम से लेंगे ताकि इन्फ्लेन्सरी रेंजर न बड़े? उन से यह नहीं कहेंगे। जब बड़े लोगों का सवाल आता है, धनिकों का सवाल आता है तो मोरार जी भाई उन के सामने डीले पड़ जाते हैं और मजदूरों का सवाल आता है तो बहुत अपना जोर लगाते हैं। जैसा कि मेरे मित्र ने कहा कि अगर मजदूरों ने स्ट्राइक किया तो वह सोचते हैं उस को कुचलने की कोशिश करेंगे मगर मैं उनको कहे देता हूँ

[एस० एन० जोशी]

कि यह कुचलने की बात अब नहीं चलेगी। इन्ट्रक ने, आई० एन० टी० यू०सी ने और तमाम जितने मजदूर हैं सब ने यह फैसला कर लिया है, यह पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है, तमाम मजदूरों का सवाल है, यह सवाल है सामाजिक न्याय का, पहले इसे कहां से शुरू करना था? पहले तो जिस प्रादमी के पास ज्यादा दौलत है, ज्यादा मिल्कियत है, देश पर जब संकट है तो उस क मदद देनी चाहिए, लेकिन यह होता नहीं है। मैं तो मोरार जी भाई से क्गा कि आप अगर प्राइसेज को रोकना चाहते हैं तो एक ही तरीका हो सकता है और वह यह तरीका है कि जिस के पास 1 लाख से ऊपर जायदाद हो उन से कहा जाय कि तुम को स्पेशल टैक्स देना चाहिए, स्पेशल लेवी देनी चाहिए, देश को आपत्ति का सामना करना है, उस के ऊपर टैक्स लगायें।

दूसरी बात यह कि जैसे आप ने रुपये का डीवैल्युएशन किया, हम कहते हैं कि आप उस का अपवर्ड ग्रेडेशन करें, उस का वैल्युएशन बढ़ावें, आप करेसी का डीमोनोटाइजेशन करें तब यह प्राइसेज नीचे आ सकते हैं नहीं तो नहीं। यह हो सकता है लेकिन मोरार जी भाई यह चीज करेंगे नहीं। इसलिए मेरा कहना है यह है कि जो कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं उस के लिए हमारे मजदूर ही कारण नहीं। उस के लिए कारण हैं बड़े बड़े सरमायेदार और जो हमने प्लान बनाए, तीन योजनाएं बनी जिनमें 25 हजार करोड़ से ज्यादा रुपया देश का खर्च हो गया लेकिन अमीर अमीर बनता गया और आपने उन से टैक्स नहीं लिया। जो हमारा प्लान है उस को भी आप देखें, जब कम रुपया हम ने खर्च किया तो रेट आफ प्रोडक्शन अच्छा था। पहली योजना में हम ने खर्च कम किया तो रेट आफ प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा था। जैसे जैसे हमारा खर्चा ज्यादा बढ़ता जाता है, हम इन्वेस्ट ज्यादा करते जाते हैं वैसे वैसे हमारा

रेट आफ प्रोडक्शन कमती होता जाता है। जितना ही ज्यादा पैसा डागो उतना ही कम होता जाता है। पहली योजना में रेट आफ प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा था, अब कम है और चोरों का भ्रष्टा सब जमा रहता है। इसलिए मैं आप इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और हुकूमत को कहता हूँ कि अगर यह लोग यह समझते हैं कि मजदूरों को इस तरह से कुचल देंगे तो कतई यह हो नहीं सकता है। मंत्री अब मैदान में कह रहे हैं कि आप लोगों को अगर देश की सेवा करनी है, देश की एकता को चाहते हैं तो मजदूरों से आप को प्रेम नहीं होना चाहिये प्रेम अगर होता है तो टाटा और बिड़ला से करो। तभी देश जिन्दा रह सकता है नहीं तो नहीं रह सकता है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Dr. Sushila Nayar.

I want to accommodate as many members as possible. I suggest a time-limit of 5—7 minutes.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): When is the Minister going to reply?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It depends. If Members exercise a little restraint, I would like to call him at 4 P.M.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am asking this because some of us are going to meet the Finance Minister at 4.30 P.M. If voting on this takes place before that, it is all right.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He will have to make a choice. I cannot predict when the voting will take place.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Then we will choose Morarjibhai.

डा० सुशीला नंबर (सांसी) : उपा-व्यय महोदय, यह जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने आया है इस प्रस्ताव में कत्ताया गया है कि जो बेज फ्रीज की बात कही गई है वह ठीक नहीं

उन की परेशानियाँ बढ़ेगी। इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती कि ग्राज की मंहगाई अजरा के लिये और सभी फिक्सड इनकम ग्रुप्स, खास कर जो लो इनकम ग्रुप्स के लोग हैं उन के लिये निहायत परेशानी का कारण बन रही है। लेकिन देखने की बात यह है कि हम क्या करें, जिस से यह प्राइस जो बढ़ती जा रही है, स्पाइरल के रूप में दाम बढ़ता जा रहा है, उस को रोक सकें? हम डी०ए० बढ़ाने हैं ताकि मजदूरों का जो नुकसान हुआ कीमत बढ़ने से उस को दुरुस्त किया जा सके, उस को कम्पेन्सेट किया जा सके। श्री जोशी कहते हैं कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कहा था कि अगर 175 करोड़ और माकॉट में चला गया तो कीमतें और बढ़ेंगी इस कारण से उनके ऐसा कहने से कीमतें बढ़ेंगी वना चुपचाप 175 करोड़ दे दिया होता तो प्राइसेज बढ़ने वाली नहीं थीं। मैं बड़े भ्रदब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि श्री जोशी से कि यह ग्राज की बात नहीं है। जब से हम ने यह सिलमिला चलाया है तभी से यह देखने में आया है कि जिस दिन आप का डी०ए० बढ़ता है उसी दिन या उस से एक दिन पहले प्राइसेज बढ़ जाती हैं, एक जगह पर नहीं, अनेकों जगहों। सरकारी नौकर तो अपने मुंह से कहते हैं कि आप इस को डी० ए० क्यों कहते हैं, इस का नाम तो ग्रीससं अलाउंस होना चाहिये। हमारी जेब में एक भी कौड़ी नहीं जाती, सब व्यापारियों के पास जाता है। बल्कि जितना मिलता है उस से ज्यादा दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। यह हकीकत है कि जिस तरह से मंहगाई बढ़ रही है उस से हम जो डी० ए० बढ़ाते हैं उस से लोगों की कीमत बढ़ने के कारण हुई कमी पूरी नहीं होती। उन की परेशानी ग्राज सही है।

15.33 hrs.

[SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYA in the Chair].

उन की अपनी कठिनाई है। इस बारे में कुछ कहने की या किसी को कन्विन्स करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

इंग्लैंड में सरकार ने वेज फ्रीज किया। उन्होंने अपना डिबैल्युएशन रोक लिया इस वेज फ्रीज के द्वारा। हम ने डिबैल्युएशन पहले कर लिया। अगर डिबैल्युएशन रोकने के लिये फ्रीज किया जाता, सब तरफ से तो शायद देश में उस्ताह होता। फ्रीज के लिये कुछ अनुकूल वातावरण होता। लेकिन हम डिबैल्युएशन कर चुके हैं। अब वेज फ्रीज की बात और प्राइस फ्रीज की बात यह दोनों साथ हों तो ही महत्व रखती हैं। हम इस चीज को मानते हैं कि वेज फ्रीज से सरकार का काम नहीं चलेगा। लोगों के जीवन की आवश्यकतायें पूरी होनी चाहियें।

अब सवाल यह है कि पहले प्राइस निश्चित हो और फिर वेज फ्रीज उस के मुताबिक किया जाये। क्योंकि अगर प्राइस बढ़ती जायेगी तो गरीब आदमी का जीना मुश्किल हो जायेगा। ग्राज गरीब के कष्ट कम करने का कुछ इन्तजाम हो, मैं समझती हूँ कि इस का एक ही उपाय है, दूसरा कोई उपाय नहीं है। वह यह है कि बजाय इस के कि हम पैसा दें उस के हाथ में और उस पैसे के कारण और भी मंहगाई बढ़े, हम कोई ऐसा तरीका निकालें कि जो मजदूर है, या सरकारी नौकर है, उस को पेमेंट इन काइंड किया जाय। जो उस की जीवन की आवश्यकताएँ हैं वह उस को फिक्सड प्राइस पर मिलें, और अगर उनके दाम के कुछ मंहगाई होती है तो उस को हम सव्तिडाइज करें। लेकिन उस को मालूम होना चाहिये कि अगले पांच वर्ष में उस को एक रुपये का एक कोलो घाटा मिलता जायेगा, या जो कुछ भी सही दाम हो। घाटे के साथ ही मोटा कपड़ा है। दवादारू का प्रबन्ध तो कुछ हम ने किया है, मजदूरों के लिये एम्प्लायीज स्टेट इन्शुरेंस के द्वारा और सरकारी नौकरों का सी०ए०ए० एस० के द्वारा। इस के साथ में जितनी शीघ्रता से हो सके घाटों का भी प्रबन्ध हो जाये। अगर जो जीवन की आवश्यकतायें

[डा० सुशीला नैयर]

हैं, बेसिक नीड्स हैं, वह पूरी हो जाती हैं तो कोई हल्ला नहीं करेगा कि हमारी तनख्वाह बढ़ाओ या डी० ए० बढ़ाओ ।

अभी हम लोगों ने अपनी तरफ से जो कुछ कहा है और विरोधी दल वालों ने भी जो टीका टिप्पणी की है, उस से ऐसा लगता है कि यदि जीवन की बेसिक आवश्यकतायें पूरी हो सकें तो वह सब से अच्छा तरीका है क्योंकि उस से दाम नहीं बढ़ेगा । यह सीधी सी बात है कि जब हम डी० ए० का सिलमिला चलाने हैं तो दाम बढ़ जाते हैं । इस में सरकारी नौकर है या मजदूर है, उन को तो डी० ए० के द्वारा पार्शली या सेमी-पार्शली आप कम्पेन्सट कर देते हैं, लेकिन इस महंगाई के लिए ग्राम जनता को, गांव वालों को, शहर की ग्राम जनता को तो आप कम्पेन्सट करने वाले नहीं हैं । वहां तो दाम बढ़ जाने से गरीब भ्रामदी पिस ही जाता है जैसा कि ग्राज हो रहा है । अगर हम यह तय करते हैं कि अमुक दाम पर घाटा, दाल या जो बेसिक चीजें हैं वह मिल जायेंगी, और उनका दाम बढ़ जायेगा तो उस को हम सब्सडाइज कर देंगे, तो ग्राम लोगों को दिक्कत नहीं होगी । एक तो दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे, जिस तरह से डी० ए० के साथ प्राइस स्पाइरल बढ़ता जाता है वह रुक जायगा, दूसरे ग्राम जनता को भी राहत मिलेगी, और मजदूर को भी राहत मिलेगी । इस लिये मेरा निवेदन है कि ग्राज कुछ रैडिकल तरीके से सोचने की आवश्यकता है । जो हमारे पुराने तरीके चले आये हैं उन से अब काम नहीं चलेगा ।

ग्राज यहां कहा गया है कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने डा० लोहिया का मजाक उड़ाया 1500 रु० तक के खर्च की लिमिट करने के सम्बन्ध में । यह बात सही नहीं है । उन्होंने कहा था कि खर्च पर रोक थाम लागू करो, यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है, लेकिन जो तरीका लोहिया साहब ने बतलाया है उस से काम

नहीं हो सकता । इतना ही उन्होंने कहा था । मैं यह कहना चाहती हूं कि आप अगर इस प्रकार का कुछ भी काम कर दें कि ग्राज ग्रास्टेन्डेशस स्पेन्डिंग के लिये इज्जत उत्साह न हो, हवा उसके खिलाफ हो, तो उसके लिए उत्साह नहीं होगा । जिस तरह से पुराने जमाने में सादा जीवन इज्जत का कारण होता था फिर से सादगी के पक्ष में हवा बदले, वैसा कुछ करना चाहिये । लेकिन उस में सरकार की तरफ से कुछ भ्रगवानी होनी चाहिये ।

मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि कुछ ऐसी आवश्यकतायें हैं जिन की पूर्ति आप को करनी ही होगी । खाना पीना है, कपड़ा है, दवा दारू है, बच्चों की तालीम है या इस किस्म की दूसरी चीजों का इन्तजाम करना पड़ेगा । जब मैं ने यह मुझाव दिया तो बड़े एकानमिस्ट लोग जो हमारे बीच में हैं उन्होंने कहा, कि बात तो आप सही कहती हैं, लेकिन इस के ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में बहुत मुश्किल होगी । मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि अगर यह मुझाव सही है तो सभी सज्जन इस में मदद दे सकते हैं, अपोजीशन वाले, लेबर यूनियन्स वाले, सरकारी नौकर । तो मैं समझती हूं कि इस विचार को कार्यान्वित करने में बहुत कठिनाई नहीं होगी । जहां भी 200-400 घर रहते हैं सरकारी नौकरों के, वहां आप ग्रन्दाज लगा लीजिये कि इतना घाटा चाहिये, इतनी और चीज चाहिये और वहां रहने वाले स्वयम् उस का वितरण करने का जिम्मा लें । कंज्यूमर कोआपरेटिव्स फेल हुए क्योंकि उन का इन्तजाम ऊपर के नौकर चाकर करते हैं । अगर कंज्यूमर लोग स्वयं इस की जिम्मेदारी ले लें, और ले सकते हैं, तो इस में कोई दिक्कत नहीं होगी । दूसरे देशों में ऐसा हुआ है । स्वेडेन में हुआ है, नार्वे में हुआ है । इस प्रकार से चाहे आप इस को पेमेन्ट इन काइंड कहिये, या फिक्सड प्राइस पर जीवन की आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति कहिये, यह एक ऐसा तरीका है जिस से मजदूर की मुसीबत भी टल सकती है और

उस की मुसीबत टलने के साथ साथ जो महंगाई का स्पाइरल चलता है, डी० ए० का बढ़ना और फिर प्राइस इन्फ्लेज और फिर डी० ए० बढ़ना और प्राइस इन्फ्लेज, इस का विश्वास सर्किल टूट सकता है।

मैं आशा करती हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री इस की ओर ध्यान देंगे। और मुझे यकीन है, कि अगर वे कोई ऐसी योजना बनायेंगे तो सदन में जो भी पक्ष हैं, सब लोग उन के साथ पूरा सहयोग करेंगे।

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Alipore): Mr. Chairman, I rise to support Mr. Chakrapani's resolution. I am reminded of a rather ironic fact that ten years ago in 1957, in this very month of August, in a place not far from here was assembled the 15th Indian labour conference, convened by the ministry of labour of the Government of India, where at the instance and initiative of that ministry itself, a historic unanimous tripartite convention or norm was agreed upon and it has gone down in the history of labour relations in this country as the minimum need based norm for wages. Mr. Hathi is present here and he remembers it only too well, I am sure. Ten years ago today, this very government had initiated the idea of minimum need based wage for the toilers of this country and it persuaded even the employers who were present in that conference to agree to it. Today after ten years, the wheel has turned full circle and the same government is coming before us with a demand for wage freeze. This reactionary and dangerous theory of wage freeze has been highlighted by yesterday's and today's reported discussions which were held between the Finance Minister and the representatives of the different parties and the trade unions where he is reported to have given his reaction—absolute blanket rejection—to the demand that at least the Gajendragadkar recommendations on dearness allowance to the central Government employees be implemented as they were meant to

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be implemented, that is to say, in cash payment, not in the form of bonds or certificates which are to be cashed in an uncertain, indefinite future. I am told that the Finance Minister has said that he proposed to take certain measures to hold the price line. We have heard the story many times before. Even at the time of the 1962 Chinese aggression the co-operation of all the trade union organisations in this country was sought and secured in the name of an industrial truce agreement signed in Delhi, enjoining upon the Government of India the responsibility of holding the price line. This is nothing new and we know that nothing came out of it. It is not possible in the present economic system, setup which this government has allowed to grow, where the market is controlled by certain monopoly forces, where the banks are given a free hand to give liberal credit to finance black-marketing and speculative operations. It is impossible under this system to hold the priceline. Unfortunately, Mr. Desai again says: I will not give you dearness allowance in cash, you take it in bonds; we will take certain steps to hold the price line and freeze other incomes as well, including profits and dividends. This is a fantastic proposal if I may say so. The prices are completely out of control of this government. In the document given to us the other day, the annual plan for 1967-68, it is stated clearly that the wholesale prices had gone from 165.1 in 1965-66 to 191 in 1966-67 and the remark is made there:

"This is the highest annual increase experienced so far since the inception of planning."

That is the place to which they have brought the priceline. My friend Mr. Joshi said that as a result of a substantial rise in prices, the wages were already frozen. I say they are not even frozen, they are really falling all the time. If compensation is not given for the highest price increase, as admitted by the government, since the inception of planning, it does not

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

mean that the wages are simply frozen where they were. It means that the real value of those wages is being depressed and is falling all the time. That is the situation we are faced with. And nobody in this House or in this country believes that this Government is capable of holding the priceline. Mr. Joshi referred just now to the fact that, as we have seen—it has not been controverted—the *Economic Times*, quite a reputed economic journal of the 1st of August has reported and explained in a very comprehensive article how, despite Mr. Morarji Desai's insistent declarations on the floor of this House that no deficit financing would be allowed now, henceforth.—the *Economic Times* has shown—that in the first four months and four weeks of the current fiscal year, actually an amount of Rs. 268 crores has been pumped into the economy as inflation: in the shape of advances to the Central Government by the Reserve Bank of India, amounting to Rs. 80 crores, and the balance of it as advances made by the scheduled banks to various State Governments; whereas the Central Government employees demand of dearness allowance, according to the Gajendragadkar Commission, would entail only Rs. 65 crores. These are relative figures to show you that Rs. 80 crores have already in four months been pumped into the economy as disguised and invisible deficit financing. What have you got to say about it? What is the meaning of freezing income? We do not follow.

The index of industrial profits is also there. Mr. Hathi's Ministry has given us a few days ago a little handbook, a red-coloured book—not Mao Tse-tung's thoughts but Mr. Hathi's thoughts, perhaps—and certain figures in it. In that little book—the handbook of statistics—there is the index of industrial profits, before tax. That also shows that the figure of industrial profits, the index, has gone up from 112 in 1951 to 160.9 in 1956; 171.7 in 1965 and to 185.8 in 1966. Is this to

be frozen at that level? Are these profits to be frozen also at this level of 185.8 where they have risen to? Is that the meaning of freezing? Is this the meaning of freezing the dividends which are paid out? As we know, since Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I will finish in two minutes—the former Finance Minister abolished the tax on bonus shares, in the space of one year, the last one year, various companies in this country together have issued bonus shares to a value which is 50 times higher than in the previous year. That means dividends have been distributed on those bonus shares. How is this freezing going to take place? In respect of 75 companies, for which statistical evidence is available, the statistics show that the directors of those 75 companies are paid an average salary of Rs. 10,000 a month in cash, apart from other perquisites. Are their salaries to be frozen at Rs. 10,000 a month? They would not mind it. What good is it going to do to the country? High profits, high dividends and high salaries of big industrial directors and so on are going to be frozen at the existing level, and as against that, we are told that the workers and the employees must agree also to have their wages and salaries frozen. It is a fantastic state of affairs; it will lead the country towards even a bigger catastrophe than it has ever phased before, because, certainly the workers and the wage-earners are not going to tolerate it. If what has appeared in the papers and what we hear is true, about the attitude taken up by the Finance Minister yesterday and today to this eminently reasonable and minimum demand, if this demand of the Central Government employees is not met, then, let me make clear one thing. Whatever threats the Finance Minister may give—he is supposed to have said yesterday that he knows how to defreeze the heat of any worker's agitation. I also want to make it clear

that there is no power on earth—let alone Mr. Morarji Desai—who will be able to prevent the entire working class of this country, both in the public and the private sector, from bringing about a complete strike on the 11th September as has been decided. That will be only one day's strike, but it will be a warning to this Government: either they go back from this disastrous wage freeze policy which has not been accepted by the workers of any country, even in Great Britain, or, if they insist on going forward with it, it will be met and resisted with all the force and all the unity that the working class can command so that they will have to retreat eventually, because it will not be tolerated.

Therefore, I support this resolution of Mr. Chakrapani. Incidentally, and finally, I would say that it is a notable fact that out of all the Members of this House, both on the last occasion and today, who have spoken, whether it be from this side or that side of the House, so far nobody has opposed this resolution. In one form or the other, they have all supported it. I hope the minister will take this into account when he replies and I hope even at this late hour the Government will come to their senses and not persist in this suicidal policy.

Dr. Melkote (Hyderabad): Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved from the opposition side. I would like to warn the Government of the consequences that will flow if they insist on freezing wages. It would be intolerable, unacceptable and would be resisted by all sections of the working class in this country. Let me place before the House my own viewpoints on the whole situation. May I ask whether this is being done in anticipation of the demand that we have been making for the past 4 or 5 years that there should be a third pay commission appointed to go into the wage structure, so that the wage-earners may legitimately get a need-based wage, which is accepted by everybody, but which is yet to come? Instead of

giving this third pay commission, even the mere pittance of Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 that a worker may get on account of the Gajendragadkar Commission's award is being denied. It was a one-man commission and the Government should have accepted the award. If there was any difficulty with regard to that, they could have approached the workers and placed the difficulties before them. Then we would have considered it, because we are part of the nation. But before doing that, if the Government itself wants to reject the award, in future will we have any confidence in any such commission that may be appointed by Government?

Not that wage freeze has not taken place in other countries. But do we want to compare other well-developed countries with India? In Germany and other countries where there has been a wage-freeze, the wage-earners form 80 per cent of the population, whereas in our country, it is only 3 to 4 per cent. If a freeze in wages takes place here, it will affect only those 3 or 4 per cent and the 96 per cent will be left out. Apart from that, when a wage-freeze took place in Germany, all sections of wage-earners, management including, were paid their wages in the shape of cheques which went into their accounts. The wage-freeze took place in the sense that they were allowed to spend only a portion of that, say Rs. 250 or Rs. 300, out of their wage of Rs. 600. When the management also was affected by the wage freeze, they thought, how can the worker live on Rs. 250? So, they themselves the workers pleaded for the workers. The workers thought, the management also was sacrificing. With the result, there was unity and West Germany is one of the most prosperous countries.

At the time of the devaluation of the rupee, I told the Government that certain steps have to be taken before devaluation. West Germany did all those things before devaluing their currency, but we have not done it.

[Dr. Melkote]

The result is, prices are going up. Government itself is spending so much money on so many projects and other things. So, by not giving this pittance to the 3 or 4 per cent of wage-earners, is Government going to get any benefit whatsoever? Even the Governor of Punjab held the priceline for some time in Punjab at that time. But the Congress Governments could not hold the price-line. So, in the face of all these things, keeping in view the consequences that would flow from a wage-freeze, I request the Government to reconsider the whole matter.

Shri S. Kundu (Balasore): Sir, I rise to support the resolution. I feel that the problem is so great that it cannot be solved by just feeding something to a big monster through the chunks of the wall. It should be tackled through all-embracing policy, which will ensure a check on the rise in prices and also give a fair wage to the labour. Nowhere in the world, far less in a developing country where the essence of the growth of the country depends on the direct participation of millions of workers, a policy of wage freeze is thought of when prices are rising sky high. This is a reactionary policy.

Before I proceed with any other point, now that Shri Hathi, the Labour Minister, is present in the House, I would like him to read a book recently published called *The Life and Times of Earnest Bevin*, who was the Labour Minister in England during the II world war period. It was he who gave new direction to the entire working class of the world. Even during the war time he fought with the Government for a fair deal for the labour. He said, no wage check, no wage freeze. Not only that, he experimented it with action. In 1939 in England the pay of 1½ million workers was integrated with the cost of living index, it rose to 2½ million during war time. I will just read a few extracts from this memorable book. It is said here:

"..... he believed that the right way to prevent inflation was, not

by holding down wages at the expense of one section of the nation, but by increasing taxation and by holding down prices with the aid of subsidies paid out of general taxation at the expense of the community as a whole."

He also enacted a law called 'the Essential Work Orders just to ensure, just to guarantee regular payment of weekly wages and also give opportunities to the less developed industries to ensure correct wages. This book also mentions about ruthless austerity being practised in England at that time without cutting down wages. As a matter of fact, wages were increased in some of the essential and less favoured industries.

We do not have a war. But we have a deepening economic crisis and our production is falling. We are not trying to solve the matter with the healthy suggestions that have come from different speakers. Sir there is little time and this topic has not the scope to discuss this all-embracing economic policy. But the question is this. When the index of price of food articles has risen from 94.6 to 217.6 points, which is more than about 100 per cent, the wages have increased hardly by about 10 to 12 per cent during these past ten years. How cruel, how reactionary it would be to think of any wage freeze at this time.

I will commend the report of the Gajendragadkar Commission. The recommendations made therein are very sober. He has also generalised that rise in the cost of living index up to ten points in the case of the poor working class, those who get Rs. 70. to Rs. 120 per month, 90 per cent of it should be absorbed. He has also categorised and given different rates. This should be accepted by the Government. Unless this is done, there will be real chaos and frustration. This frustration, indignation and distrust will hamper the real progress of the country and the country cannot prosper.

I would like to point out one observation which the Gajendragadkar Commission has made. It would have been very nice if while appointing this Commission at least a reference had been made to the need to check the spiralling of prices. The Commission have gone out of their way, though it was very relevant, and said something. While saying that no reference was made to report on the rise of prices they have commented on it. To ask the Commission to go into the question of dearness allowance and wage without at the same time not referring the question as to how check the prices is just trying to behave like the four blind men who went in search of an elephant and when one caught hold of its leg he said it was like a pillar. The Gajendragadkar Commission says that before the ink of their signature in the report is dry, the prices would have increased. Many people have said that it will be a futile attempt to give a report if the prices are rising at this rate. The Report has said:

"As we have already emphasised, this problem is outside our terms of reference".

—that is, the problem of price rise—

"but we have thought it necessary to draw the attention of the government to the fact that we have been oppressed by the apprehension that the problem of rise in prices may pose a very serious danger to the whole of our national economy unless it is tackled effectively, comprehensively and without delay."

There is no two opinion on this point that the price rise should be tackled without any delay.

16 hrs.

I would like the Minister to come forward and say that at least the wage packets of the high salaried officers would be controlled so that in the economic structure there would be some reasonable ratio between the wages of the high and the low. The ratio may be 1:10 or 1:15, but some

standard should be maintained in the matter of ratio. The disparity should not be what it is now. At present, the total emoluments of some big officers come to Rs. 6,000 to 8,000 whereas the poor workers get only Rs. 60 to 70.

It has been said that deficit financing has been one of the causes for this inflationary economy. I agree. I have said that deficit financing has caused rise in prices. I also agree that in a developing economy we cannot do away with deficit financing. But we can at least see that the gap between planning and execution is reduced to the barest minimum. Now what we usually see is that projects which are planned to be completed in 3 or 4 years are not completed before 10 or 15 years. Naturally, when money is invested in projects and there is gap or delay in the return from such projects, it definitely results in rise in prices. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of the economists, the politicians and the people who are running the government to see that the projects are completed according to schedule and within the estimates. It is our common experience year after year that projects which are estimated to cost Rs. 1 crore or 2 crores actually need Rs. 10 crores or 12 crores by the time they are completed. It is a sort of vicious circle. This money goes into the pockets of the contractors, they get a lot of unaccounted money which they spend in the market for buying things at a higher price which results in the prices going up.

Mr. Chairman: He should conclude now.

Shri S. Kunda: I am concluding. Now the country is passing through a very critical time. If our production does not keep pace with demand, I apprehend that we will face great disaster. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to give the economy of this country a different direction, a new direction, a direction of progress.

[Shri S. Kundu]

and change, so that our economy could be revitalised, not by killing or oppressing the workers but by instilling in them a sense of confidence, a sense of a new hope which will enable to work and live for a better future.

Shri Amrit Nahata (Barred): Mr. Chairman, first of all, I want to raise my voice of protest against the manner in which the Secretariat here functions. I gave my name to speak on this motion 18 days back. I sent a slip to the speaker 15 days back.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will kindly speak on the Resolution, and not on the Secretariat.

Shri Amrit Nahata: I wish to speak on this Resolution. The Speaker had told me 15 days back that I shall be the first to speak on this Resolution. I find that my name has been called at the fag end of the debate. This has nothing to do with the party; I am referring to the Secretariat.

Mr. Chairman: I have called the hon. Member to speak on the Resolution; nothing more.

श्री अमृत नहाटा : सभापति महोदय, जिस किसी भी अर्थशास्त्री या प्रशासक के दिमाग में यह वेज फ्रीज की बात आई, ऐसा लगता है कि उन की बुद्धि, उन का विवेक, उन की तर्क शक्ति शीर्षासन कर रहे थे। यह कहा जाता है कि मजदूरों और सरकारी कर्मचारियों के वेतन जब बढ़ेंगे तो कीमतें बढ़ जायेंगी, जब कीमतें बढ़ेंगी तब फिर वे वेतन वृद्धि की मांग करेंगे, और फिर कीमतें बढ़ेंगी, यह चक्र है इस लिये इस को कहीं न कहीं रोकना है। यह कोई मूर्ख और झंड़े वाली बात नहीं है कि पहले कौन हुआ। सीधी बात है कि पहले कीमतें बढ़ीं तब मजदूरों और सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने वेतन वृद्धि की मांग की। जो शुरुआत हुई है वह कीमतें बढ़ने से हुई है। जब तक कीमतों की वृद्धि को नहीं रोका जायेगा तब तक श्रमिकों और सरकारी कर्मचारियों

की वेतन वृद्धि की मांग को नहीं रोका जा सकता।

अमल में तो यह वेतन वृद्धि का शब्द ही गलत है। जैसा अभी कुछ साधियों ने कहा, हमारे देश के श्रमिक और सरकारी कर्मचारी वेतन की वृद्धि नहीं मांगते हैं। वे मांगते हैं कि उन का वेतन गिरे नहीं। मैं जो मुद्रा वेतन है उस की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ बल्कि जो वास्तविक वेतन गिर रहा है, उस के बारे में कह रहा हूँ। जो वास्तविक वेतन गिर रहा है उस को गिरने से रोकने की हमारे देश के श्रमिक और सरकारी कर्मचारी मांग कर रहे हैं। वे वेतन वृद्धि की मांग नहीं कर रहे हैं। वह वेतन क्रायम रखने की बात करते हैं। आज तो प्रश्न यह है कि जब तक कीमतें बढ़ती रहेंगी तब तक वेतन वृद्धि की मांग होगी और उस मांग को रोका नहीं जा सकता, उस को बढ़ाने से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता।

इसलिये आज एक और समस्या की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिखाना चाहूँगा आज देश भर में यह आवाज उठ रही है कि रिसेशन है, उद्योग धंधों में उत्पादन कम हो रहा है। इस के कई कारण हो सकते हैं। उस का एक बड़ा कारण तो यह है कि कीमतें बढ़ने की वजह से मांग संकुचित हो गई है, बाजार संकुचित हो गया है। आज इस परिस्थिति में वेतन वृद्धि को रोकना, वेतन न बढ़ाना, इस का मतलब यह होगा कि इस रिसेशन को हम फ्रीज करेंगे। लोगों की मांग नहीं बढ़ेगी जब उनके पास पैसा नहीं होगा। अगर वेतन बढ़ायेंगे तो मांग बढ़ेगी। मांग के बढ़ने से बाजार फलेगा और अधिक सामान देश में पैदा होगा। आज की हालत में वेज फ्रीज करना रिसेशन को फ्रीज करना है यानी औद्योगिक उत्पादन को बढ़ने से रोकना है। इस लिये आवश्यक है कि वेज फ्रीज न किया जाये बल्कि वेतन वृद्धि की जाये।

एक दलील यह दी जाती है कि इस से डेफ्लिस्ड फाइनेंसिंग करनी पड़ेगी, बाटे का

बजट बनाना पड़ेगा, और घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था से मुद्रा प्रसार बढ़ेगा और देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था बिगड़ जायेगी। मैं बुनियादी तौर पर विरोधी सदस्यों की राय से सहमत नहीं हूँ कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हर हालत में गलत है। आज तक हम ने कीन्स के अर्थशास्त्र पर अमल किया। कीन्स का सिद्धान्त यह है कि मुद्रा की सप्लाई बढ़ाने से मुद्रा की डिमाण्ड बढ़ाई जा सकती है। यह जो कीन्स का सिद्धान्त था वह लागू नहीं हो सका क्योंकि बेचारे कीन्स ने कभी नहीं सोचा था कि इस देश में टैक्स की भी चोरी होती है, इस देश में अनुत्पादक तरीके से पैसा खर्च होता है, इस देश में क्रेडिट का इतना विस्तार होता है कि जितनी मनी सप्लाई बढ़ाई जाती है उस से पन्द्रहगुना या बीस गुना मनी फंक्शन करता है। यह चीज उम ने नहीं सोची। जिस वक्त हम ने इस देश में कीन्स के सिद्धान्त को लागू किया उम वक्त यह मसल लेना चाहिये था और आज भी मसल लेना चाहिये कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग अपने आप में इन्फ्लेशनरी नहीं होती। डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग वहाँ इन्फ्लेशनरी होती है जहाँ आप मुनाफे की छूट देते हैं। जब आप क्रेडिट की छूट देते हैं, जब प्राइवेट सेक्टर को गलत तरीके से काम करने की छूट देते हैं और अनुत्पादक तरीके से डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग को इस्तेमाल करते हैं।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि काममें मजदूरों तथा सरकारी कर्मचारियों के वेतनों में वृद्धि रोकने से नहीं रुकेगी। काममें रोकने का तरीका है कि आप क्रेडिट स्वीज कीजिये।

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): Will you vote with us?

श्री अमृत नहाटा : हमारे चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में है. . . .

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirappalli): Let us pass this Resolution unanimously and tell the world that we are united.

Shri Amrit Nahata: Do not accentuate the contradictions.

मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता था कि क्रेडिट स्वीज कीजिये, क्रेडिट इन्स्टिट्यूशन पर सोशल कंट्रोल लागू कीजिये, जो हम हमेशा से कहते आये हैं।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर): सोशल कंट्रोल क्या है ?

Shri Amrit Nahata: Please attend my class, I will teach you. I have always been a teacher.

Mr. Chairman: Hon. Members should keep silent and not disturb him. That will only take the time of other hon. Members.

श्री अमृत नहाटा : ये लोग नहीं चाहते कि इस रेजोल्यूशन को सपोर्ट किया जाये, लेकिन हम लोग करेंगे।

जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा है, क्रेडिट को स्वीज करना जरूरी है। मैं आप को एक मिसाल देना हूँ। हम बेजिज की तरफ देखते हैं, लेकिन कास्ट ग्राफ प्राइवशन की तरफ क्यों नहीं देखते? आखिर कीमतें बढ़ने का कारण क्या है? आज हमारे देश में पचासों किस्म के माबुन बनते हैं और लगभग दो लाख किस्मके कपड़े बनते हैं। इस तरह हर एक चीज बहुत छोटे स्केल पर मैन्युफैक्चर करने से इकानामी ग्राफ स्केल नहीं होती है और कास्ट ग्राफ प्राइवशन बढ़ जाता है, जब कि किसी भी चीज को लाखों स्केल पर बनाने से उम का कास्ट ग्राफ प्राइवशन अपेक्षितया बहुत कम होता है। जापान में चीजों का स्टैंडर्डिजेशन किया गया है। वहाँ पर निश्चित किस्मों के अलावा कोई चीज नहीं बनाई जा सकती है। कपड़े की दो मी किस्में तय की गई हैं। उन के अतिरिक्त किसी और किस्म का कपड़ा तैयार नहीं किया जा सकता है। हमें अपने मुल्क में वैसा ही स्टैंडर्डिजेशन लागू करना चाहिए। इस वक्त हमारे यहाँ छोटे छोटे स्केल पर लाखों किस्म की चीजें बनती हैं, जिन का कास्ट ग्राफ प्राइवशन बहुत ज्यादा

[श्री अमृत नहाटा]

होता है। उस के बाद उन सब का अलग अलग एडवरटाइजमेंट होता है, जिस पर और रुपया खर्च होता है। अगर हमारे यहां भी चीजों का स्टैंडर्डाइजेशन हो जाये, तो कास्ट ग्रॉफ़ प्रिडक्शन कम होने से कीमतों में बच्चीस तीस परसेंट कमी हो जायेगी।

जहां तक डीमानिटाइजेशन का सम्बन्ध है, केवल मैं ने या विरोधी दलों के सदस्यों ने ही नहीं, बल्कि राज्य सभा के एक वरिष्ठ कांग्रेसी सदस्य, श्री हरिदचन्द्र माथुर, ने भी इस की मांग की है। हो सकता है कि उस से अब बहुत अधिक बैंक मनी फ्रीज न हो, क्योंकि बहुत देरी हो गई है, लेकिन उस का मनोवैज्ञानिक असर, साइकालोजिकल इम्पैक्ट पड़ेगा और कीमतों नीचे आयेंगी। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सरकार कीमतों को नीचे लाने का प्रयत्न करे।

सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि हम गजेन्द्रगड़कर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को मानेंगे, लेकिन हम सरकारी कर्मचारियों को महंगाई भत्ता कैंस में नहीं देंगे, बल्कि प्राइज बांड दे देंगे या सेविंग सर्टिफिकेट दे देंगे।

Shri Nambiar: We want money. What will the prize bonds or the savings certificates do?

Shri Amrit Nahata: He cannot understand Hindi; he should keep quiet.

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में आज श्रमिक और सरकारी कर्मचारी जो वेतन-वृद्धि की मांग करते हैं, वे उस रुपये को बैंक में जमा करने के लिए नहीं मांगते हैं, बल्कि वे जीवन की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए यह मांग करते हैं।

16.12 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

अगर सरकार उन को कैंस में न दे कर सर्टिफिकेट्स के रूप में देवी है, तो उस का

मतलब यह है कि वह उन को अनिवार्य रूप से ऋण देने के लिए विवश करती है। इट एमाउंट टू कम्पनसरी लौज। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के राजा-महाराजाओं के पास करोड़ों अरबों रुपये का सोना और हीरे-जवाहारात पड़े हुए हैं। सरकार उन से अनिवार्य लोन ले। वह डीमानिटाइजेशन करे और बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करे। आज देश में अरबों रुपये का सोना और हीरे-जवाहारात बेकार पड़े हुए हैं, जिन को देख देख कर यहां के राजा-महाराजा और सेठ-साहूकार खुश होते हैं। सरकार उन से कम्पलमरी लोन ले। वह बेचारे गरीब श्रमिकों और सरकारी कर्मचारियों से कम्पलमरी लोन लेना चाहती है, यह कोई गौरव की बात नहीं है। इस लिए मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार कीमतों को गिराए, लेकिन वह श्रमिकों और सरकारी कर्मचारियों की वेतन वृद्धि को मांग को मंजूर करे।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य, श्री चक्रपाणि, ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रखा है, मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ। कांग्रेसी सदस्यों के जो भाषण हुए हैं, उन को सुन कर मुझे पूरा विश्वास होता है कि यह प्रस्ताव जरूर पास हो जायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज सरकारी कर्मचारियों में जो एकता है और उन में जो उत्तेजना फैली हुई है, उस से डर कर सामने की बैंकों के लोग धबराने लगे हैं और इस लिए इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

हमें इस बात पर विचार करना है कि घाखिर चीजों के मूल्य बढ़ने का कारण क्या है और उस के लिए कौन दोषी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सरकार की नीतियों के कारण चीजों के मूल्य बढ़े हैं। सरकार मूल्य-वृद्धि को रोकने में असफल हुई है और इस सम्बन्ध में सत्ता दोष उस पर आता है।

जहाँ तक गजेंद्रगढ़कर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट का सम्बन्ध है, उस में काफ़ी दोष है और सरकारी कर्मचारी उस से संतुष्ट नहीं हैं। फिर भी आज की परिस्थितियों और सरकार की समस्याओं को देखते हुए हम उसी को मानने के लिए तैयार हैं, लेकिन सरकार उस को पूरी तरह से स्वीकार करे। ऐसा करने के बजाये सरकार कहती है कि वह मजदूरी वेतन का स्थिरीकरण करेगी। परन्तु वह मूल्य-वृद्धि को क्यों नहीं रोकती है? अगर वह मूल्यों पर नियंत्रण कर लेगी, तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि मजदूरी वेतन का स्थिरीकरण स्वयं ही हो जायेगा।

चीजों का उत्पादन कम होने के कारण मूल्यों में जो वृद्धि हुई है, उस का भार जनता भोगने को तैयार है, लेकिन व्यापारियों द्वारा जो मूल्य बढ़ाए जाते हैं, उस का भार व्यापारियों पर पड़ना चाहिए। घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के कारण या नाटों की छपाई और मार्केट में उन के फँलाव के कारण जो मूल्य बढ़े हैं, उस की जवाबदेही सरकार पर होनी चाहिए। इस बात का विश्लेषण किया जाना चाहिए कि चीजों का कम उत्पादन होने से कितने मूल्य बढ़े हैं, व्यापारियों के द्वारा कितने मूल्य बढ़ाए गए हैं और सरकार की घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था और नाटों के फँलाव के कारण कितने मूल्य बढ़े हैं। अगर इस का विश्लेषण किया जायेगा, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को मूल्य-वृद्धि रोकने में भारी सफलता मिलेगी।

कहा जाता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकारी कर्मचारियों और उद्योगों में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों का वेतन न बढ़ाया जाये, क्योंकि सरकार का एक अर्थकर स्थिति का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि हम महंगाई भत्ता नकद नहीं देंगे, बाँझ में देंगे। हम इस बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। हम नकद ले कर रहेंगे

और सरकार को यह बात माननी पड़ेगी। सरकार को याद रखना चाहिए कि आज सारे देश के कर्मचारी एक सांझा मोर्चा बना कर एक हो गए हैं। मेरा दल घेराव के विरुद्ध है लेकिन ऐसी परिस्थिति न आए कि यहाँ भी घेराव डालने के लिए हमें मजबूर होना पड़े।

इस समय वित्त मंत्री और श्रम मंत्री दोनों यहाँ उपस्थित हैं। माननीय श्री हाथी के दिल में मजदूरों के लिए बड़ा दर्द है, वह मजदूरों को बड़ा प्यार करते हैं और उन की दुख-तकलीफ़ को जानते हैं। इस लिए मैं उन से आश करता हूँ कि वह इस प्रस्ताव को पास करावेंगे। उन की मुस्कराहट से लगता है कि यह प्रस्ताव यहाँ पर पास हो जायेगा।

हमें इस बात पर भी विचार करना चाहिए कि हमारे देश में वेतनों में भी कोई समानता नहीं है। आप को यह मुन कर आश्चर्य होगा कि आज ऐसे भी सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, जिन्हें महीने में पच्चीस रुपये तन्स्वाह मिलती है। उन को महंगाई भत्ता श्रलग मिलता है, लेकिन उन की फिक्स्ड पगार पच्चीस रुपये महीना है। इस युग में कौन कर्मचारी पच्चीस रुपये में अपना गुजारा कर सकता है? तीन साल पहले इन कर्मचारियों की तन्स्वाह केवल आठारह रुपये थी। काफ़ी झगड़ा करने के बाद उन की तन्स्वाह पच्चीस रुपये की गई और तीन साल से वही पच्चीस रुपये चल रहे हैं। यह तन्स्वाह मध्य प्रदेश में काफ़ी तादाद में काम करने वाले नोक़ीदारों की है।

आवश्यक चीजों के दाम कम करने में सरकार बिल्कुल फ़ेल हुई है। सरकार कहती है कि उस के पास पैसा नहीं है। सरकार ने बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएँ बनाई हैं, लेकिन जो एक करोड़ रुपये की योजना बनाई गई, वह पाँच करोड़ रुपये में जा कर तैयार हुई। इस का दोषी और अपराधी कौन है? .

[श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय]

क्या आप ने काफी गंभीरता से सोचा, कि एक योजना बनायी कि एक करोड़ में तैयार हो जायगी, फिर कौन सा कारण था, कौन सी ऐसी बात आ गई थी, ऐसी कौन सी चीज थी कि 1 करोड़ की योजना 5 करोड़ पर पहुँच जाती है? इस प्रकार बड़ी बड़ी योजनाओं के अन्दर अरबों खरबों रुपये का नुकसान हुआ है और उम के कारण आज यह सरकार दिवालिया हो गई है। इस का दिवाला निकल गया है। तब मैं समझता हूँ कि अब यह सरकार यह नहीं कहे कि हम महंगाई भत्ता देते नहीं। वह तो हम निकाल लेंगे। अभी थोड़े दिन पहले आप ने देवा उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दो बोटों से यह सरकार हार गई थी, नहीं देंगे तो हम ज्यादा बोट से भी हरायेंगे..... (व्यवधान..... वह तो हम जानते हैं आप की चालाकी।..... (व्यवधान) .. मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ और यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बिना संकोच इस को मान लेना चाहिए। आज देश की परिस्थिति बड़ी नाजुक है। मानवीय वित्त मंत्री जो बैठे हुए हैं, बड़े, होशियार हैं, बड़े कुशल हैं और बड़े सुन्दर हैं लिखने में भी मैं समझता हूँ उनको इस प्रस्ताव को मानने से इन्कार नहीं करना चाहिए और हाथी साहब भी बैठे हैं, इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेंगे, ऐसी हम आप से आशा करते हैं।

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance (Shri K. C. Pant): I have listened with great attention and respect to the many speeches made on the last occasion and also today on the resolution before us.

Shri Hukam Chand Kachwai was at his persuasive best in the concluding part of his speech and he has put me thereby at a disadvantage in replying. Dr. Sushila Nayar made a very constructive and useful speech. While I cannot refer to each individual's speech, I should like to assure hon. Members that whatever they have said and whatever suggestions

they have made will all be borne in mind by Government and we shall try to profit from them.

Shri Nambiar: Is it the position that he agrees to all other things except paying cash?

Shri K. C. Pant: Shri Nambiar has not learnt in fifteen years in this House. I am sorry to say that. But then he retains his ebullience, which is a good thing.

Shri Nambiar: Let him leave that apart; we want money. We want cash.

Shri K. C. Pant: I even accept the suggestion of my hon. friend Shri Amrit Nahata who said 'in ki buddhi shirshasan karti hai'. I thought that this was one of the accepted methods of sharpening of faculties of the mind. I certainly accept that from him.

Tomorrow, the House is going to have a discussion on the Gajendra-gadkar Commission's recommendations. While it is natural that the commission's recommendations occupied the minds of various Members who spoke, and references were made to them, I think the substantive part of the discussion be best left for tomorrow. Today, I would like to deal with this particular resolution and not stray from it.

This resolution can be broken up into three parts. In the first part, there is a reference to the majority view expressed by the Chief Ministers at the recent Chief Ministers' conference. In the second part there is a reference to the view that a wage freeze policy is detrimental to industrial workers and Government employees, and that one hundred per cent neutralisation should be granted for the entire rise in the cost of living. Thirdly, the resolution refers to the need to take immediate steps to check the rise in prices. These are the three main elements of the resolution and I shall take them up one by one.

In the first part, reference is made to the majority view of the Chief Ministers' Conference. The proceedings of the Chief Ministers' conference are confidential and I shall not be able to comment on this aspect of the matter.

But as far as I remember, friends opposite never tire of telling us that the majority of the States in the country are now ruled by parties other than the Congress. If that be so, if the majority view of the Chief Ministers which they think is different from their own view, is it not proper that rather than disown their own Chief Ministers in this manner in Parliament, they should persuade their Chief Ministers to hold different views? I just cannot understand why the Chief Ministers are taken to task in House for views they are alleged to have expressed at the Chief Ministers' conference, when the majority of them, as we are told day in and day out, belong to the parties of my hon. friends opposite.

Shri Nambiar: They are not responsible for the price rise. It is the policy of the Government at the Centre which has led to this situation. Why put the blame on them? Why does he accuse them? He wants them to hold the baby. That is the trouble.

Shri K. C. Pant: I am sorry if I have made him uncomfortable?

Shri Nambiar: Why does the Centre want them to hold the baby. You hold the baby.

Shri K. C. Pant: I do not want to make him uncomfortable, but facts are facts and I have to give him the facts as they are. I do not want to embarrass him more than is absolutely necessary.

Secondly, they say that the Chief Ministers only spoke about a wage freeze. Are they not being unfair to their own Chief Ministers if they think that their Chief Ministers do not take account of the price situation and only advocate a wage freeze?

Why do they have so little faith in the Chief Ministers who belong to their own parties and think that they would take such a one-sided view of the problem as to forget the price rise at all? I am surprised that my hon. friends who have a number of Chief Ministers of their parties in various States should have so little faith in their judgment as to criticise them in this indirect manner. Of course, I can neither confirm nor deny what transpired at the Chief Ministers' conference because these things are confidential. But this is what the Mover has said in his own resolution. I wish they had better confidence in their own Chief Ministers.

Shri Bal Raj Madhok: The Chief Ministers only posed the question for the simple reason that they do not have the resources because the prices are going up and control of prices is the job of the Central Government.

Shri K. C. Pant: The Resolution says:

"This House is of opinion that the majority view expressed in the recent Chief Ministers' Conference regarding the wage freeze policy is detrimental to the millions of . . ."

Either you say that these views are not your own—I will accept it—or you say that this is not a fact. This is your Resolution, not mine.

So far as the substance of the Resolution goes, it is that a policy of wage freeze is detrimental to the workers, that is, wage freeze by itself and wage freeze alone. On this, Government's view does not differ, and there has never been any question of considering this matter in isolation without reference to other factors like incomes, inflation etc. That has never been, and that can never be the policy or the approach of any responsible government, to dissociate wage freeze from the price situation and say that we shall freeze wages but prices will keep on rising. How can any responsible government take that view? This

[Shri K. C. Pant]

position of Government has been made very clear in this House on the 19th July by my colleague, the Minister of State for Labour and Employment.

So the whole Resolution is really based on a misapprehension and I would only say that that it should be removed. I have categorically reiterated Government's position in this matter.

The second part of this resolution refers to the price situation. I fully share the concern expressed by the various members who have participated in the debate on the rise in prices or the price situation, and the desire of hon. members that the dearness allowance or whatever other allowance we give to our employees, whether in the industrial sector or Government employees, should be real, should not be ephemeral, should not be unreal. These are sentiments with which naturally every sensible person will agree.

The price situation is serious, and the price situation today causes concern. If one looks back, in the last three years the average rise in prices has been about 15 per cent. This is certainly something which is difficult for an economy like ours, for that matter any economy, to sustain. Hon. Member Shri Nahata referred to the fact that deficit financing was not necessarily bad in all circumstances. Nor are rising prices necessarily bad in all circumstances. They have to be regulated, controlled, within certain limits; otherwise, in our system of planning, the whole planning procedure is vitiated if the rise in prices goes beyond a point and becomes uncontrollable. Therefore, this has to be borne in mind, and we have to look into the reasons for this.

Some hon. members referred to the fact that after the Chinese invasion the rate of increase in the prices has been more rapid. One explanation is,

and it is not an excuse, it is a real explanation, that the defence expenditure increased very, very rapidly. It went up from about Rs. 300 crores to about Rs. 900 crores per year, and that added to the demand in the economy. This is a factor which may have led to increase in prices, but there is hardly anybody in this House who can say that we could have avoided that increase in defence expenditure at that time; knowing full well that it might create certain strains in the price situation, we just had to incur that extra defence expenditure.

Then, there have been two successive drought resulting in a sharp decline in agricultural production. In 1964-65 foodgrains production was of the order of 89 million tonnes. If the monsoon had been normal, there is no reason to believe that this level of production would have fallen, but the fact of the situation is that, instead of remaining at this level, it fell to 72 and 76 million tonnes in the years that followed. Thus, there was a drop of about 13 million tonnes. This could not but add to the pressure on prices.

Therefore, because of these factors which are, I think one will concede, largely beyond the control of the Government, a very difficult economic situation has been created in the country, and I would say that it is beyond the control of Mr. Ranga also or the community at large. I am not shifting the blame, I am stating facts, and a survey of these facts will show that these are the major contributory factors, defence and drought, and the need to continue our developmental expenditure as far as possible at the same level as before. We cannot allow that to suffer too much in spite of the burden it costs on the community because of the aspirations and expectations of the people, and because of the level, the average standard of living in this country. It is so low that we cannot think of postponing too far

the need for developmental expenditure. Therefore, that has to be kept up. Defence expenditure, and on top of that these droughts, these are the objective reasons and the objective conditions which led to this rise in prices.

So, the point that has to be remembered is that since these objective reasons are understood, the sacrifices that are called for to meet the burden or to carry the burden that is imposed on the whole country and community on account of these rising prices has also to be shared by the entire community, there has to be that willingness to share the burden equitably.

Shri Nambiar: It is physically impossible by those who are earning very low. What is the remedy? We want a remedy.

Shri K. C. Pant: In the resolution, there is reference to neutralisation. So far as industrial workers are concerned, there is even today some arrangement or the other in a number or major industries which establish an almost automatic link between cost of living index and dearness allowance. The extent of neutralisation varies and in most cases at the lowest level neutralisation is 100 per cent. As for the government employees, as I said the substantive matter will be discussed tomorrow. But it is common knowledge that the Gajendragadkar commission has not recommended 100 per cent neutralisation at any level. The rate of neutralisation declines with the higher incomes presumably because the fringe benefits increase or the relative capacity to bear the rise in prices increases with higher incomes. I do not want to go into that aspect of the matter any further. The point is: if there is 100 per cent neutralisation at the moment, would it materially help those whose incomes are neutralised? There is scarcity of food-grains; there is overall shortage; inherent in the situation there is hard-

ship. It is naturally the result of the shortage. Then to what extent can one compensate by cash allowances? In other words, You can give allowances, but the shortage remains; allowances will not increase the availability of things in short supply. There is another point to be remembered. So long as these shortages persist, one should take note of the fact that compensations in cash allowances have a tendency to add to the price. If this tendency continued and that ultimately affects the other sectors, there is even the danger to employment. I will come to the other part. That would be the present requirement in case we propose to go ahead with this programme. But before that, what has been the impact of DA given in the past? Since the Chinese attack, there has been neutralisation of DA at various levels on various occasions. Even with less than 100 per cent neutralisation additional dearness allowance has cost the central and the state Governments a sum of Rs. 500 crores since the Chinese invasion on our territory. This was in addition to the need for defence expenditure, and the need for developmental expenditure to continue. That is one of the contributory factors which had led to unbalanced budgets.

Shri Nambiar: Question. It cannot be accepted.

Shri K. C. Pant: I do not expect you to change so quickly. It will take time. The budgetary deficit of the Central and State Governments was about Rs. 130 crores in 1962-63, and it has risen to more than Rs. 300 crores in 1965-66. For the third Plan as a whole, the budgetary deficit is nearly Rs. 880 crores. So, this also adds to the pressure of prices.

Shri Indrajit Gupta today paid a compliment to the *Economic Times*. He is not used to give such Compliments, but today he did, because it refers to deficit financing; this journal noticed in our economy Rs. 80 crores of deficit financing. If you are going to really take that seriously,

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one has to see whether there is deficit financing at the end of the year or not. Only three months have passed, and there is deficit at this moment. Nobody says that revenue is evenly flowing throughout the year. The revenues come in bunches sometimes, and if at the end of the year there is deficit financing, then certainly, he can raise the point.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Does the Minister admit the report in the *Economic Times* to be correct?

Shri K. C. Pant: Even if you assume that is correct; even then, this is not the time to talk of deficit financing. At the end of the year, certainly, if there is deficit, you can point it out.

This brings me to the actual cost of neutralisation at every stage. As I said earlier, this is a point which I do not really want to deal with, but some reference has been made to it. Some reference has been made to the fact that Rs. 175 crores would be required if the Gajendragadkar Commission's recommendations were to be implemented immediately. In that context, it has to be considered where this Rs. 175 crores is going to come from. After all, the size of the cake is limited, and the cake can be cut and distributed only within the limitation of size. You cannot stretch the size of the cake and therefore, if this Rs. 175 crores have to be found, we have to get it from somebody or the other, in the country. I presume that we cannot get foreign assistance to pay this DA! If this is the situation, then, one has to consider also that this is a problem for the whole country. There are various levels of income in our country. I can well understand the great difficulty which the fixed income-group is facing in this country, particularly below a certain level. One cannot but sympathise with them. But, at the same time, there are others with still lower incomes and one has to bear that in mind also. So, the point is, if this Rs. 175 crores has to be found, it can be found

either through taxation or through economies to this extent. If you increases the taxation, then you have to view this sum of Rs. 175 crores against the total income-tax which is about Rs. 300 crores. Because the obvious thing to say is, "tax the rich; tax them by all means; tax them as heavily as you like." But even after a fair level of taxation, we have reached Rs. 300 crores; this is the personal income-tax. If you compare it with Rs. 175 crores, what is the prospect of our getting this amount by taxing further? This is about direct tax. If you impose and take into consideration the indirect tax, then, the poor man is also hit along with the rich. So, I do not think you will like to burden the poor man at this stage in order to find this money to pay the DA. That, I think, the House does not want us to do. (*Interruption*)

Then, coming to the problem of the economy,—

Shri Nambiar: Introduce demonetization, and take the black money out.

Shri K. C. Pant: I will take Mr. Nambiar's advice later. But any running commentary does not help. Later on, I am prepared to learn from him.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us listen to the Minister. Let him conclude.

Shri Nambiar: His argument is a fake. There are other real methods.

Shri K. C. Pant: I can fully understand any Member of this House and any member of the public today, asking the Government to economise. I certainly agree that wherever economy could be effected, it must be effected ruthlessly, but there are certain limitations even there. Can you really bring about economies of the order that are required without serious retrenchment? I do not think any member of the House would want economies at the cost of somebody's employment. Otherwise, to

what extent will economies in administration be possible without retrenchment? That is a point for you to consider. One can cut the fringes and unnecessarily frills, but there is a limit to it, unless you are prepared to go to the extent of saying, retrench on a large-scale regardless of consequences. Even when an attempt is made in that direction by a Chief Minister in one State, members here say, he has turned out the ladies in his administration. They take up the cause of ladies here. Whatever he does in his matter, but there is a point beyond which major economies are difficult to effect unless you go to the point of retrenchment, which we do not want.

The second way to achieve economies is by cutting down projects. You can cut down big projects and plan projects to achieve economies. Perhaps Prof. Ranga will be happy at that, but I for one would be very unhappy for reasons which I mentioned earlier. If we have to jettison any large project or give up any of our plan projects for the sake of achieving economies, which will essentially partly go into unproductive lines, why should we not keep this perspective in mind? It is proper to bear in mind that if we effect a large cut in expenditure at this point of time, with the recession that we see around us, we must accept that this will add to the recessionary tendencies and that will in turn lead to unemployment in the industrial sector. Is this a factor to be ignored or lightly brushed aside. How can you advocate a serious cut in expenditure at this stage? You cannot do so.

Then, where is this money to come from? This is a factor which every serious student should keep in mind.

Shri Nambiar: Take black money out.

Shri K. C. Pant: You give it to me and I will take it.

These are hard facts which have got to be borne in mind. It is understandable that when we discuss subjects like this there is sometimes a temptation to play to the gallery. But I am sure hon. members who spoke resisted that temptation. While one may have sympathy for the hardships of the people, nevertheless one has to bear the other hard facts in mind. Unless you live in the moon, how can you not appreciate the hardships of low income and fixed income groups in this country, on account of the rise in prices? Do you think there is anybody who is so completely out of touch with the situation that he does not know it? What Nevertheless, one has to consider what the remedy is. It is here that one comes across a difficult situation. You talk of sympathy for labour. I dare say that the Congress Government in this country have laid down for a foundation for labour laws which nobody can disturb, not merely in the centre, but in the states also.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : स्वयं सरकारी कारखाने नेबर लाज को बायलेट कर रहे हैं।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त : अब तो माननीय सदस्य की सरकारें भी हैं। Friends opposite forget that they are running their governments in some places. They condemn governments wholesale. That is a hang-over from the past. I can say with confidence that in few underdeveloped countries in the world the rights of labour have been upheld so consistently as in this country. Our labour laws are one of the most progressive in the world. I do not think my hon. friends, many of whom are labour leaders of note, can deny that they have been allowed to function and they have received all consideration and respect from the Governments in this country in the last 20 years to build up the labour movement willingly and consciously and they have been encouraged to do it.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Therefore, let us not mix up these factors. Let us be clear that our sympathies are the same as yours. Let us not try to confuse the issue. If anything, our sympathies are a little more due to the fact that we have to be a little more responsible because we are on this side of the House.

The immediate situation is that the monsoon is a good one (*Interruption*). I am glad that Shri Nambiar is also happy.

Shri Nambiar: But that does not solve the problem.

Shri K. C. Pant: If this situation continues we can hope for a fairly good crop and once you have a good crop we will be in a much better position to face the situation that the shortages have created in this country. I would say that this is not the time to lose courage or to lose this counsel for co-operation and self-restraint. This is the time to reverse the tide that threatens to overtake us completely. We must not think lightly of the spiralling price rise. We must come to grips with this problem of rising prices. If a beginning has to be made today we have all to co-operate to put a check on it. Certainly, as I said earlier, there is no question of wage freeze in isolation. There can never be. If one can have the real capacity in the country to control prices with co-operative effort, then all of us I believe owe it to the country to co-operate in this matter. Even now talks are going on. Yesterday the Deputy Prime Minister met some leaders of the Opposition. I think now he is meeting the trade unions. Therefore, let us not vitiate the atmosphere by unnecessary controversy.

I would say, in the end, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that I was rather amused to hear the speeches of Shri Kachwai, Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri S. M. Joshi. Shri Joshi talked of "मजदूरों को कुचला जा रहा है" because the Government is not giving 100 per

cent neutralisation. Shri Indrajit Gupta said that they were not going to tolerate it. Shri Kachwai spoke of Gherao. All these three hon. Members are leaders of parties which are in the Government of Bihar. What is the position in the Government of Bihar. In the Government of Bihar, under orders dated 20-6-1967 a part of the payment of additional dearness allowance is to be made in cash, the rest to be credited to a special family provident fund (*Interruption*). The allocation between cash and provident fund differs for different pay ranges. At the lowest pay group, which is below Rs. 110, it is only about one-fourth of the total that is credited to provident fund and above that it is more than half in all cases rising up to Rs. 82.50 out of Rs. 120 in the pay range of Rs. 400 to 600 and above that the entire dearness allowance is to be credited to the family provident fund (*Interruption*).

श्री हुकम चन्द कश्यप : प्राय इम प्रस्ताव मे खुश है ?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The Mover has a right to reply to the remarks made.

Shri K. C. Pant: Sir, the following parties are members of this Government of Bihar: Jan Kranti, Communist (Red), SSP, Jan Sangh, PSP and Independents.

Shri Nambiar: It is the fiscal policy of the Central Government that has been responsible for this. What can the State Government do? When there is no money in the treasury, what can they do?

श्री शशिभूषण वाजपेयी (खारगोन) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह लोगों को झूट बोल बोल कर के कि एक रुपये सेर भनाज लायेंगे जनता का बोट ले कर भायें हैं ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the Minister conclude. Then, the mover has got a right of reply. He can say whatever he wants to say....(Interruptions)

Shri Nambiar: Kindly permit the State Governments to print notes.... (Interruptions)

Shri K. C. Pant: I appreciate the feelings of the hon. Member. I want to assure them that it is not my intention to embarrass them.. (Interruptions)

Shri Piloo Mody (Godhra): The hon. Minister can make a point without trying to be virtuous.

Shri K. C. Pant: The only conclusion one could draw from this exhibition is when they come to power they behave in a different way from what they preach....(Interruptions). May I say in conclusion that this Resolution was based on a misapprehension that the Government is considering a one-sided wage freeze, which is not a fact. Therefore, I would request the hon. Mover to withdraw his Resolution.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani (Ponnani): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, as the time at my disposal is very short, I will not go into the details of what the Minister has stated just now. First of all, I must thank all those hon. Members who have taken part in this discussion for speaking in support of my Resolution. I am glad that they have all supported my Resolution. That being the case, why not we pass this Resolution unanimously?

I heard the speech of the Finance Minister quite attentively. But I am sorry to say that he never answered the points that I raised when I moved the Resolution some fourteen days ago. While moving the Resolution I had stated that during the period 1951-54 while the money wage has gone up by 42 per cent price increase has been of the order of 46 per cent, resulting in a wage loss of 1918(a) LSD—11.

4 per cent. The Finance Minister has not replied to that point. When in India the real wage is already frozen, there is no point in preaching a further freeze.

Then I mentioned that during the period 1951-56 the national income has increased by 20 per cent. At the same time, the real wage of the workers has not increased. Then, where has the surplus money gone? The Minister has not replied to this point either.

Then, referring to the Chief Ministers' Conference, the Minister expressed the view that the views expressed by the Chief Ministers are kept secret. Being a lay man, I do not know what happens in the Chief Ministers' Conference. It is only what appeared in the papers that prompted me to draft the Resolution which I have moved. The Minister has already admitted that the price situation is very serious and it is uncontrollable. I would like to know from the hon. Minister who is responsible for the present situation. I say that it is the bankrupt policy of the Government that is responsible for the present state of affairs.

17 hrs.

Shri Piloo Mody: Bankrupt policy of a bankrupt government.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani: I am grateful to Shri Piloo Mody.

Shri Nambiar: Amendment accepted.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani: For all the evils the Minister throughout blamed the monsoon and the Chinese attack. I would like to say that it is not the monsoon or the Chinese attack that led to this position but the tax policy of this Government, deficit financing resorted to by this Government and non-developmental expenditure of the Government are responsible mainly for this economic crisis.

An hon. Member: Devaluation also.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani: If you want to come out of this crisis, there has to be a change. Until and unless there is an economic change in the country we cannot come out of the present crisis.

Yesterday the Deputy Prime Minister said that if he implemented the DA Commission Report, Rs. 175 crores will have to be spent. We do not want that just DA should be increased but what we want is this. If the prices are checked, nobody will demand DA. This is our position. Let us know whether Government is in a position to check prices. So far the Government has not tried for that.

Then, the Minister has also not replied to another point. I had said that between 1955-56 and 1962-63 industrial profits had increased by 85.8 per cent according to the Reserve Bank of India. So, this is the declared profit of these big companies and this excludes the black money. Where has that money gone? Has it gone to the worker or to the salaried employee? No, certainly not. This point has to be replied to by the Minister.

The Minister has conveniently postponed a reply to all these questions. I think, he has postponed it to tomorrow when we are going to discuss the DA issue. I expected something new from the Finance Minister but he was repeating the same things that he had said some time back.

If cent per cent neutralisation is not given to workers and salaried employees, a wave of unprecedented struggle will have to be faced by this Government and the Government will not be in a position to face that. I again repeat the warning that I had given while moving the Resolution. If the Government does not put an end to the price rise, the price rise would put an end to the Government.

Shri Nambiar: Well said.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani: I accept all the amendments.

Shri Nambiar: We accept all the amendments which strengthen our case.

श्री हुकम चन्व कछवाय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार कर लें। इस में उन की भी भलाई है और सरकार की भी भलाई है। साथ ही जो लोग यहां बैठे हैं उन की भलाई है। नहीं तो सब समाप्त हो जायेंगे।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am putting Shri Banerjee's amendment first to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 1 was put and negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now I am putting Shri Panigrahi's amendment to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 2 was put and negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now I will put the main Resolution to the vote of the House. The question is:

"This House is of opinion that the majority view expressed in the recent Chief Ministers' Conference regarding the wage freeze policy is detrimental to the millions of industrial workers and Government employees and recommends to the Government to take immediate steps to check the rising prices and ensure cent per cent neutralisation of the entire rise in the cost of living of industrial workers and salaried employees."

The Resolutions was negatived.

Shri Nambiar: We give them a warning. This will ruin them.