

14.30 hrs.

**MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—
contd.**

**ABNORMAL RISE IN PRICES OF ESSENTIAL
COMMODITIES—contd.**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We take up the Adjournment Motion by Shri Indrajit Gupta. I find that three hours altogether have been allotted for this. So, I would request the members to keep this limitation of time in mind when they speak.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alli-
pore) The time was advanced

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Instead of 2½ hours there will be three hours

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It was advanced by 1½ hours.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I move:

"That the House do now ad-
journ".

Sir, over the last 26 years, after independence, the people of this country have become accustomed to the practically continuous rise in prices. It is not a new feature. But what is happening now in the recent weeks and months is something which is completely unprecedented. Particularly during the months of June and July—as recent as that—the market seems to have run amuck. There is an unprecedented run-away rise in prices which is not explicable by any normal reasons or causes. Even according to the Government's figures, during the course of one year, there has been a rise of 20.5 per cent in the general index of wholesale prices. If that is the extent of the rise in wholesale prices, one can well imagine what has happened in the retail market.

Then, Sir, over large areas of the country, the rationing system, not only the modified rationing system but even

the statutory rationing system, is virtually collapsing. Its collapse means that millions of people are thrown to the mercy of the wolves of the open market, and the open market becomes the ruthless exploiting agency which is spelling out starvation and misery for our people. For example, I can tell you, only recently in my State of West Bengal when the rice ration in Calcutta city, a statutory-ration area, the quantum of rice ration was reduced from one kilogram per week to 750 grams, what happened immediately, within one week, was that the price of rice in the open market had risen to Rs. 3.25 to Rs. 3.50 per kg. Who can afford to buy at this price? The question has to be answered as to who is going to buy at this price. The price in the open market in Calcutta goes on rising; it may reach, within another fortnight, Rs. 4. Who will buy at this price? How can people buy at this price? And seeing this trend, I make bold to say that the famine conditions which are striking to many rural areas of our country today in many States will soon penetrate even into urban areas and the poor and the middle-class sections are going to be their first victims. If any one says that I am exaggerating, I would just refer him to the reports on a city like Patna which is the capital of Bihar where, Press reports have said only two days ago, not a grain of wheat is available in any of the ration shops in Patna City let alone the urban hinterland where all the modified ration shops in Bihar, in the countryside, are reported to be closed because there are no supplies. 55 lakhs of people in Bihar are starving and disquieting reports are coming of looting of food stocks and food riots in some places. It is not only a question of foodgrains. The essence of the phenomenon at present is that prices of all essential commodities without exception are reaching levels which have completely disrupted the family budgets of lakhs of families—the essential commodities without

which it is not possible for any ordinary middle-class family to carry on. If anybody stops a stranger and asks him what is the main trouble he will just refer to one thing and one thing alone, that it is impossible for him to now carry of from day to day if the prices go on unchecked in this way.

Let me quote a few figures. These are published in newspapers and these are not, I think capable of contradiction. The *Hindustan Standard* has given a picture about the recent rise in prices of essential food articles. It says

"Mustard oil does not seem to have any fixed price and is sold according to the whim of the traders. Its present price ranges from Rs. 7.50 to Rs. 8.80, having shot up by stages

Rs. 8.80 per kilo. This is on the 14th of this month. When I left Calcutta yesterday the price had gone upto Rs. 9 per kilo.

"The price in the beginning of June was Rs. 6.80. A well-known brand of mustard oil which was sold at Rs. 8.16 last month and Rs. 8.40 in the first week of the current month is now selling at Rs. 8.80."

Further, it says:

"Scarcity in mustard oil and groundnut oil was further accentuated by irregular and insufficient supply of rapeseed oil. Fair price shops once start distributing rapeseed oil to the consumers. But before the reaction of the people could be sufficiently known, some invisible hands abruptly stopped its supply. There is wanton wastage of rapeseed at different railway sheds and Food Corporation of India godowns

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Thanks to the endless greed of the sharks in Burrā Bazar, Calcutta's biggest wholesale commodity market. While the country cries for food, some people are having a roading time exploiting the situation and reaping huge profits. They have secured stocking licence for mustard seed and oil from the Government for manufacture of vanaspati.

This is my friend, Prof. Sher Singh's pet theme. He told us many times here how mustard oil has to be diverted for manufacture of vanaspati.

Then, it says:

"But the margin of profit in vanaspati being too meagre they are now manufacturing refined mustard oil and selling it to the bottles.

The condition in the vanaspati trade is much more serious. It has become so scarce that even people who once used it as their main cooking media have forgotten its taste. Here again the mischief is the creation of the traders of Burrā Bazar. Only in the recent past 16 kg. of this brand of vanaspati was sold at Rs. 132. The black market price is Rs. 142. Except at a few places vanaspati is not at all visible in the open market, whatever is available is either adulterated or far beyond the reach of the common man."

I can go on endlessly quoting it. Then, coming to the prices of pulses, it says:

"Mosur dal which used to be Rs. 1.90 to Rs. 2 a kg. a month ago is now selling at Rs. 2.20. Channa dal which was sold at Rs. 1.90 is being sold at Rs. 2.25.

These prices are only about a fortnight ago. Every day the prices are rising one price in the morning and another price in the evening. I am

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

aware of the fact that these figures are out of date. I quote:

"The entire trade on pulses is being controlled by a few gaddiwallas of Burra Bazar.... These gaddiwallas are powerful and some even control the movement of railway wagons, thereby introducing artificial scarcity into the market

"Spices too have become dear.. Wholesale price of jeera is Rs. 7 per kg. and retail price is Rs. 10. Dhanla-wholesale price is Rs. 2.50 and retail price is Rs. 5. Haldi-wholesale price Rs. 5, retail price Rs 7. Mircha-wholesale price Rs 6 50, retail price Rs. 8."

There is a reference to so many other things. Even for things like Baby food, "the price of a small tin of Lactogen, ranges from Rs. 7.90 to Rs. 8.50."

Coming to coal and kerosene oil, it says,

"The control price of coal is below Rs. 5 But it is being sold at Rs 7.50..

It is even more in many places

"number of dishonest traders have started mixing kerosene oil with petrol since petrol price has gone up, thereby creating artificial scarcity of kerosene oil in the market" and so on and so forth

I want to know why no action has been taken against these people against whom accusing fingers have been pointed out, at these people who are doing this shameless and reckless profiteering and I want to ask, why are these people not being punished? Why is it that no deterrent punishment has been given in spite of the big, great, tall, directive issued by Mr Uma Shankar Dikshit, which appeared in all the papers directing State Governments to use

all the legal powers which they have got. The Defence of India Act is there. The Essential commodities (Maintenance) Act is there. Maintenance of Internal Security Act is there. So many rules and regulations are there. If Mr. Dikshit's directive which has been reported in the Press has been used against the people indulging in this kind of hoarding and profiteering, I want to ask the Minister, when he replies to the Debate to tell us as to what are the specific directions in which these directives have been carried out and what are the steps which have been taken in this regard.

श्री मुकेश चन्द कड़वाव (मुरैना) :

बुनाब में चन्दा नहीं देंगे फिर ।

श्री एच० राजगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामा-

बाद) : चन्दा तो आपको मिलना है ।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA. What is the situation which we are confronted with today? For the last two years the Government has been telling us that because of the Green Revolution, the days are past when this country will have to be dependent upon imports from abroad But now, not because we may not be having fluctuating production from one year to another,— that is quite feasible and possible, we are still largely dependent upon the vagaries of monsoon. I agree—but in the years when we had a very good crop of the order of 104 million tonnes or 108 million tonnes etc no adequate buffer stock was built up by this Government Now the sorry state of the present situation is that we have to depend upon foreign imports Why? Is there no wheat in the country? Are all the wheat stocks depleted? Is that why we have to go to America, Canada and Argentina The people are not going to accept their arguments The wheat is there, because, on the basis of those wheat stocks

Government had formulated its projected plans and targets for procurement. But what has been the result of such projects? We know. Now you come and tell the people, we have to spend a huge amount for buying wheat from abroad, because it is selling at very high price, international prices are ruling high, etc. Everybody knows it. The calculation has been made by the Government that in this year alone if we purchase all the wheat which is available from abroad, all the wheat which we want, then, it would cost us in the neighbourhood of Rs. 4.50 crores. That is for this year, 1973-74. I want to know as to where this amount of money is going to come from. It was not provided for in Mr. Chavan's Budget last February. Nobody thought of it, that this may become necessary. Where is this amount of Rs. 4.50 crores going to come from? Does it mean they are going in for more indirect taxes, for a supplementary Budget, with a whole range of new taxation? From what we have seen, I apprehend and the people apprehend, that this would bring in another wide range of indirect taxes. This will again put up prices. If we do not go in for indirect taxes we have to go in for straight deficit financing and printing of more currency notes and pumping them into the economy which will again lead to inflation and higher prices. This is the situation and I do not know what we are supposed to be in for at the present moment. All reasons, explanations, etc. will no doubt be given. But, I accuse the Government of being itself responsible for pushing up prices.

Only now, in the recent weeks, Government announced that the price of Vanaspathi will be increased by 75 paise per kilogram. What is the situation of the Vanaspathi retail market? It is only because Vanaspathi manufacturers came and told them, our prices of inputs have become so much that we cannot make any margin of profits, that Government came

out with a statement permitting enhancement of 75 paise per kilogram in the price of Vanaspathi.

Then, take the case of levy sugar which is supposed to be 70 per cent, only 30 per cent being available for the open market. But everybody knows that 70 per cent levy sugar is never there. Let the Government give monthwise returns. Never has more than 50 or 55 per cent of this been available as levy sugar in the whole country. The rest of it is being diverted to the blackmarket. The price of levy sugar in the ration shops was also about two months ago increased by Government. Everybody knows what a tiny amount of sugar he gets in the ration, and even the price of that was put up. The total quantum of levy sugar is never available to consumers. At least 25 to 30 per cent of it is going into the blackmarket.

Only last week, I was surprised to read in the papers that the Ministry of Commerce had come out with a communique saying that coarse cloth prices, medium cloth prices and the prices of medium high varieties would be permitted to be pegged a figure 10 per cent higher than the prices in November, 1972. This is the Government's official statement and their official decision.

Of course, petroleum products prices have been put up. Of course, you may say that we are at the mercy of the foreigners in this matter, I do not quite know. But the fact remains that public transport charges are going to go up very high because of diesel and petroleum prices going up. I am not talking about people with private cars. We need not bother about them. But as far as the buses are concerned, already in many parts of the country, bus-owners are all agitating, and petrol filling-station-owners are agitating saying that they must be given higher rates and higher

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

commissions. All this will be reflected in the budget of the people. Government themselves are contributing to these things. What I mean to say is that Government are not acting in a way which would be a deterrent as far as the going up of prices in the country is concerned but they are helping these things to go on.

I may mention in passing that—I am sure that Shri D. P. Dhar is at least publicly conscious of it, that this monster of galloping inflation is going to destroy all his plans also: I doubt very much whether even the core of the Fifth Plan can be preserved and saved. If this kind of inflation is going to go on, it will upset everything and all planning and everything else. If Government propose to save the core of the Fifth Plan, they should tell us how concretely they propose to do it in the face of this inflation which is taking place.

The consumer price index for industrial workers has gone up from 194 in March last year to 228 in May this year. What does this mean? It means that there is a sharp fall in the real wages of the working classes. This means that money wages may go up, but even if they go up in some cases, it would be fruitless, because the real value of the wages is all the time being depressed. Can you expect there will not be industrial unrest? Can you expect that people will not protest some time or the other? Can you expect that bandhs will not take place? It is all very well to ask what the use of bandh is and it will not bring prices down. But what will bring prices down? Is it merely sitting at home and doing nothing and relying only on Government which is following this policy, which will bring down prices? The bandh is only a form of protest. What else are the people to do? Therefore, there is a wave of these bandhs taking place in different parts of the country. In West Bengal also, on the coming Friday, after waiting patiently for two years

when there has been no bandh or anything of that kind there, the people are going to have a massive State-wise bandh because they have been driven to the last measure of desperation.

We speak also of drought in some areas. Admittedly, there has been drought in some areas and failure of rains. But, nevertheless, I find that despite drought, the production of foodgrains in 1972-73 was only about 6 million tonnes less than what it was in the previous year. So, if we talk so loudly about drought as if there has been some catastrophic fall, that is not correct, because in 1971-72, the production was 104.7 million tonnes, and in 1972-73 when drought has affected us, it has come down to 98 million tonnes, which is only about 6 million tonnes less. My point is that even if it be less than last year's production, if the available stock is procured, the prices can be held and the people can be saved from this monster of the blackmarket into which everybody is now willy-nilly being propelled.

So the root causes of this terrible crisis are these. First, reckless deficit financing. Of course, they will say 'Bangladesh war', 'payment as a result of the Pav Commission's recommendations' and so on and so forth. Nevertheless, the estimate of Shri Chavan who is an experienced, very senior and able Minister, of the safe margin was only Rs. 250 crores of deficit financing in a year. It has gone up to Rs. 850 crores, and if you add to it Rs. 400 crores more which represents overdrafts drawn by the State Governments on the RBI, it comes to between Rs. 1200—1300 crores. This is not something which I am suddenly theorising about. I have no time to quote from many leading economists of the country who are also pointing out that this is the most dangerous thing that is taking place.

Secondly, there is no action on the Wanchoo Committee's Report. They

said that every year Rs. 1400 crores of black money is being created in our economy. I say the major part of this money goes to hoard foodgrains and other essential commodities. If this manace of black money is not fought, we will never be able to destroy the power of these hoarders and blackmarketeers.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I want to seek a clarification.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Which Report of the Wanchoo Committee is he referring to, the interim report or the final reports, the one which Shrimati Gandhi got first or the other final report?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Shri Bosu will kindly allow me to proceed; I certainly do not propose to interrupt him when he speaks.

Thirdly, there is the dubious role of the banks, including the nationalised banks. I know directives have been given to them not to advance credit easily for purposes which may be described as speculation and hoarding. But I make the charge that these directives are not being carried out and the working of the nationalised banks should be gone into much more deeply. Large amounts of credit are still being advanced to these very parties and forces who are responsible for cornering commodities, foodgrains and other essential commodities, and for hoarding and blackmarketing.

The next thing is the half-hearted and weak-kneed implementation by Government of their very laudable decision to take over the wholesale trade in wheat. It is so-weak-kneed and so half-hearted that from the very first day Government allowed this powerful profiteer-cum-landlord combine to sabotage and scuttle it

I do not want to go in to the old controversy about marketed surplus and marketable surplus. That was the first floodgate which was opened. So if anybody is kind enough to bring a part of his grain to the market and actually markets it, the government procurement agency will operate on that only. Whatever he chooses not to bring to market but keeps hidden for further future hoarding and blackmarketing, Government is not bothered about that. A wonderful policy! No levy, no graduated levy. No levy on the big producers, no graduated levy even on producers according to the size of their holdings or production. No levy at all, and no association of the people with the implementation of this policy.

It is a gigantic decision taken. In a huge country of this size, you are going to take over the wholesale trade in wheat wholesale. And you think you can carry it out only with the help of district magistrates, SDOs and darogas of police thanas, against these people who are going to resist this thing for their own economic interests. No attempt was made to mobilise the people and get their co-operation, have some form of popular committees or something like that to work along with the administrative machinery. Nothing was done. Even where people do co-operate out of their own will, where peasants co-operate in many villages. There, the landlords take revenge on them by attacking and killing them as they have done in Bihar. Even today, I got a report from Shri Bhogendra Jha, who has just come from there, that in that same Selli area where the Mahant was arrested some months ago last year, if you remember, for the murder of 12 landless labourers and poor peasants, in the same Selli area, yesterday or the day before, there has been another savage attack carried out by the landlords in which several people have been killed because those peasants in an organised way were trying to co-operate with

[Shri Indrajit Gupta] the procurement drive of the Government. So, a revenge has been taken on them by the landlords.

If I may with your indulgence just quote one or two comments which have been offered in the press, which have been published by some leading economists like Mr. V. N. Dandekar, Director of the Gokhale Institute, Dr. Ashok Mitra, the former Chief Economic Adviser to the Government of India itself, Prof. Dantwala, Dr. Bright Singh, Member of the Tamil Nadu Planning Commission and Mr. Chimanlal Patel, Gujarat Planning Minister, and so on.

AN HON. MEMBER: Now, the Chief Minister.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: While leading economists have blamed heavy deficit financing in recent years and the failure of the Government's control mechanism for the present abnormal price rise, they have said many things. I cannot quote them all. "They have suggested that the Government should procure the consumer goods at the source of production and sell them through a wide network of fair price shops so as to arrest the disease of price spiral." There is no other solution within the present framework, at least. "The root cause of the present inflation, they say, is an attempt to eliminate poverty without touching the rich." This is the core of the matter. You want to *hatao* the *garibi* without touching the rich. How could it be done? Such a magical path has not been invented I think in the world.

Then, Dr. Ashok Mitra, their own former Economic Adviser, blamed the failure of the Government's control mechanism for the current spurt in prices; when Government had stocks, it did not make an appropriate use of this to put down speculation. "On the contrary, some of the buffer-stocks were released during 1971-72

to private traders. Once the food-grains prices started rising, he said, everything else succumbs to that trend. Some of the groups and classes who benefit from the price rise have an inordinate hold on the Government and they are making full use of their political power."

Prof Daniwala says that "if the prices of essential commodities in short supply were to be contained, there is no escape from compulsory levy on big producers and also imports if necessary." Dr. Mitra said, "While the bank rate has been raised by a mere one per cent, the margin of profit enjoyed by the rich farmers, traders and industrialists from the operations financed through bank credit was substantially higher.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Two minutes more. There is a consensus of views among so many people of different quarters as to what is happening and why it is happening.

15 hrs.

This morning I found, although we did not reach the Question Hour, that a statement was laid, giving the figures of procurement of wheat during the current rabi season. What a miserable show! And they must tell us why it is happening. Why, when the target in Haryana was 13 lakhs, they have procured only 5.64 lakhs? Why in Madhya Pradesh, when it was four lakhs, they have procured only 1.91 lakhs? In Uttar Pradesh, it was 18 lakhs target; they have procured only 7.50 lakhs. Only in Punjab, you can say with some satisfaction, out of a target of 23 lakhs, some 25.75 lakhs have been procured; at least they have not miserably failed. But what is happening to the others? The fact is that the big producers in Uttar Pra-

desh and other States, even they who call themselves Congressmen, many of them have just refused to part with their stocks. Despite appeals made by the Prime Minister and in the name of the Prime Minister by certain very eminent ministers sent from here for this purpose to persuade them, in U.P. those people refused to part with their stocks unless procurement prices were substantially raised. In West Bengal the State Government could not procure even half of its own target of rice, three lakh tonnes which they were supposed to procure. The Food Minister there says: I do not believe in coercion; I believe in methods of persuasion. In the meantime rice ration has been cut to 750 gms. and people are asked to buy rice in the open market at Rs. 4. After all no less a person than the General Secretary of the ruling party, not me, Mr. Chandrajit Yadav only the other day speaking at Gauhati said something which you should note. He will be conservative about his own troubles. Even he has admitted that inside the party, there is a big, strong and powerful block of reactionary elements and vested interests who are not allowing these things to be done; they sabotage from within. How can you expect people to sit quiet and rely on the Government? If these are the diseases you must cure them and show to the people that you are doing something serious about it. In the face of the proposed bandh Mr. Siddhartha Sankar Ray is continuously sermonising to us there that he does not want strikes and we should not have bandhs. What should we do? Rely on the Government? They say that they are doing everything, but they are cutting the ration and refuse to procure from big producers and rice millers and hoarders. Are we supposed to keep quiet and depend upon them? Keeping quiet for two years had led to the present misery. All the proclaimed assurances of the ruling party are being thrown to the winds. That is the trouble.

It is a matter of concern not only to the Opposition people; it is a matter of concern to millions of people who voted Congress and believed in their programme. There should be broad based unity of the people to see to it that those things which were promised were carried out and not allowed to be watered down or the Government is not allowed to retreat from them. The situation has come to such a pass. There should be no retreat under pressure. There are some parties in the Opposition who are one with the vested interests in the ruling party to whom Mr. Chandrajit Yadav referred. There are many here, friends of the traders and big producers who are enemies of any idea of the take over of food trade.

But if the Government is going to continue in the line of retreat, the economy is faced with the threat of absolute collapse. They have to implement it firmly with popular co-operation. You must impose graduated levy. Otherwise there is no way of getting it done. Take it over and distribute, step by step, all essential articles. For goodness sake, use a little of the vast legal armoury you have built up at least to give some deterrent or exemplary punishment to some of the hoarders and profiteers. It may mean that you have to tread on the corns of people whom you do not want to tread on. You have to decide whether you are to go that way or take the country towards disaster. You should take action against black money. The adjournment motion has been brought because the situation has become really explosive. We are in a sense standing at the cross roads. There is dynamite in the economy because if we go on like this, whether it is planning or food or price, everything is going to be upset; everything will collapse. Therefore, I am warning the Government if they fail on the price and food front, it is not only a question of their party and their Go-

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

vernment going down—it is on this issue they will go down if they go on the way they are going—but it will mean misery and suffering and starvation for millions of people in this country and the entire economy of the country will be disrupted and shattered. Therefore, I think it is time that we censure the Government for what they have been doing as distinct from what they they have been talking and promising of doing. That is why this adjournment motion has been brought. I hope it will get the support of different sections in this House, including those Congress friends who want to see that their declared programme is carried out and is not defeated. It is for them to decide what they should do. Why should I bother about it? The trouble is on account of this issue I cannot make common cause with Shri Piloo Mody or Shri Vajpayee because I know that they are fundamentally opposed to everything that this Government promises to do but is not doing under their pressure or the pressure of their friends.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra). We are not opposed to what they say.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA So, you are not opposed to the take-over of foodgrains.

SHRI PILOO MODY: We want them to fulfil their promise to provide food; not take over foodgrains trade.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA With these words, I move my motion of adjournment.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER Motion moved:

That the House do now adjourn.

SHRI R K SINHA (Faizabad)
Sir, I rise to oppose the adjournment motion moved by our illustrious

friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta. I am opposing it because in spite of his long speech, some of the contents of which I might agree, the basic fact remains that Shri Gupta has not been able to find any failure on the part of this Government. For instance, the policy of take-over of foodgrains is a policy which has been substantially supported by him. If there are certain mistakes somewhere in the mechanism of implementation, if partial take-over of foodgrains trade has not been successful, let us analyse why it is so. After all, we are not functioning in a vacuum. If anything happens in any part of the country for any section of the people, the Government is blamed.

SHRI PILOO MODY Naturally.

SHRI R K SINHA If there is no rainfall the Government is blamed. If the dams do not get filled, the blame is again on the Government. If there is a revolution or counter-revolution in Andhra Pradesh and the railway compartments are burnt, the blame is again laid on the door of the Government. I would agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta that the distribution of essential commodities is a gigantic problem in the solution of which all parties should come together and help the Government in finding out a workable solution for the problem facing the country.

Those who today point out the essential weaknesses of the mechanism of distribution analysis what is happening in the world. After all, we are not living in a vacuum. In July 1972 we had with us a stock of 92 tonnes of foodgrains. At that time we could not predict failure of rainfall in the country because we are not prophets of doom. So we could not anticipate failure of rain in Maharashtra, Mysore, Gujarat, Rajasthan and other areas. Because of the shortage of foodgrains and

near-famine conditions on account of the failure of the monsoon, the Central Government took over the responsibility of feeding 180 million people.

It is true that the prices have risen and we have to find a solution. The Government is blamed for the existence of blackmarketeers and corrupt officials, who could exist only in an economy of scarcity. Yet, when attempts are made to increase production, we find attempts by our friends from the other side to disrupt production in all conceivable ways, by strikes and bandhs in order to weaken the will of the Government. We have seen the lack of character which some people have unashamedly shown in the face of a grave crisis which the nation is facing when all parties which believe in and talk of patriotism should come together and strengthen our country.

At a time when the Soviet Union have purchased 17 million tonnes of wheat from the United States, when they have purchased 11 million tonnes of coarse grains from the American market, when there is a crisis of shortages of oil and essential commodities in China, North Africa and other countries, is it surprising that the price of wheat has doubled in the international market? Many countries which are deficit in food-grains have to find millions of tonnes of food from the open market in the world because there is acute shortage of foodgrains in China, Russia and other countries. Under these circumstances, the rise in price of wheat in the international market is not something unusual. Naturally, when we purchase wheat in the open market, we have to pay that increased price.

Let us patiently analyse the causes for the steep rise in prices. The gangling up of the petroleum-producing

countries is responsible for the rise in price of petroleum products. How can you say that the Government is responsible for that? You cannot lay the blame for shortages of all conceivable commodities on the door of the Government.

My hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, said that one of the causes for the price rise is deficit financing. What type of expenditure does he want us to reduce? Does he expect us to reduce our security arrangements on the frontiers? Should we spend less on our defence? Does he expect the Government to spend less on social services like education and health?

There is another reason for this crisis. Thousands of wagons of coal have been sent to Bangladesh. Naturally, those wagons are not available for either movement of food-grains to the south or for the movement of cement to the north. At the same time, you could not have fought for the liberation of Bangladesh and said in the same breath that you will not face the consequences. When a child is born in a family, whether the other family members are starving or not, the child has to be reared. In the same way, in the family of secular democracies Bangladesh was born and being a neighbouring and friendly country we have to supply them with coal and other essential commodities in spite of the fact that we are poor ourselves. Naturally, this has led to shortage of goods and consequent crisis.

Then, we projected our plans for generation of electricity and consequent industrial production on the assumption that the dams will get filled up. Because of the erratic rainfall there was grave shortage of electricity in UP Bihar Maharashtra and the States in South India. The shortage of electricity naturally affected the industrial production and created shortage.

[Shri R. K. Sinha]

We, particularly those sitting on this side of the House, should not forget there is a conspiracy by the monopoly houses in league with some of the opposition parties in this country to run down this Government and create confusion wherever they can. But we stand as one man under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and we have achievements to our credit on this problem also. Do you think that by your writings in the press or by your attacks on our Government we shall falter? We know, there are errors; we know, prices have risen; we know, the problem has to be faced but, the problem cannot be faced by an about-turn from our policies.

Our friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, said that poverty cannot be fought by pleasing the rich man. I agree with him. Coal was nationalised and banks were nationalised. Was all this series of nationalisations directed against the monopoly houses or the rich men or was it to please them? This Government is committed to the removal of poverty and fighting the monopoly houses. A big crisis has come about which belongs to you as well as to us.

There is an attack on controls. It has been said that prices have gone up because there have been controls. But what about those items whose prices have gone up in spite of the fact that there was no regulation or control? Their prices have gone up because of the gang-up of the right reaction of India. The same party, the Jana Sangh Party, comes out with two types of posters. One poster is about fair price shops. How will you get food for the fair price shops unless you procure it? You first get it and then you distribute it. Another poster says, you are not giving remunerative prices to the tenant or the peasant. Did they come out for the

dehoarding campaign? Did they go round the country to see that food was procured for the people who need it... (Interruptions)?

AN HON. MEMBER: Did you?

SHRI R. K. SINHA: They are talking on both sides of the barrier. The people of this country have seen them in their real image. They had a gang-up of the extreme right and the extreme left in 1967 and they failed.

This is a temporary crisis and we shall face it boldly, with discipline and with a sense of solidarity under the leadership of our Prime Minister and our Government. We shall see that food is distributed better and that essential commodities are controlled better. But they must understand that rains are not made either in heaven or on earth. Rains are something which we cannot regulate. There may be an international crisis which a national government has to analyse in terms of planning. It was said that planning may be cut down. If prices go up, it is bound to affect our planning. But we are sure that our Government will not forget the backward areas, the core sector of our industry, the poor peasantry, and the working class who live in cities.

Today you withdrew all of a sudden, the no-confidence motion because you knew that it was a ritual. You fight with imaginary swords in the air and get defeated every time. Within three days your momentum will pass. You have combined in an immature, illegal fashion into a grand alliance of the Opposition, into which our friends of the Communist Party of India have also walked in. This grand alliance, I know, will dissipate in three days and you will be talking

in different languages. We shall talk with one language: Control the situation; the future before the country is great and we shall make it greater.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Sir, there was no Russian translation.

SHRI R. K. SINHA: There was no Portuguese translation from you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, this is the worst ever crisis for almost every Indian, specially for those who have to toil for their living, namely, the low and the middle income group people. Never before in history we have known such acrisis, we have seen in today's newspaper that in Bihar, one State alone, five million people are facing starvation. In Tripura we know for certain that 3500 people died of starvation. Here is the representative from Tripura sitting and he can vouch for it. No pretext, Madam Prime Minister, I may tell you, can save you and your Party. So long you have been making scapegoats of various varieties. You are even talking about workers not going on strike. She said the other day that prices of foodstuffs will go up if workers strike. Did you ever ask your Planning Commission to find out whether that would ever be true? Or was it your brain-child?

You talk about CIA. You talk about Opposition Parties....(*Interruptions*) I have been following your Prime Minister. Now, of course, you are talking about reactionaries in your own Party. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, please go out while the going is good because you cannot make the grade and you cannot do it....(*Interruptions*).

Sir, the position is very critical. She had said only day before yesterday before half a dozen Congressmen sitting here in the Central Hall that the coming months are going to

be very critical. As usual, whenever it is found to be too hot for her, a contradiction comes out. We are accustomed to that and that has been usual practice.

Now, the other day, the Prime Minister and her Finance Minister, hon. Mr. Y. B. Chavan, have predicted a downward trend in prices of foodstuffs. And to-day, what is happening? It had climbed to the top of the world. If you only take the International Labour Organisation's data, India—July 1971—it was 90 and now it is 250. Now, my dear friend. Shri R. K. Sinha has gone away. He is talking about the price-rise being a global phenomenon. Now, the base year 1963—100 and India 1965—it was 120 and in 1971 it was 174. But Germany—it was 103.6 in 1965 and 112.5 in 1971. Now, Pakistan, our neighbour, let us be good friends—it was 110.4 in 1965 which went up to 141.6 in 1971. UK—105.4 in 1965 and 133.6 in 1971. Now, let us come to the Consumer Price Index. India 1965—124 and 127 and in 1971—it was 197 and 212. He was talking about Socialist countries. In Hungary it was 102.5 and 104.5 in 1965 and it went up to only 106.5 and 103.8 in 1971. Mr. Deputy Speaker, you are a very knowledgeable person. From 106.5 it came down to 103.8. The hon. Member was talking about price-rise being a world phenomenon. He was trying to carry coal to New Castle. Or is it that I am trying to throw pearls before swine?

The other day I had a talk with the Director of Consumers' Council of the country. In one month's time there had been a rise of 32 per cent in the price level of almost all commodities. The Prime Minister knows all about it, but you cannot wake her up because she is not sleeping.

Then, everything has gone outside the purchasing power of the common man. Here is a wonderful article which says:

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

"Organisation of consumers interviewed appear to be alarmed at the seeming collusion between the Government and the price racketeers. For the Government seems to endorse the price increases effected by wholesalers and retailers."

This is from the *Economic Times* of Bombay edited by a very competent and intelligent economist. Then it 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."

Then it says:

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

Till mid-night I can go on giving quotations from most reliable and respectable papers to show that this Government is hand in gloves with monopolists and as a result, the price-rise is taking place.

Sir, during every Budget, they promise: "Oh! We are going for a credit-squeeze; we are going for an inflation-check". But what is the result? The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Every time after the Budget is presented, there is a price-rise. Today in Bombay—let Mr. Chavan contradict this—is it not a fact that rice is being sold in the open market at Rs. 7.50 per kilo? Have you ever heard in your life time that in India rice is being sold at Rs. 7.50 per kilo? That is what is happening. Why is this happening? It is because Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government are of the monopolists, by the monopolists and for the monopolists; she is a product of the monopolists. Her very existence

depends on the black market and black money. This Government will not stick even one day if black market is stopped; the Government will go out of existence if the black money is dehoarded. Not only are they allowing the profiteers to loot but they are adding fuel to the fire by free and frequent sanctions of price-rise. What have they done in the case of dalda? In two months they have allowed two rises. Only the other day it was Rs. 6/- a kilo, but today it is Rs 11/- a kilo. What is happening? There is a Dalda and Sugar Cell in the Ministry of Agriculture. My friend, Mr. F. A. Ahmed, is not here. My information is that a good number of the people there are on the payrolls of firms like Hindustan Lever and others. There is a man called Mr. Jain. We want to know what is the value of his assets, how much money he has made. I am not talking only about contribution to political parties, Ministers, etc., but I am talking about the civil servants also. This is how the loot is going on. Where the actual cost of production of dalda is less than Rs. 3/-, you have to pay Rs. 11/- to buy it and cook your minimum meal with.

Will you be surprised if I say that the Balance Sheet of Hindustan Levers shows that its last year's profit was Rs 5 crores, and this year it is Rs. 11 crores? Rs. 11 crores are the shown profits. And the unshown profits, I can assure you, are Rs 30 crores. Wherefrom did they get this money? That is the difference between Rs. 6/- and Rs 11/- That is how they have collected the money.

Another firm, Shaw Wallace and Co., dealing mainly with foodstuffs, fertiliser and other consumer goods, have declared a dividend of 40 per cent. The firm which declares a dividend of 40 per cent on its equity capital. I assure you must have earned really a profit of 60 per cent—not less than that.

In the case of Hindustan Levers, the original investment appreciated instead of depreciating. They do not know what to do with the money.

I can describe it like this. When Rome was burning, Nero, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was fiddling.

Let us talk about sugar. The cost of production is not even one-third of the sale price—never, never, more than one-third of the sale price. How were they allowed to manipulate the recovery figures? They have been stealing 20 per cent at least at the recovery stage, evading taxes and evading the shareholders; they put an excise inspector and the bandobust came to Rs. 200 a month. Later on some Inspectors became troublesome for the companies. So, Mr. Chavan had to ask the Central Excise to advise them that the Sugar Mill-owners have become saints and they have gone on a self-reforming process and the Excise Inspectors were withdrawn so that the 25 per cent recovery manipulation can be carried on without any hindrance

Then, there is the free sale of sugar. If you do not believe me, you can believe *Deccan Herald*. It has published a wonderful article. Last year they have made an excess profit of Rs. 200 crores out of our money. Why? Because give-and-take between Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Government, Party and the sugar tycoons. 'I look after you and you look after me'. Please X, Y and Z. That is the bandobust. Of course, I have established and I have repeatedly told on the floor of this House that the Ruling Party took Rs. 8 crores and fifty lakhs from the sugar tycoons in the last elections. (Interruptions) I do not know who are the Bahujees in Delhi and who are the Bahujees in Lucknow. I do not want to go into them.

Now, coming to the mill-made cloth, when the cotton prices are going

down, cotton-growers do not get economic prices and they are giving up cotton cultivation, why is it that cotton textile prices must go up? Why is it that you should allow them to increase the price by 10 per cent? I bought a *lungi* the other day I weighed it. It weighed 150 grammes. The price was Rs. 15. You imagine 15 x 6. Rs. 100 a kilo. Do you know the price of raw cotton? The best variety does not cost more than Rs. 6 a kilo. By making it into yarn and dyeing it and weaving it, it must be converted into Rs. 100. The money has to be divided, the loot has to be divided between the ruling Party and the monopoly capital. An overall-survey of 25 cities records a rise upto 300 per cent.

Sir, in West Bengal there is a serious *Dhal* scandal. The FCI procured *dhal*. The Congress MLAs and the Ministers of the State are looting. There is a big report about this. If you permit me, I will lay* it on the Table of the House and I do not want to take the time of the House.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You hand it over to me.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Then there is that worst scandal bran scandal. Some 79 persons including the Chief Minister's own nephew and own brother-in-law have been arrested. I want to ask as to who gave the permits. Mr. Ajay Mukerjea, the brother-in-law—I knew him. He was the Traffic Manager of the Calcutta Tramways and later of the State Transport. His son is an eminent Tennis player Mr. Jaideep Mukerjea. I wanted him to become even a better player. How did they get the permit for dealing in bran? The price fixed is Rs. 17 per maund but it is selling at Rs. 35 per maund. You take out a permit, Mr. Subramaniam and bring the bran to the gate and on hundred quintals you can make a clean profit of Rs. 1000. Behind each and every permit

*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the document was not treated as laid on the Table.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

there is an MLA and one Minister and instead of arresting them, they have arrested a civil servant, Mr. Sen Gupta, because he has no godfather..

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar): Sir, on a point of order. These are matters sub-judice. The Chief Minister of West Bengal and the Government of West Bengal have taken the strongest measures possible and the persons arrested are now before the court. It is sub-judice. I want to know whether he can refer to all this.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I say nothing which is really sub-judice. Then, Sir, we want to know this. (Interruptions) We want to know, why is it that no Minister knows, not even any Minister's Confidential Assistant knows, that a Congress M.L.A. was arrested, apprehended or interrogated? May we know that? (Interruptions) A civil servant has been arrested. M.P.s are not involved, as far as I know I know Mr Daschowdhury of course. These Congress MLAs are the kingpins and why have they not been arrested? You must know what happens 4 000 tonnes of wheat bran are being blackmarketed every month. The poultry business has come to a standstill. The Bihar milkmen and cattle-keepers of West Bengal have to pay at the rate of one rupee per kilo for bran which they would have got at six annas a kilo but for this blackmarket. Where does this money go, Sir? It goes to enrich the pockets of those gentlemen who said *garibi hatao*. They must get money

There is another instance which is a great racket here. Mr. Jag Prवेश Chandra has started the game of price-tag. Now, Sir, what is this price-tag? Who fixes the price-tag in Delhi? We want to know about that. Who is paying for the big advertisements that are appearing in the newspapers, long, big, insertions? Each insertion must be costing Rs. 5,000. It says: Insist on a Price-tag

Now, who is paying for it? Must be Hindustan Lever, because their profit is only Rs. 10 crores this year, and in the next year, they want to make a profit of Rs. 30 crores and I am sure the Prime Minister will approve of this idea.

Various wrong production figures are being given. Shortages are being terribly magnified by the Government. The Prime Minister, in one of her speeches near about the Budget time, had said: The shortfalls are being exploited. I am asking you: Who has been talking about shortfalls? Is it not Mr. Chavan himself, who said about this, before the Chief Ministers' Conference? Do you want me to give that date and the exact speech? It is they who are creating a psychology of scarcity because this is convenient for them, because these hoarders and hoarders are your patrons. you must get your money out of the blood of the common workingman in the country, otherwise you will not survive. Your survival depends upon how much your own patrons flourish. Now, may I quote what the Prime Minister said? This is a news item from the Indian Express, dated the 14th July, 1972.

"At a Press Conference on Wednesday, the Prime Minister did not even pretend to express concern over the recent spurt in prices. On the contrary, she seemed to defend the situation. 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."

I have quoted Madam Prime Minister. If you want, I can send you a copy. You have a very big Secretariat, a very elaborate Secretariat. You have good economists. I am not talking about the Hong Kong Article of a Pakistani economist. I am talking of other economists too. You can find out for yourself whether there is any truth in what you say; you will find that there is seldom any truth. Mr. Shinde made a statement the other

day. I cannot say that they have been foolishly making a statement, because, that will sound rude, but the statement was really unwanted. I say, Madam Prime Minister is a new edition of Chiang Kai-Shek. What had happened in China? Don't you take lessons? This is the beginning of it. There are food riots everywhere in our country: Nagpur, Nasik, Poona, Ahmedabad in Gujarat State, etc. Why should this happen in Gujarat whose people have always been peaceful? We are called violent people, but what about Gujarat people—Mahatma Gandhi's own State? There have been food riots there. Madam Prime Minister knows what followed Chiang Kai-Shek. At least she should know. That is coming. She cannot stop it. I may tell you that the communist government had held the priceline in one year and brought forward a balanced budget in one year. Those who do not know should educate themselves on this.

But what is Government doing now? Their procurement has been a total failure. Trade takeover is a hoax. The prime Minister herself does not believe in this takeover. The Congressmen themselves are sabotaging. Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad the other day told me that when he went to his constituency, he saw somebody having 1000 quintals of wheat and he asked him rightly 'Why are you holding this?' The man turned round and said what about Shri S. K. Modi with 90,000 quintals in Delhi? Then, he said 'This is very bad', because he could give enormous amount of money to somebody in power, therefore, he can get out of it.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur): The hon Member is putting something in my mouth I had not said that.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This is what I am saying. Of course, missiles got from S. K. Modi may get Shri

Gujarmal Modi Padma Bhushan, because they are very close to the Prime Minister and they are great friends of the ruling party, and, therefore, they cannot possibly think of putting them behind the bars; that treatment is meant for Samar Mukerjees and Jyotirmoy Bosu; they can arrest them, release them and rearrest them at the court-gate or the toll-gate.

Now, what is happening in regard to rationing? Rationing is failing. Modified rationing is failing. When a common man does not get 1500 gms of rice, a CRP sepyo gets 4000 gms. of rice, because the CRP will have to protect Shrimati Indira Gandhi when the mass riot will come around her. So, they must be fed well.

I would only say that there would not be many idiots in this country who will believe that monopolists will pay money to Shrimati Indira Gandhi for hataoing Garibi and for bringing in socialism. At least, I do not wish to be in that category. If there are many on that side, they can choose for themselves.

Today, the funny thing is that you can get any quantity of any item for a price, and there is no shortage. Money supply has been contradictory to their professed principles. They have been feathering the nest of the monopolists. There are conflicting figures in regard to deficit financing. Credit squeeze is another hoax.

If you see the figures of indirect taxation, you will be horrified to see the rate at which it is going up. At least I must have these figures read out. In 1963-69 direct taxes accounted for 10 per cent and indirect taxes for 55.73 per cent. But in 1973-74, the percentages are 273.57 and 18.6 respectively. This is the type of indirect taxation that has been there. This is the real Garibi Hatao that we are seeing. If you want to smoke a bidi, you have to pay some tax; if you want to buy a lungi, you have to pay

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

tax; if you want to have a cup of tea, you have to pay tax. But when Shri Gujarmal Modi comes or Shri Ramnath Goenka comes, his taxes must come down, because otherwise, they would not help Shrimati Indira Gandhi to bring in socialism and remain in power.

I would say a word only about corruption. I am talking about one Minister by name Nakat Narayan. In one bye-election, this man has spent Rs. 70 lakhs. In one deal of import of stainless steel, that man made about Rs. 50 lakhs; unbelievable this is what is happening. But the man has been elevated and promoted.

In regard to blackmarket, I would say on the face of the Prime Minister that Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of the country is a product of black money...

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I say 'Yes'.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the hon. Member should conclude.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Otherwise, she would have published the interim report of the Wanchoo Committee and demonetisation would have taken place on 12th November, 1970. But without blackmarket, she cannot move and she cannot do anything. But all that I am saying is that she should go while the going is good.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kangra): I rise to oppose the Adjournment Motion. My hon. friend has, as usual, indulged in abusive language. I think he is a master of that. He should use it more often on his own friends rather than misuse the privileges of a member in this House. Not only that. He has also performed the ceremony or ritual of paying homage to his friends who are there across the Himalayas. He can do that as often as he likes, but why does he waste the time of the House?

He quoted the wholesale price indexes of products, rise in prices in foreign countries and so on. He quoted the indexes in Germany, the price rise in Germany, England, Hungary and so on. But he has not given the House the benefit of his knowledge as to whether there was a drought that took place in Germany or England in the last five years or whether there has been a war fought by them in the last five years or whether those countries maintained 10 million refugees for one year. It is because of these basic reasons that prices have risen.

We are all concerned about the rise in prices. We want to control it. Government is doing its best to control it. But our friends opposite are quoting figures which have no relevance.

The basic reason for the rise in prices is that there has been a drought in this country not for one year but for two or three consecutive years. Because of this drought, there has been shortage of essential commodities. Because of this, we have to import food-grains and other essential commodities which are costing very high abroad. These are the basic reasons.

Then production in the country has gone down. There have been bandhs which have resulted in dislocation in production.

SHRI PILOO MODY: In power shortages.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: That is the second reason. I am talking of the first reason. Because of dislocation in production, there is shortage of consumer goods in the country. Because of shortage of rainfall, there was a shortage of electric power generation. There has consequently been a slide in production. It is these natural causes which have resulted in less production. But our friends are trying to take advantage

of natural calamities to blame Government instead of joining hands with it and seeing that prices do not go up and people who are the culprits, the hoarders, are caught. On the other hand, they side with them and help them in propagating their cause

Some of the Opposition parties have even gone to the extent of condemning the takeover of the wholesale trade in foodgrains. They want this measure, which is for the benefit for the weaker sections of society, to be dropped so that the hoarders could have more profits as a result of more rise in prices. But for this measure of takeover of the wholesale trade in wheat there would have been a great chance of more starvation death. It is because of this measure that there has been

SHRI PILOO MODY Government has never admitted starvation deaths

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN I said there would have been but for this measure. Either there is something wrong with his hearing or he has not used the hearing aid provided by the Secretariat.

The point I was making was that because of these natural calamities, there has been shortage of various types of essential commodities like foodgrains, oils etc., which have resulted in rise in prices.

The contribution of the Opposition to the rise in prices is in two forms. One is that they have protected and supported hoarders and their interests. They have supported the interests of hoarders in this country. That is one of the basic reasons why they are escaping the clutches of the law. I would request Government to take more stringent measures to see that these hoarders are caught and that those Opposition parties who support them are also made to pay

The second reason, to which I referred and which I am repeating, is that some of the Opposition parties are deliberately creating a situation where there should be chaos so that it helps them in creating discontent and finally injuring the reputation and stability of the Government and the country. They want chaos to be created by having more strikes; they support strikes and they incite labour. First, they compromise with the Government and six months after that, they back out, and after that, they again incite the labour and then they go in for bandhs. That is another factor which has caused price rise, because if there is a slide back in production, there is bound to be a shortage of commodities and rise in prices. These are the two basic reasons for which the Opposition is directly responsible. There are other reasons. For example, the Bangladesh war

SHRI S M BANERJEE (Kanpur) To what extent you are responsible? Kindly tell us.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN We are responsible for controlling the prices and we are trying to do that. You are responsible for strikes and bandhs, and this is the reason why the consumer goods are costing more. (Interruptions)

SHRI PILOO MODY So, in other words, both of you have failed.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN The third reason which I submit is the war, and every country has paid the price of war. A war has always resulted in inflation. It has always resulted in rise in prices, and every nation has to pay the price of a war, and so we are paying for it. Not only this. We had a war and we had to support 10 million refugees for a year and to support them, it does cost

[Shri Vikram Mahajan] money. That is another reason for the price rise—

SHRI PILOO MODY: To support 10 million refugees does not cost more than supporting 10,000 Congressmen.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: Not only this. As I have submitted there has been, as was pointed out by my learned predecessor also, a rise in the international prices of various essential commodities which we import, and one of them is petroleum products, whose price in the international market has gone up, and that is why we had to pay more in our country. That is one of the reasons why the prices have gone up.

Taking another instance; the abnormal costs of oil products are because of the shortage of oil seeds caused due to drought conditions. There was a shortage of production and we had to import the commodities. The prices have to be paid. Similarly, there is a shortage of grains and we have to pay for them. These are the four basic reasons which have caused the price rise. The Government is trying to meet the situation by having a more effective distribution system of fair price shops, which is the basic and the only way, in my submission, by which we can control the prices all over the country.

Secondly, there is the step which we have taken, namely, the take-over of wholesale trade in wheat. Of course, this is the first year and there are bound to be difficulties and bound to be failings here and there, but this step is bound to control the rise in prices of wheat.

AN HON. MEMBER: Can you say so in your constituency also?

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: I give the list to you. You can send my speech to them.

What I am submitting is, the hoarders should be tackled and should be dealt with. There should be penal laws which should be more effective and, in fact, a people's force should be set up to see that these hoarders are dealt with properly. I should also suggest that there should be a general price freeze in the country. That is, no body should be allowed to charge a higher price than the one fixed by the Government, and one who does so should be dealt with severely. (Interruptions).

I submit there should be an all-out attack, a killing attack, on this hydra of price rise, and I hope and I am confident, that under the leadership of our Prime Minister we will be able to control the prices

15 57 hrs.

(SHRI N. K. P. SALVE in the Chair)

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): I rise to support the adjournment motion moved by Mr. Indrajit Gupta. It was good of the Chair to have allowed the motion to be moved here, because in the last session when a similar motion was sought to be moved in this House, the Chair did not give its ready consent on the plea that the rise in prices was nothing unusual in the country.

I concede that the increase in the prices has become a routine affair in this Country whenever Parliament meets after an interval, we are confronted with a fait accompli or rise in prices. Only thing this time the price rise had been very steep and unprecedented.

That is why I think, the Chair was good enough to allow this discussion. Even now I can imagine what is going to be the reply from the Government benches. In the last session, we had a discussion on the price rise

before the General Budget discussion started and again another discussion at the lag end of the session. At that time when the Finance Minister Mr. Chavan replied, he said: "I should like to say that this is a very difficult situation. There is no doubt about it. At the same time, I must repeat what I have said last time, namely that this is a passing phase."... (Interruptions).

He is going to repeat again and again that the price rise is only a passing phase. My only apprehension is that by the time the passing phase is over, the poorer people in this country may well have passed from life to the grave because of the unbearable burden and the misery of the rise in prices. To the extent the people in this country, due to frustration, choose almost to end their lives in the grave, to that extent Mr. Chavan's assurances of a passing phase may prove to be true. Every mortal is destined to pass away from this earth, but the economic situation created by this Government only hasten the process.

16 hrs.

Last time, he argued that the rise in prices was nothing unusual for this country and that it was an international phenomenon. Being a very erudite economist he should have known that in other countries the rise is not to that extent. From 1967 to 1971 in Japan the price rose by 6 per cent in five years, in Germany the rise was 7.3 per cent, in the United States it was 14 per cent and in Yugoslavia which is considered to be at the lower level of the developed countries it was 30 per cent, whereas in India it was more than 100 per cent.

One of the chief culprits in this situation has been deficit financing. Money supply has gone on uncontrolled. It is true in a developing economy deficit financing may become inevitable. But it should be

done in controlled conditions. For the entire fourth plan period Rs. 850 crores of deficit financing was visualised when the plan was put into operation. But taking the first four years, it was Rs. 58 crores in 1969-70, Rs. 359 crores in 1970-71, Rs. 710 crores in 1971-72 and in 1972-73, the revised estimate is Rs. 500 crores. Later on it was said it will be Rs. 850 crores, but recently the papers have come out with a figure of Rs. 1200 crores or so. So, even the plan provision of Rs. 850 crores of deficit financing has not been adhered to; it has gone up by about 250 per cent. The latest Reserve Bank report says that money supply in May, 1972 was Rs. 842.3 crores but in May, 1973 it was Rs. 9733 crores. So, in one year's time Rs. 1310 crores of paper money have been pumped into the economy and there is no adequate increase in production to sustain this increase in money supply. My first charge is that the Central Government which holds the strings of the economy of the country indulged in an uncontrolled way in deficit financing and printing notes and the main blame has to be borne by these two aspects. The uncontrolled fiscal policy of the Government of India has landed us in this grave situation.

Production was sought to be made an excuse. I concede if there is less production there is a cause for rise in prices. But that has not always proved to be correct. Even when there has been an increase in production, prices have gone up. Even when sugar production was increased by 9 million tonnes last year, price has gone up. Even in those years when there has been a peak production of foodgrains and buffer stocks have been maintained, prices have gone up. One eminent economist has given the following reasons while speaking in a press interview:

"The root cause of the present inflation is the attempt to eliminate poverty without touching the rich,

[Shri Sezhiyan]

without even calling a temporary halt to the extravagance of the Government and the affluence of the few. It is the consequence of socialist slogans without socialist discipline. The scapegoats have all been destroyed and there will no more be an alibi. The people are beginning to see who is cheating them."

We have been indulging in scapegoats. Only if the Government of India comes forward with policies which can be implemented and curtails the credit facilities given to the richer and affluent classes of society, then alone to a certain extent, there can be some improvement. This is what Mr Ashok Mitra, who was the Chief Economic Adviser to the Government of India has to say

"According to Dr. Mitra, a rigorous monetary policy, which could have denied credit, on a selective basis, to traders and hoarders, was never seriously thought of. Pressure on the Government's budgetary system was and has been great. The Government's ability to resist such pressures is so feeble that the fiscal system itself has contributed to the spiralling of prices.

Some of the groups and classes who benefit from the price rise have an inordinate hold on the Government. They are making full use of their political power. The rise in prices, after all, reflects the shift in income distribution against the poor and fixed income groups in favour of the rich and the privileged."

Having been the Chief Economic Adviser to the Government of India, he should know how these pressures have been working on the Finance Ministry and the Government. Therefore, the first and foremost conclusion is, whenever there is a steep rise in prices affecting the fixed income groups and the lower income brackets in society, it is the result of

the uncontrolled fiscal policies adopted by the Central Government. An hon member quoted the Finance Minister as having conceded that if they are able to control deficit financing to Rs. 250 crores in a year, it can be absorbed into the economic system. But even in the last three months, deficit financing gone up steeply. From 1st April, 1973 to 8th June, 1973, deficit financing has been indulged into the tune of Rs. 631 crores. This spree of over-time work at Nasik press and overdrafts from the Reserve Bank has been going on at an unimpeded pace.

The price rise is going to affect the entire economy of the country. The plan may have to be redrafted. If we want to keep the physical targets, the plan of Rs. 51,000 crores may have to be increased to Rs. 70,000 crores or so. Otherwise, you have to reduce the physical targets. The price rise could be controlled and should have been controlled by the economic policy of the Central Government. The State Governments are at the mercy of the Central Government. They do not have the economic powers or the financial authorities, which are almost monopolised by the Central Government. Deficit financing, money supply pattern of exports and imports, distribution—all these things are controlled only by the Centre and they should take the blame squarely on them. Due to price rise, there is unrest all over the country. The conditions of the poor people are made so miserable and strikes and bandhs are organised on such a scale that law and order becomes a problem and then it is the State Governments which have to face the tune whereas the Central Government has perpetrated the mischief. I am afraid if these conditions continue for some time more, the people at large may lose confidence not only in the ruling party but in the entire parliamentary system of government. They

may feel that democracy in this country may not be able to deliver the goods and the Parliaments, Assemblies, elected representatives and the ballot system will not deliver the bread they seek. Even a veteran Congressman, one of the leading lights on the other side, Mr. Shashi Bhushan, has said:

"Mr. Shashi Bhushan, Congress, M.P. and a leader of the now defunct Congress Socialist Forum, yesterday advocated some sort of limited dictatorship in the country for a limited period to free it from what he called the stranglehold of monopolists, hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers."

So, he concedes the existence of the stranglehold of monopolists, hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers and he thinks that the parliamentary form of government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi will not be able to solve the problem. If Mr. Shashi Bhushan, one of the veteran parliamentarians, has come to the conclusion that the present parliamentary system has failed, I can visualise what the people at large will feel about the Government and the parliamentary system we have got. Very knowledgeable sources are available to Shri Bhushan. It says—

"Shri Bhushan told a press conference that black money in circulation in the country had risen from an estimated Rs 5,000 crores in 1967 to Rs 10,000 crores now."

I think, he should have better statistics. That is not available to us. He has estimated that in the six year period, from 1967 to 1973, the black money has gone up from Rs 5,000 crores to Rs 10,000 crores, that is, it

has doubled. All these years the control was very much in the hands of his own party.

My apprehension is that unless the situation is controlled, unless prices are controlled—production alone is not going to solve the problem—unless produced goods are available in the market within the reach of the people, we are not going to solve the problem. Unless it is solved, not only the ruling party but the entire parliamentary system may have to pay the price for it.

श्री अमृत नाहाटा (वाडमर)

मभापति जी, हम में मन्देह नहीं कि हम वक्त हमारे देश में कीमतों में जो बेमिमान वृद्धि हो रही है उसमें हमारे देश के लोगों को बेहद तकलीफ है। हम वक्त जब कि हमारे यहाँ विरोधी दलों के नेतृत्व में आज की इस मुश्किल परिस्थिति का राजनीतिक विवाद बना कर अपने अपने राजनीतिक स्वार्थों को मिट्टी करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, हमें यह नहीं भूल जाना चाहिए कि ठीक इस वक्त देश में लाखों लोग राशन की दुकानों पर लम्बी लम्बी कतारें लगा कर खड़े हैं। हमें यह नहीं भूल जाना चाहिए कि गोजमर्रा की जरूरत की चीजें बहुत महंगे दामों पर काला-बाजारी में मिलती हैं। हमें यह नहीं भूल जाना चाहिए कि कुछ बड़े बड़े लोग जो मुनाफा-खोरी, काला-बाजारी और जमाखोरी कर के हमारे गरीब लोगों की जिन्दगी दौड़ा बना रहे हैं वे हमारे माध्यामिक लोगों की जिन्दगी में जो तकलीफ बरसा कर रहे हैं, ऐसे समय में हम सब यहाँ मिल कर ज्ञानि में, टूटे दिमाग में सोचें, गहराई में

[श्री अमृत नाहाटा]

सोचें, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन के अनेको माननीय सदस्य एक राय पर पहुँच कर हमारी जनता को इन तकलीफों में मुक्ति दिलाने में कारगर हो सकते हैं।

सभापति जी, श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त बहुत मजबूत के साथ, बहुत ठण्डे दिमाग के साथ बोल रहे थे। जो धाकड़े उन्होंने रखे, उनके बारे में कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। कीमतें बेहद बढ़ी हैं, लेकिन दो-तीन मिसालों के अलावा वे यह नहीं बता सके कि हमें इस सरकार का क्या दोष है या इस व्यवस्था में क्या दोष है और क्यों दोष है ..

श्री शशीधर अहलूवाल शशीधर (श्रीनगर) :
इस सरकार का दोष है।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : आप बनाइयेंगा श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने नहीं बननाया है। एक मिसाल उन्होंने दी कि पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ाने की इजाजत सरकार ने क्यों दी? वह जानते हैं कि सारी दुनिया में पेट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट्स की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं और भारत सरकार जिन पेट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट्स का बाहर से मंगा रही है उन में बढ़ि हुई है। एक मिसाल श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने दी कि बनस्पति की कीमतें बढ़ाने की इजाजत क्यों दी गई। मैं भी उन की बात का संशर्षण करता हूँ कि इजाजत नहीं दी जानी चाहिए थी, लेकिन, महोदय क्या श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त यह समझते हैं कि बनस्पति की कीमतें बढ़ाने की इजाजत देने में आज देश में इतनी बड़ी तकलीफ और मकट की स्थिति पैदा हुई है। वह भी हम जान

कों जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में सूखा पड़ा, हमारे देश में कई ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ आईं जो इस सरकार के बूते के बाहर की बात थी। मैं उन से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि इस वक्त सारी दुनिया में कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं। समाजवादी देश विकासशील देशों की सहायता करते हैं, यह बहुत अच्छी बात है, हम उनका स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त मानेंगे कि आज के विषय में जो दो व्यवस्थाएँ हैं, इस प्रकार की मण्डिया हैं, मार्केट्स हैं, उन में जो समाजवादी मण्डिया हैं या समाजवादी देश हैं, वे कच्चे माल के मामले में, खाद्यान्न के मामले में, उत्पादन में जो जरूरी कच्चा माल लगता है, उस के मामले में विकासशील देशों की किसी प्रकार की मदद करने में असमर्थ हैं। यह स्थिति है, वास्तविकता है और इनसे घाबरे नहीं मूदनी चाहिए। तमाम विकासशील देशों को अपने कच्चे माल के लिए अपने पाव पर खड़ा होना पड़ता है या प्राकृतिक कारणों की वजह से उन्हें अन्य देशों पर निर्भर करना पड़ता है तो वे देश पाश्चात्य देश हैं, पंजीवादी देश हैं जहाँ की मुद्राएँ मकट में हैं और उस का असर हमारे देश पर, विकासशील देशों पर पड़े बिना नहीं रह सकता।

मुद्रास्फूर्ति पैदा हो गई है, इन्फ्लेशन हो गया है, 850 करोड़ रुपये तक पहुँच गया है—वह कहना बहुत आसान है। मेरे राजस्वाम में जब अकाम पड़ता है, जब

लोग भूख मरने की स्थिति में होते हैं, जब काम नहीं होते हैं, उस वक्त हमारी राजस्थान की सरकार, हम स्वयं राजस्थान के संसद् सदस्य चौहान साहब के पास जाते हैं और कहते हैं कि आप इस संकट के समय हमारे लोगों को बचाइये, काम दीजिये, काम न दे तो उन्हें भूख से बचाने के लिए पैसा दीजिए, जिस से वे जिन्दा रह सकें। क्या चत्तौहण साहब ऐसे अवसर पर यह सोचेंगे कि हमने बजट में 250 करोड़ रुपये की सीमा बद्ध की है इसमें ज्यादा मूद्रास्फिति नहीं कर सकते हैं? क्या यह सोचेंगे कि महाराष्ट्र के लोग, मैसूर के लोग, गुजरात के लोग, राजस्थान के लोग जो अकाल से पीड़ित हैं, जो मौत और जिन्दगी के बीच झूल रहे हैं, जिनको 10 पैसा मजदूरी मिल जाय तो अनाज खरीद कर अपना पेट भर सकते हैं—उनको ऐसे ही छुट्टा दिया जाय? ऐसे समय में मजबूर हो कर भारत सरकार को नमाम सिद्धान्तों को मोड़ कर अर्थशास्त्र और मूद्रास्फिति की नमाम बातों को भुला कर आपने अपना पड़ना है और अपनी जनता को अकाल से संकट में उतारने के लिए मदद करनी पड़नी है और ऐसे मदद की गई है।

यह सही है महाशय मंत्री, इसमें कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता कि नमाम तकलीफों के बावजूद नमाम विनाश के बावजूद, नमाम व्यवस्थाओं के बावजूद,

कई क्षेत्रों में सरकार की नीतियों को कार्यान्वित करने में असफलताओं के बावजूद भी पिछले लगातार, कई महीनों से इस देश के 18 करोड़ इन्सानों को अनाज दिया गया, कहीं कम दिया गया, कहीं ज्यादा दिया गया, कहीं 6 किलो दिया गया, कहीं 8 किलो दिया गया, कहीं चार किलो दिया गया। लेकिन इसमें इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि आज जो वितरण व्यवस्था है, यदि यह मासिक वितरण व्यवस्था न होती, यदि आज सरकार के पास अनाज न होता तो ये 18 करोड़ इन्सान हमारे देश में जिन्दा नहीं रह सकते थे। हम यह क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि एक तरफ हमारे जनसंघ के नेता कहते हैं—अगर कोई भूखा होता है, कोई चीज नहीं मिलती है तो दोष सरकार का है। हमें यह न करना चाहिए कि क्या सरकार की यह जिम्मेदारी है कि देश की जनता को खिलायें? अगर हमारे जनसंघ के नेता इस बात को मानते हैं कि देश की जनता को खिलाने की जिम्मेदारी सरकार की है, अगर हमारे विरोधी दल के पीलू मोदी यह मानते हैं कि सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर कोई भूखा नहीं मिलना चाहिए, तो सरकार के पास कोई अनाज उद्योग का चिराग नहीं है जो एक कपड़े में बँध कर अनाज पैदा कर ले और जनता को खिला दे। . . .

श्री पीलू मोदी : सरकार के पास है।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : पीलू मोदी के पास हो सकता है, जनसभ के पास हो सकता है, लेकिन हमारे पास और इस सरकार के पास कोई ऐसा अलाउट्टीन का बिराग नहीं है। अगर देश की जनता को खिलाना है तो खिलाने के लिए अपना सरकार को लाना पड़ेगा... (व्यवधान) ..

एक बड़ी अजीब स्थिति हमारे देश में है—मैं अपने अनुभव से जानता हूँ—एक व्यापारी रात को माल बेचता है, काला-बाजार में बेचता है और दिन में बाजार के चौराहें पर खड़ा हो कर कहता है कि इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार है इस में चीजे मिलनी ही नहीं हैं, जनता को भडराना है

श्री हुकम चन्द कछबाय : (मुरेना)
उम को पकड़ो।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा पकड़ना चाहिए—क्या आप इस बात को मानते हैं? महापति महोदय, ये कहते हैं कि बकवास—यह जो चुनौती दी जा रही है, जिम् जिफान्स के साथ दी जा रही है इस का अर्थ है कि हम नो ऐमा करेंगे आप की हिम्मत हो तो पकड़ो। इसका मतलब है हम कालाबाजारी करोगे कालाबाजारी करने वालों को बचायेंगे, उनके समर्थन में राजनीतिक आन्दोलन चलायेंगे, तुम्हारी हिम्मत हो तो पकड़ो। (व्यवधान) मैं जानता हूँ हमारी सरकार की प्रशासनिक

व्यवस्था शायद डीली हो, हो सकता है हमारी सरकार और हमारी पार्टी के कुछ नेता ऐसे होर्डेस की तरफ रहमदिशी रखते हो लेकिन मैं बताना चाहता हूँ सरकारी स्तर पर इसका हल नहीं होगा। हमका हल तब होगा। जब हमारे राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता, हमारे सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता और जनता के जागृत वर्ग मिलकर इन कालाबाजारियों और जमाखोरों के खिलाफ एक मजबूत आन्दोलन पैदा करेंगे, उनका घेराव करेंगे, मोहल्ले मोहल्ले में जनता को संगठित करके उनका माल पकड़ेंगे और वाजिब कीमत पर जनता में बेचेंगे। (व्यवधान) मैं वनई हम बात में इन्कार करना हूँ कि इसमें कोई शान्ति व्यवस्था की समस्या पैदा हो जायगी। आज जमाखोरों ने और कालाबाजारियों ने देश में जा स्थिति पैदा कर दी है उसमें अधिक शान्ति व्यवस्था के लिए खतरनाक और कां स्थिति है नहीं मक्ती है प्रजातन्त्र के लिए हमसे अधिक खतरनाक स्थिति और कोई है नहीं मक्ती है। इसलिए अब समय आ गया है नया प्रजातन्त्रिक ताकतों को जो देश में महगाई के खिलाफ मही मानों में आन्दोलन खड़ा करना चाहिए वह केवल सरकार और सरकार की प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था पर निर्भर न करें बल्कि जनता को जागृत करे। आज जो जमाखोर हैं जो अपने ही पापों और कुकर्मों का नाशायख फायदा उठाकर जनता को इस सरकार के खिलाफ पलटने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं उसका

उत्पत्ति होना और जनता को बताना होना कि इसारी जो अपराधी हैं वह जमाखोर और ब्लैक-मार्केटीयर्स हैं जो कमी का नापावच फायदा उठाते हैं, कमी का दाता-बन्ध इस देश में पैदा करते हैं और उससे मुनाफा कमाने जा रहे हैं। मैं सीधे अनुभव की बात बताना चाहता हूँ, उसके बाद समाप्त करूँगा। मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र में...

श्री पीलू मोदी : कभी गए हैं वहाँ ?

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : पीलू मोदी जी को शायद पता नहीं है, मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र के एक एक इंच पर अगर श्री पीलू मोदी चले या दौग करे तो मैं उनको विश्वास बिला सकता हूँ कि 6 महीने में उनका बज्र नाघा हो जायेगा।

श्री पीलू मोदी : परसों ही मुझे धादमी मिले जिन्होंने फरियाद की कि वह कभी आने नहीं है।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : वह इनकी पार्टी का कोई होगा। लेकिन इनकी पार्टी का कोई है नहीं इसलिए हो नहीं सकता है। मेरी चुनौती है कि मुझे उससे मिला दें।

तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि 1969-70 में हमारे पश्चिमी राजस्थान में भयंकर धकाल पड़ा। 1971 में अच्छी बरसात हुई। जब अच्छी बरसात हुई तो किसानों को बीज देना चाहिए था। उस समय उनको बाजार से बीज मिला 125 रु० क्वीटल। उस बीज को उन्होंने बोया। उसके बाद प्राधिया

भा गई इसलिए दूसरी बार उनको बीज बोना पड़ा और कई जगहों पर तीन बार बोवाई करनी पड़ी। हमारे यहाँ लधानाग्र अकालो से पशुधन समाप्त हो गया और किसानों को अपने हाथों में हल जोतने पड़े। उसके बाद अच्छी बरसात हुई और प्रकृति की कृपा में 1971 में बाजरे की बहुत अच्छी फसल हुई। वह किसान जिसने हाथ से हल जोतकर दो तीन बार 125 रु० क्वीटल के भाव में बीज खरीद कर बाजरा बोया और फिर अपने बाजरे की फसल का लेकर बाजार में आया तो आज खाद्यान्न के सरकारीकरण का विरोध करने वाले लोग उस किसान को 30 रु० क्वीटल का भाव दे रहे थे, 25 रु० क्वीटल का भाव दे रहे थे। बीज खरीदने के समय 125 रु० क्वीटल के भाव पर उसको बाजरा दिया और बाद में उस किसान में उसका बाजरा 25 और 30 रु० क्वीटल यह लोग खरीद रहे थे। तब हमारे किसानों ने और हमने भारत सरकार पर दबाव डाला कि आप सरकार की तरफ से उमका बाजरा खरीदें और सरकार ने 43 और 50 रु० क्वीटल के भाव पर किसानों में वह अनाज खरीदा। आज वही व्यापारी जाकर उस किसान से कहते हैं कि सरकार को अनाज मत दो। कम से कम मैं अपने क्षेत्र की तरफ से कह सकता हूँ कि किसान इनकी बात सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। यह सही है कि कुछ क्षेत्रों में हमारे किसान भाइयों में गन्तफहमी पैदा की गई है लेकिन मैं आपकी मार्फत अपने किसान भाइयों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार जो अनाज उनसे खरीदती है और उपभोक्ताओं को

[श्री अमृत नाहाटा]

बेचती है वह कीमतों पर लाबू पाने के लिए निहायत खरी है, इसके अलावा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। जब प्रकृति खुद ही गई और खूब अनाज वेस में हुआ तब यही व्यापारी उन किसानों से कौड़ियों के भाव अनाज खरीदते थे और खरीदते थे। व्यापारियों के शोषण से किसान को मुक्त करने के लिए और उपभोक्ताओं को उचित दाम पर आवश्यक चीजें देने के लिए एक बुनियादी और मौलिक तरीका है कि सारा अनाज का व्यापार सरकार अपने हाथ में ले ताकि किसानों के शोषक व्यापारी एक तरफ पड़े, उनका व्यापार खत्म हो। इसके बिना न फर्टिलाइजर की कीमतें काबू में लाई जा सकती हैं, न डीजल की कीमतें काबू में लाई जा सकती हैं और न सीमेंट की कीमतें काबू में लाई जा सकती हैं। जीवन के लिए सभी आवश्यक वस्तुएं जो हैं उनकी कीमतें कदापि काबू में नहीं आ सकती हैं जबकि कि अनाज की कीमतें काबू में नहीं आती। हम चाहते हैं उपभोक्ता को बाजब कीमत पर चीजें मिले और उत्पादक को भी उचित दाम मिले। गेहूँ, बाजरा, चावल कोई भी अनाज हो बल्कि मैं कहना हूँ रोजमर्रा के लिए आवश्यक वस्तुओं का व्यापार प्राइवेट व्यापारियों, मुनाफाखोरो और जमाखोरो के हाथों से छीनना पड़ेगा। सरकार को मुस्ती के साथ इस कार्यक्रम को सफल करना पड़ेगा और खोरो के हाथ से इसको निकालना पड़ेगा जिसकी दुहाई, जिसका समर्थन, जिसकी बकान्त स्वतन्त्र पार्टी और जनसभ के लोग हमेशा किया करते हैं। अन्वयात्।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा (शाजापुर)
सहायित महोदय, मूल्यवृद्धि को रोकने में

सरकार को भी असफलताएँ हुई हैं उनके संबंध में जो कार्य-स्वयं प्रस्ताव सदन के हाथों में उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मूल्यवृद्धि पिछले कई सालों से लगातार बढ़ती चली जा रही है। हर योजना और हर बजट पेश करते समय वित्त मंत्री यह आश्वासन देते आए हैं कि हम मूल्यवृद्धि रोकेंगे, मूल्यों को नीचे लायेंगे। एक उस समय यह परिभाषा हुई थी

that the Government will hold the price line

किन्तु आज का अनुभव यह बताता है।

But the Government has failed to hold the price-line It simply keeps on beholding the line ever-increasing.

घाघ लोचो ने भी स्वीकार किया, अमृत नाहाटा जी ने भी स्वीकार किया कि बेहद मूल्य बढ़े हैं। यह किसी पार्टी का मकाल नहीं है। यह मूल्य यदि एक दम पिछले बर्द दिनों में बढ़े हैं तो क्यों बढ़े हैं उमके मूल में हमें जाना पड़ेगा। भय ही हम उनको नीचे न लायें लेकिन कम में कम वह घाघ न बढ़ें इसकी तो कुछ गारन्टी करनी चाहिए। हमारे मित्र श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त और दूसरे भी कहे कि मूल्य वृद्धि के लिए जमाखोर और मुनाफाखोर जिम्मेदार और जनसभ इसलिए जिम्मेदार हैं

but it is an over-simplification of the matter

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA I am sorry. We are guilty of over-simplifying the fact, but the fact is there

श्री अमृत नाहाटा (शाजापुर) : क्योंकि 1954

में हमने स्वयं सरकार में मांग की थी

the floor price must be given to the Kisan.

क्योंकि ज्वार का भाव 32 रु० क्वींटल तक क्लिप्तक। व्यापारी व्यापारी था, मुनाफाखोरी उसकी रय रय में है, ऐसा नहीं है कि भाज का व्यापारी मुनाफाखोर है और पहले नहीं था लेकिन जब वस्तु का अभाव होता है तब यह प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती है। अभाव ही इसका मूल कारण है। जब किसी चीज का अभाव हो तो उसका एक दुष्प्रक शुरु होता है। कल ही मैं खरीदने गया था, मैं ने पूछा पोस्टमैन तेल का दाम क्या है तो उन्होंने कहा चार किलो का डिब्बा ले लें तो 46 रुपए, दो किलो का ले लें तो 22 रुपये और एक किलो का ले लें तो 12 रुपए। (व्यवचाल) मैं कल की ही बात बता रहा हूँ पहाड़गंज की। तो मैं ने कहा कि एक किलो का दीजिए। उसने कहा 8 दिन बाद आयेंगे तो 12 का नहीं मिलेगा, 14 का मिलेगा और अभी दो किलो 22 का मिल जायेगा। तो मेरे जैसे धादमी को भी जहाँ एक किलो लेने का विचार था वहाँ दो किलो लिया। जब वातावरण में अस्थिरता हो, मूल्य बढ़ेंगे यह डर हो, तो मैं जो जमाखोर नहीं हूँ, मुझे भी लगता है कि एक किलो के बजाये दो किलो क्यों न लिया जाय। यह एक प्रवृत्ति है इसी-लिए मैं ने कहा कि इसके मूल में हमें जाना पड़ेगा कि ऐसा वातावरण हम क्यों तैयार कर रहे हैं।

मैं उदाहरण देता हूँ, कोई बुरा न माने इस बार जो शुगर की पैदावार हुई है उसके धाखिरी अंशकड़ें जो धाये हैं वह 38 लाख टन के हैं किन्तु हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने इसपर अंशकड़ों की जो बात शुक्र की थी वह 32 लाख टन से शुरु की थी। यानी यह वातावरण किसने पैदा किया? किस प्रकार से ज्यादा

बढ़ाकर एक वातावरण पैदा करना गलत है उसी प्रकार से कम होना, यह कह कर भी वातावरण में अस्थिरता पैदा करना मैं समझता हूँ ठीक नहीं है।

जब एक बार साइकोलोजिकल स्केरसिटी पैदा कर दी जाती है और उसकी वजह से अस्थिरता पैदा हो जाती है तो गड़बड़ी होनी है। यह जो डायरी मिली है इस को हमें गवर्नमेंट ने दिया है। इस में जो अंशकड़े दिए हुए हैं ये जन संघ के अंशकड़े नहीं हैं, ये गवर्नमेंट के दिए हुए अंशकड़े हैं। इस में बताया गया है कि लगानार बढ़ोतरी हुई है। 1950-51 में राइम का उत्पादन 22.11 मिलियन टन था जोकि 1970-71 में बढ़ कर 42.45 मिलियन टन हो गया। इसी तरह से व्हीट का उत्पादन 6.83 मिलियन टन था जोकि 1970-71 में बढ़ कर 23.25 मिलियन टन हो गया। किसी में कमी नहीं हुई। फूडग्रैज का टोटल उत्पादन जोकि 55.5 मिलियन टन था वह 1970-71 में बढ़ कर 107.81 मिलियन टन हो गया। 1950-51 में देश की धावादी 40 करोड़ थी। आज वह डेढ़ गुनी भी नहीं बढ़ी है। हम केवल 55 करोड़ हैं। व्हीट का उत्पादन दुगुना बढ़ा है, ज्वार का दुगुना बढ़ा है। पलसिस का दुगुना हो गया है। इस से साफ पता चलता है कि कहीं न कहीं गड़बड़ है। दुगुनी अग्रर हमारी धावादी हो गई होती तब भी यह जो उत्पादन है यह काफी होना चाहिये था। 1950-51 की हालत आज नहीं है।

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

उन दिनों कटौल था। रफी अहमद जी ने उसको हटा दिया। तब बाजार में कीमतें नीचे आई थी। राजागोपालाचारी मद्रास के मुख्य मंत्री थे। उन्होंने कहा कि हम भगवान के भरोसे हैं। उन्होंने विनियमन किया, प्राइसिस नीचे आईं। जब समाज के अन्दर अविश्वास की भावना पैदा नहीं होती है और उसको पता होता है कि स्केरसिटी नहीं होगी तब गडबडी नहीं होती है जब अविश्वास की भावना पैदा कर दी जाती है तब गडबडी शुरू हो जाती है जिम की वजह से मूल्य बढ़ि होती है। उसको रोका जा सकता है।

इसके कई कारण बताए गए हैं। यह कहा गया है कि मनी म्प्लाइ बढी है। यह जरूर बढी है। सोलह प्रतिशत बढी है और उत्पादन डेड प्रतिशत बढा है। इन दोनों का मेल नहीं बैठता है। फिर भी सरकार ने मनी म्प्लाइ को बढ़ाया है। मनी म्प्लाइ बढ़नी है तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि समाज के सभी वर्गों के पास पैसा हो गया है। मनी म्प्लाइ बढ़ने के साथ साथ धन का वितरण ठीक ढंग से होता तो गडबड शायद पैदा नहीं होती। जिस तरह में अनाज का वितरण ठीक ढंग से नहीं हुआ है वैसे ही पैसे का वितरण भी ठीक ढंग से नहीं होता है। पैसा खो चकर है। यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि पैसा नहीं है। किन्तु जिन के पास और जिनकी जेब में पैसा जाना चाहिये उन के पास वह नहीं जाता है। यह कैसे जाए यह सवाल पैदा होता

है। इसी कारण से यह दुष्परिणाम फैलता है। किसी कर्मचारी को दोष हम नहीं दे सकते हैं। गरीबी हटाओ का नारा धारण किया। तब तेल साठे तीन रुपये किलो था। घाज ग्यारह बारह रुपये किलो है। अब जिन की बंधी बधाई धामदनी है वे इसकी पिच डेफि-निटली महसूस करेंगे। मुझे कई मिडिल क्लास और हायर मिडिल क्लास वालों का पता है जिन्होंने भी खाना बन्द कर दिया दिया है। वे भी घाज भी खा नहीं सकते हैं। सामान्य व्यक्ति क्या करना होगा, इसको ध्यान समझ सकते हैं। जो मूल्य बढ़ि होती चली जा रही है इसके लिए ध्यान बहुत ज़रूरी है हृद तक जिम्मेदार हैं। मनी म्प्लाइ जो होती है या डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग जो होता है उस में ध्यान केवल करेसी नोट जो प्रिंट करने है, उसी को लेते हैं। किन्तु जो प्रोब्लम ड्राफ्ट करने हैं, हर स्टेट करती है उस पर ध्यान रोक क्यों नहीं लगाते हैं। क्यों नहीं कहते हैं कि जितनी धाम-दनी है उतना ही खर्च करो, ज्यादा न करो। लगातार वे केन्द्र की ध्यान देखती हैं। ज्यादा खर्च करना, केन्द्र से ले लेना यह भी मूल्य बढ़ि करने में महायक मिड होता है। हिन्दुस्तान की घाज जो माली हालत है, धार्थिक हालत है उस में बाहर सी कगेड का डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग, सहन नहीं कर सकता है। यह आवश्यकता से ज्यादा है। श्री नारायण ने ठीक ही इन बात को कहा है। किन्तु डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का पैसा यदि उत्पादक कामों में हम नहीं लगाते हैं वैन बी मनी बिल नंबर बी वैनरेंड। धर्ष आस्विनी का यह जो सिद्धान्त है इसका मतलब यही

है कि सरकार की क्रीडबिलिटी जहां तक रहे तब तक करना चाहिये। वैंट इज वी वाइज घाफ डिमारकेशन। इसको फ्रास नहीं करना चाहिये। इसको फ्रास करके जब भागे बढ़ा जाता है तब सब को उसके दुष्परिणाम भोगने पड़ने हैं। ऐसा नहीं है कि यह सबाल हमारा है। हर किसी का यह सबाल है। मूल्य वृद्धि सब के लिए बराबर होती है। इसलिए बियांड पार्टी लाइज इसके बारे में सोचा जाना चाहिये और इस पर गहराई से विचार किया जाना चाहिये।

मैं आपको स्वयं की बात बताना हूँ। मैंने श्री फखरुद्दीन खली अहमद से सबाल किया था कि व्हीट टेक ओवर क्यों किया है? ये जो आपके कम्पनिस्ट मित्र हैं उनका तो मिद्दाल है। उनके सामने यह सबाल नहीं है कि टेक ओवर क्यों करें। उनके सामने तो यह एक मिद्दाल की बात है कि गेहूँ का व्यापार सरकार के हाथ में रहना चाहिये खरीद और बिक्री का काम उनके हाथ में रहना चाहिये, कारखान उनके हाथ में होने चाहिये। वे मिद्दालत क आधायपर टेक ओवर करने हैं। क्या आपने भी मिद्दालत क आधाय पर यह टेक ओवर किया है? अगर किया है तो फिर गडबड बितनी भी क्या न हा उम पर आपको काबू पाना चाहिये। विरोध हाता है ता हर चीज का विरोध होता है। भगवान बुद्ध से ले कर महात्मा गांधी तक के हर विचार का विरोध हुआ है। ऐसा नहीं कि विरोध नहीं होता है। लेकिन विरोध के बावजूद जब हम सफलता पाते हैं तब जाकर पता चलता है कि हम कितने कर्तव्य निष्ठ हैं। लेकिन यह ही तथ्य नहीं हुआ कि इसको आपने

मिद्दालत के आधार पर स्वीकार किया है या इट इज ओनली टू टाइड ओवर दी डिफिकलटी घाफ स्केरसिटी। मैं माफ पूछता हूँ कि यदि एक साल के लिए है तो माफ बता दो। हम भी फिर जाग्ये किमानो के पाम और उन को कह्ये कि एक मान के लिए थोडा मा कष्ट महन कर लो। किन्तु आज हम देखने हैं कि गइम टेक ओवर के बारे में विचार चल रहा है, उसके बारे में निर्णय लेना है। मैं यह इसलिए कहना हूँ कि अगर निर्णय ले लिया जाए तो गवर्नमेंट एव परमानेंट मशीनरी स्थापित करने क लिए हर सम्भव काशिश करेगी और हर सम्भव पग उठावगी। विनरण अच्छे ढग से कैम हा गरीब आदमी को कैमे मिले, इसके उपाय वह करेगी।

आप अमरीका में गेहूँ लेने हैं उस में धतूरा मिला रहता है। चावल में लोहे के कण होते हैं। सरकार धधा करना चाहती है और लोहे के कण मिला हुआ चावल और धतूरा मिला हुआ गेहूँ देनी है तो मैं कहगा कि यह वर्म्ट टाइप का फूड एडजुस्टेशन है जिसके वास्ते मैक्मिमम सजा मिलनी चाहिये। यह दोष आपका है किसी दूसरे का नहीं है।

मुख्य मंत्रिया के सम्मेलन में जो बात हुई है वह अखबारा में भी आई है। फूड कारपोरेशन के टूको स अपना ही माल ले जान के लिए हर टूक के 35 रुपये घूम के भागे जाते हैं। फूड कारपोरेशन के अधिकारी सरकार को ही देने के लिए घूस भागे यह कितने आश्चर्य की बात है। इट विल हैव

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

टू बी कर्ब। सामान्य आदमी को अच्छा मिले इसके बारे में क्या कभी अन्तर्मुख हो कर आपने देखा है ? 1955 में फूड कारपोरेशन की स्थापना हुई थी। 1973 तक क्या वास्तव में रिज्यूमेरेटिव प्राइस आपने किमान को दी है, कज्यूमर को सस्ते दामों में आप अनाज दे सकते हैं ? यह नहीं हुआ है फूड कारपोरेशन में गडबड घोटाले हुए हैं। वे क्या जन मध बालो की वजह से हुए हैं ? हम फूड कारपोरेशन के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। व्यापार के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। हम मोनोपोली के खिलाफ हैं। हम यह कहते हैं कि कगे परचेज, जितना चाहिये उनना कगे। 81 लाख टन का आपका लक्ष्य था। क्यों वह पूरा नहीं हुआ ? क्यों 43 लाख टन हुआ। आप अमरीका में गेहूँ लाने हैं। जो प्राइम वह मागगा है आप देने हैं। किमान जो प्राइम मागता है वह आप नहीं देने हैं। क्या किमान मुनाफाखार है ? आप सीधे फार्मर में, प्रोड्यूसर में खरीदें। टैनीविजन पर मैंने हरियाणा के किमानों के साथ बाने देखी। उन्होंने कहा कि हमें 112 रुपये एक क्विंटल के चाहिये इममें कम में हम नहीं देंगे। 76 रुपये में लोग तो नहीं देंगे। जब उन से मवाल किया गया कि अगले साल क्या करोगे तो उन्होंने कहा कि अगले साल गेहूँ नहीं बोएंगे मक्का, ज्वार या कुछ और बोएंगे। दूसरे किसान ने जो पंजाब का था जब पूछा गया कि कितना पैदा किया तो उसने बताया कि इनने हजार क्विंटल पैदा किया। जब पूछा गया कि क्या सरकार को

नहीं दिया तो उसने कहा कि नहीं दिया। जब पूछा गया कि क्यों नहीं दिया तो जवाब मिला कि नहीं देंगे। ये फार्मर मुनाफाखार नहीं हैं। किसान को बाजार कीमत से कम कीमत क्यों मिलनी चाहिये। उसकी आवश्यकता की वस्तुएं हैं, वे बाजार में उसकी महंगे दामों में मिलती हैं। उसको खाद चाहिये तो कहा जाता है कि ब्लैक में आधो, वहा मिलेगी। ब्लैक में जाता है तो बी. डी. प्रो. कहता है कि कहाँ अक्ल रखने हो, खाद कहीं ब्लैक में मिलती है, वह तो ब्लैक में मिलती है, बहा जाधो। ब्लैक में उसको खाद खरीदनी पडती है। ट्रैक्टरों की कीमतें हम लोगों ने बढा दी है। जितनी भी इनपुट्स हैं उनकी कीमतें बढी है। तब जो वह पैदा करता है उसको वह घाटे में कैसे दे सकता है और क्यों देगा ? कौन किमान घाटे का सीदा करेगा ? अमरीका या दूसरे देशों को पैसा देने के बजाय आप वही पैसा किमान को दें। तब पैसा बाहर नहीं जाएगा। सब इम्पीटंस आप बन्द कर दें। पी० एन० 480 आप बन्द कर दें। श्री माल बहादुर शाम्शी ने 1966 में नाग दिया था कि सोमवार को एक बार का खाना बन्द कर दो। तब खालीम लाख टन की कमी थी। ज्यादा की नहीं थी। हमने कहा कि बफर स्टॉक हमारे पास 93 लाख टन है। आवश्यकता केवल 81 लाख टन की है। पैसा नहीं वह बफर स्टॉक कहाँ गायब हो गया। वह धान आफ ए सडन एक महीने में बट कर 54 लाख टन रह गया है। तब यह बट कर 32 लाख टन ही गया।

है। तब यह घट कर 32 लाख टन हो गया। गाड़ एलोन नोज हूक मच डट वाड। ये जो कीमते बढ़ रही है इन को आपको कर्ब करना पड़ेगा, इनको बढ़ने से आपको रोकना पड़ेगा। हम दूसरो को हमके लिए दोष न दें। व्यापारी, किसान या पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को दोष देने का कोई मतलब नहीं है। इसी लिए एक बार मैंने कहा था कि हम लोग—विरोधी दल—तो एक-तिहाई भी नहीं हैं, जब कि मन्नाबूद दल को दो तिहाई बहुमत प्राप्त है। यदि हम किसान को ग़रत बात बताने है तो मन्नाबूद दल उम को मही बान बनाये। वर किमान को समझाये और मनाये। तब किसान सरकार को अपना गेहूँ दे देगा। लेकिन स्वयं किसान कहना है कि उम को ठीक प्राइस नहीं मिल रही है।

जब सरकार कोई नीति तय नहीं करती है, तभी घोटाला होता है। दिल्ली में भी गेहूँ मिलना था। सरकार ने उम की रीटेल प्राइस 84 पैस तय की लेकिन वह गेहूँ दे नहीं सकती है। जब वह गेहूँ दे नहीं सकती है तो फिर प्राइस तय करने का क्या मतलब है? यही स्थिति मिमेट आदि दूसरी चीजों के बारे में भी है। सरकार की गलत नीतियों के कारण हर एक चीज अण्डरग्राउंड चली जाती है। इसी लिए हम नं कानपुर में जान-बूझ कर व्हीट टेक-ओवर के बारे में कहा कि सबाल कोई प्रिन्सिपल या मिडलान्त का नहीं है, सबाल व्यवहार का है। सरकार की मशीनरी एस्टाब्लिश नहीं हुई

है। सरकार लाखों गाबो तक नहीं पहुँच सकती है। कई गाव ऐसे हैं, जो वर्षा के दिनों में दो दो महीने तक कम्प्लीटली कट आक्र हो जाते हैं। गाव का छोटा व्यापारी कम में कम मुनाफ़े के लालच में दो चार महीने का स्टॉक रखता है और लोग जैसे तैसे गुज़ार करने है। लेकिन जब सरकार इस व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेगी, तो सरकारी अफसर लिख देगा कि यानायात का मार्ग ठप हो गया है, मैं नहीं जा सकता हूँ। कम में कम मुनाफ़े के लालच की वजह में गाव का छोटा व्यापारी एक दो चार बोंगे रखता है और लोगों को कुछ न कुछ अनाज मिल जाता है। चीज का महगा होना एक बात है और अभाव होना दूसरी बात है। चीजों की महगाई तो मसल में आती है क्योंकि जनता के पास पैसा हो तो वह उन को ले सकती है, लेकिन जब चीजों का अभाव होता है तो फिर गड़बडिया होती है।

प्राइस राइज का एक कारण पॉलीटि-कल इनस्टेबिलिटी भी है। जब राजनैतिक अस्थिरता का निर्माण होता है तो कीमते बढ़ती है। अमरीका में वाटरगेट स्कैंडल हुआ, तो उम के कारण निक्सन के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर केवल अमरीका वालों का ही नहीं, बल्कि दुनिया वालों का भी भरोसा चला गया। इस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि एक औसत सोने का दाम 35 डालर से बढ़ कर 119 डालर हो गया। यह वाटर गेट स्कैंडल का सीधा परिणाम था। जब शासन पर से लोगों का भरोसा

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

हट जाता हूँ, तब कीमतें स्थिर नहीं रहती हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि मैजस्ट्री होने के बावजूद सत्तारूढ़ दल ने वायु-मंडल में अस्थिरता क्यों लाई। इस के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है? यदि उत्तर प्रदेश या गुजरात में सत्तारूढ़ दल में झगड़े होते हैं, तो उन के लिए क्या हम जिम्मेदार हैं? यहाँ तक स्थिति पैदा हुई कि बैलट वाक्स अहमदाबाद से हवाई जहाज पर दिल्ली लाए गए और उन की गिनती एकमटर्नल एफेयर्स मिनिस्ट्री में की गई। यह शर्म की बात है। हम यह कैसे डेमोन्स्ट्रेसी चला रहे हैं? हम 1952 में 1972-73 तक पहुँच गये हैं। एक ही गुट का नेता कौन बने, इस का फैसला करने के लिए बैलट वाक्स अहमदाबाद से दिल्ली लाये गये।

जब इस प्रकार की राजनैतिक अस्थिरता पैदा होती है, तो उम की वजह से भी कीमतें बढ़ती हैं। लोगों को भरोसा नहीं रहता है कि कल क्या होगा, कल कौन आयेगा। भले ही हम चुनाव में हारे हों, लेकिन हम को लगता था कि देश की दृष्टि से ही नहीं विदेशों की दृष्टि से भी देश के लिए एक मजबूत बहुमत वाली सरकार का होना बहुत आवश्यक है—यहाँ पर दो-तिहाई बहुमत वाली सरकार हो, ताकि दुनिया के देश हमारी ओर गौरव के साथ देखें, यहाँ की सरकार कोई दक्षिण अमरीका की सरकार जैसी नहीं है, जो आज है, ता कल नहीं है, कम है तो परतो नहीं है, वह एक स्थिर

सरकार है। हम चाहते थे कि यहाँ सरकार स्थिर रहे। इस लिए आज सब कुछ इस सरकार पर निर्भर करता है। वह कोई भी निर्णय लेने से पहले धक्की तरह से विचार करे। सूत हो या कोयला, कोई भी धंधा लेने से पहले वह पूरी तरह से विचार करे। जहाँ तक सूत का सम्बन्ध है, जब बात केवल फ़ाइबर बैरायटी की थी, तो साग सूत क्यों कट्रोल किया गया? आज सरकार फिर डीकट्रोल पर उतर आई है—वह 20 से 24 काउंट तक डीकट्रोल कर रही है। यहाँ में ही एक मिने में दूगरे मिने तक यह जो शॉटिंग चलता है—करे या न करे—, इस में समझौते पैदा होती है। बड़ी वा लम्बक इधर में उधर चलना है, तो टाइम गोज एट्रैड। पालीटिकल लम्बक इधर में उधर चलना है ता प्राइमिअल गो एट्रैड। डमनिग सरकार अस्थिरता छोड दे। अगर उम न कुछ करना है, तो वह उम को निश्चिन्त तौर पर बने प्रीग अगर नहीं करना है, तो उम को न छोड। अमरीका में जूनियम बँगे भी मोनोपॉलिस्ट है। उन्नान क्षेत्रा को डीमार्केंट किया है कि अमूक क्षेत्र में सरकार आयेगी प्रीग अमूक में नहीं। इस तरह लागू को पूरी स्थिति स्पष्ट हो जानी है।

इस लिए केवल जनसभ जैसे दल को दोष दे कर मुँह छिपाने से यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी। बिनेसपर्सों के साथे साईंख स्क्वेयर्स में आन बि बर्नमेंट। राजा

कालस्य कारणम् । सरकार उम मे बच नहीं सकती है । हर चीज सरकार के मर्चे आयेगी । अगर देश मे मुनाफ़ाखोरी है, तो उन को दोषी ठहरा कर उन को सजा क्यों नहीं देने ? कहा जाता है कि प्राइम रेमिस्टेंस कमेटी बनाओ । जिन के पास पुलिस और मेना है, वह तो कुछ न करे और हम करें ? क्या ऐसा कर के कोई भार खाये जा कर ? मोदी हो या कोई और हो, जो जमाखोर या मुनाफ़ाखोर नियमों और कानून के विरुद्ध काम करता है, उम को बड़ी सजा दी जानी चाहिए । लेकिन मेरा अनुभव रहा है कि दुर्भाग्य से एक भी कल्पित को सजा नहीं दी गई है । मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैंने देखा है कि कई कल्पित को कोई सजा नहीं दी गई । केवल यह किया गया कि उन को टिकट नहीं मिली—यानी औरों का खाने का मौका दिया गया ।

अन्य में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि डेफिसिट फिनांस पर रोक लगाई जाये और खर्च को कम किया जाये । किसी ने कहा कि रजन जयन्ती समारोह पर 100 करोड़ रुपये का खर्च हुआ । श्री चट्टाण ने कहा कि 100 करोड़ रुपया खर्च नहीं हुआ । किन्तु ही खर्च हुआ हो, लेकिन अगर हम ने इस समस्या को हल करना है, तो खर्च को, और मिनिस्टर्स की संख्या को, कम करना पड़ेगा । बिहार में 72 मिनिस्टर बना दिये गये थे । जब कमेटी ने कहा है कि

सदस्य-संख्या के 10 प्रतिशत मिनिस्टर होने चाहिए, 32 या 33 मिनिस्टर होने चाहिए, तो फिर इस प्रकार पैसा क्यों बर्बाद किया जाता है ? जहाँ जहाँ खर्च पर रोक लगाना जरूरी है, वहाँ रोक लगाई जाये ।

कल अखबार में आया कि आज दिल्ली में भारी वर्षा होगी । आज वर्षा हो रही है । इस में लोगों का विश्वास जरूर बढ़ेगा । श्री चट्टाण ने कहा कि कीमतों में मार्जिनल इनक्रीज होगी । हम देखने हैं कि टैक्स तो बछड़े जिनमें लगाये गये, लेकिन कीमतें गाय जिनकी बढ़ गई । क्या वह मार्जिनल इनक्रीज है ? सरकार को यह आश्वासन देना चाहिए कि वह अगले तीन चार महीनों में आवश्यक कदम उठायेगी और कीमतों को स्थिर रखेगी । यदि ऐसा आश्वासन दिया जाये, तो हम समझेंगे कि सरकार जो कहती है, वह करती है । हम चाहते हैं कि या तो सरकार कुछ काम करे और या वह काम को छोड़ दे ।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव (भाजमगड) मभापति महोदय, मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि आज जब सदन मिल रहा है, तो इस वकन देश के सामने जो सब से बड़ा मवाल है—बढ़ी हुई कीमतों का, अनाज के अभाव का और जीवन की दूमरी आवश्यक सामग्री के अभाव का—वह उस पर चर्चा कर रहा है । विरोधी दल ने काम-रोको प्रस्ताव के माध्यम से इस

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विषय पर चर्चा करने के लिए प्रस्ताव पत्र किया और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस प्रस्ताव का स्वागत किया। रास्ते मुखालिप्त हो सकते हैं, लेकिन इरादा इस सदन का एक ही है कि हमारे देश और हमारी कीम के सामने जो सब से बड़ा सकट है, जिस से मारा देश चिन्तित है—यह स्वाभाविक है कि यह सदन भी उस में चिन्तित हो—, उस का सफलता पूर्वक मुकाबला किया जाये और इसी लिए हम उस पर विचार कर रहे हैं।

मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने इस बहस को शुरू करने हुए बड़ी सजीदगी के साथ और बड़े तर्कपूर्ण ढंग से इस समस्या को सदन के सामने रखा। यद्यपि विरोधी दल का नेता होने के नाते थोड़ी विरोध की भावना रहती है, लेकिन मुझे यह भी खुशी है कि मुझ से पहले श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी ने भी इस समस्या को बड़ी सजीदगी और गम्भीरता के साथ रखा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम सभी मौम इस बात के लिए चिन्तित हैं कि हम ने इस समस्या का कोई हल निकालना है। हम सब इस बात को मानते हैं कि हमारे देश में कीमने बढ़ रही है। सरकार ने खुद अपने प्राकटों के जरिये धन इस बात को रखा है तो यह बात साफ है कि सरकार इस वास्तविकता को छिपाना नहीं चाहती है। आज देश की जनता का हर वर्ग, विशेष रूप में गरीब वर्ग समाज का जो निर्बल धन है वह ज्यादा दुखी है। हम-

लिए हमें भी इस बात की चिन्ता है कि हम इसे कैसे रोकें।

आज गले का अभाव देश में है। सूखे से हमारे देश के पांच छः सूखे पिछले कई सालों से पीड़ित रहे हैं। महाराष्ट्र का कुछ हिस्सा लगातार पिछले पांच वर्षों से सूखे से पीड़ित रहा। सरकार ने मीलों दूर से पीने का पानी बहा पहुँचाया। अनाज की या और दूसरी चीजों की बात तो अलग है, इसान के जीवन की रक्षा करने के लिए पीने का पानी सैकड़ों मील में बहा पहुँचाना पडा। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे देश ने और खरम तौर से हमारी जनता ने जो सब से ज्यादा इस सकट का शिकार है, उस ने अपने मनोबल को ऊँचा रखा। इस सकट का उस ने हिम्मत और साहस के साथ मुकाबला किया। हमारे देश की एक सब से बड़ी विशेषता यह भी है, हमारी जनता की खाम तौर से, कि जब सकट आता है तो हमारे देश की जनता की मदन-शक्ति बढ जाती है। हमारे देश की जनता मन्न के साथ, सतीष के साथ अपने सकट का मुकाबला करती है। मैं एक ही प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की कही कमजोरी हो सकती है इसलिए कि देश बहुत बड़ा है जनता का बहुत बड़ा वर्ग इस से प्रभावित है, हमें जितना करना चाहिए उनका शायद हम न कर सके हों, लेकिन जितना भी हम ने किया है उस पर हम दृष्टि डालें और देखें तो हमें इस बात में संतोष होना है कि 90 लाख जनता को काम दे कर के हम ने उस की

रक्षा करने की कोशिश की। यह कोई मामूली भी बात नहीं है। किसी पार्टी का सवाल इस में नहीं है, चाहे वह महागण्ट्र की सरकार भी, चाहे वह गुजरात की सरकार भी, अभी कल ही हमारे गुजरात के लोगों ने बताया कि 15 लाख व्यक्ति किस तरीके से वहाँ काम कर लगे हुए हैं। सरकार ने मदद की जनता ने खुद मदद की, बहुत सी जनता की सस्थाओं ने मदद की। सब ने मिल कर उस संकट का मुकाबला किया। यह हमारे लिए गौरव की और फख की बात है। हम आज भी चिन्तित हैं कि हमारे देश के बहुत से ऐसे भाग हैं जहाँ बारिश नहीं हुई, पानी नहीं पड़ा। हम एक ऐसे संकट से गुजर रहे हैं, शाब्दिक राजादी के बाद पहली बार यह हुआ है कि भाखरा नगल का पानी सूख गया, राजादी के बाद पहली बार ऐसा हुआ है कि रिहँड डैम में पानी नहीं आया। जब इस बात में हमारी मारी शक्ति लग रही है कि देश का उत्पादन बढ़े तो कौन सी सरकार इस तरहका गुनाह करेगी कि अपने कारखाने बन्द कर दे और कहे कि इन घंटे में ज्यादा बिजली इन्तमाल नहीं कर सकते हैं? कौन सी सरकार यह गुनाह करेगी कि जिस का मुख्य आधार देश का किमान हो, और पैदावार बढ़ानी है वह किसान से कहे कि नहीं, तुम पाच घण्टे में ज्यादा ट्यूबवेल नहीं चला सकते हो? हमारी मजबूरी थी परेशानी थी। एक बहुत बड़े दैवी राष्ट्रीय संकट में देश गुजर रहा है और उस में हम को ये कुछ कदम उठाने पड़ें।

इसलिए मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि आज सच्चाई है कि देश संकट में गुजर रहा है। मजबूल उठाने की बात नहीं है, भाकड़े पेश किये गए, मैंने तो उन्हें सुना नहीं, लेकिन मारी दुनिया में आज यह स्थिति है। मारी दुनिया आज एक अने विश्वास मरकिल में पड़ी हुई है। कीमत बढ़ रही हैं। अभी निक्सन एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ने और खुद निक्सन ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है मारी दुनिया के सामने कि एक साल के अन्दर 40 प्रतिशत कीमत जीवन के जरूरी सामानों की बढ़ी हैं। वहाँ भी कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं। अभी आज ही हमारे अध्यक्ष जी आ रहे थे, मैं एयरपोर्ट पर था। हमारे यू० के० के हाई कमिश्नर वहाँ आए हुए थे। उन में बढ़ती हुई कीमतों के बारे में बात हो रही थी। उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले 6 महीनों के अन्दर इंग्लैंड के अन्दर 20 प्रतिशत कीमत खाद्यान्नों की खास तौर से बढ़ी हैं। आज यह सच्चाई है कि दुनिया में गल्ले का उत्पादन कम हुआ।

हम राजादी के बाद से बाहर से गल्ला मगाते थे। किस लिए मगाते थे? अगर हमें बाहर हाथ फँसना पड़ता है गेहूँ के लिए तो क्या हम नहीं समझते कि हमारे राष्ट्र के सम्मान को चोट लगती है? लेकिन हमारे सामने प्रश्न यह था कि जब तक यह देश आपत्तिभर नहीं बन जाता खाद्यान्न के मामले में, हमें फँसला दो चीजों के बीच में करना होगा कि क्या हम बाहर से गल्ला मगाएँ और अपने देश के लाखों

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

नहीं, करोड़ों जनता को भूख की ज्वाला से और मौत के मुह से बचाएं या सम्मान के प्रश्न को बीच में ले जाए। हमको यह फँसला करना पड़ा कि नहीं जब तक देश आत्म-निर्भर नहीं बन जाता, देश को आत्म-निर्भर बनाने के लिए प्रयास जारी रहेंगे, किसानों को मदद दी जायेगी, बिजली पैदा की जायेगी, रासायनिक खाद अधिक पैदा की जायेगी, किसानों को ऋण दिया जायगा, हम अच्छे बीज देंगे, यह प्रयास भी हमारा जारी रहेगा लेकिन देश के लाखों और करोड़ों गरीबों को मौत के मुह में नहीं जाने दिया जायगा। हम ने यह निर्णय किया कि हम मुल्क के अन्दर एक भी धादमी को हम भूख से नहीं मरने देंगे चाहे गन्ना बाहर से मंगाना पड़े वह हम मगाएंगे। हम ने इस काम को किया। हम आज जरा इस पर लोचें ठण्डे दिल में कि पिछले सालों में यह देश नौ मिलियन टन गन्ना बाहर से मगाना था, हम ने कोशिश की, 71-72 में देश अपने पैर पर खड़ा हुआ, हम ने ममझा कि हमारा आर्थिक व्यवस्था बहा पड़ चुकी है हमारी कृषि व्यवस्था बहा पड़ चुकी है जहाँ हम अपने पैर पर खड़े हो सकते हैं। हम नौ मिलियन टन गन्ना मगा कर इस देश में वितरण करने दें। वह हम ने बन्द किया। हम यह ममझने दें कि प्रकृति हमारा साथ देगी और हम अपने पैर पर खड़े होंगे। लेकिन जिम को कहने हैं अग्रप्रिनिडेंट्स ड्राउट वह अपने देश के

अन्दर घाया। एक ऐसी स्थिति घाई जिस में हमें इस संकट का मुकाबिला करना पड़ रहा है।

कीमत बढ़ने के बारे में बहुत सी बातें कही गईं कि साहब, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग की गई। यह सही है कि डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग की गई। इस में क्या कोई दो राय हो सकती है? वित्त मंत्री ने इसी सदन के अन्दर इस बात को स्वीकार किया और वित्त मंत्री शायद घागे चल कर हम तथ्य को और स्वीकार करेंगे इसलिए कि आज जिम स्थिति में देश है, बंगला देश की चर्चा करने और उस की दोहाई देने की बात नहीं है, लेकिन बंगला देश की लडाई में देश के ऊपर जो बोझ पड़ा और आज भी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति में देश अपनी रक्षा के लिए जो तैयारियां कर रहा है जो खर्चें बर्दास्त कर रहा है, आज क्या हम उम को काट दें ?

हम अपने रक्षा के बजट को काट दें क्या हम इस को स्वीकार करने को तैयार हैं? नहीं, काटेंगे। अगर हम को इस बात के बीच में फँसला करना पड़ेगा कि जब तक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति या मुद्दा नहीं जाती, जब तक हमारे रिस्के पडोसियों के साथ अच्छे नहीं हो जाते, जब तक पडोसियों को बाहर में हथियार सप्लाई किए जाने हैं, जब तक हमारी आजादी को इस बात का खतरा बना हुआ है अगर हम को फँसला करना पड़ेगा कि एक रोटी कम खाएंगे या देश को मुग्धा की दृष्टि में तैयार करने ताकि

देश की आजादी को प्राप्त न आने पाए वो इस देश की जनता एक रोटी कम चाएगी लेकिन देश की आजादी के लिए प्राच नहीं आने देगी। इस की तैयारी हम करेंगे और इस की तैयारी कर रहे हैं ।

हमारे यहा डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होती है। यह कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है कि हमें अपना बजट बढ़ाना पडा। लेकिन यह अनिवाय है। आज यह अनिवार्य है। इस केन्द्रीय सरकार ने पाच मी करोड रुपया पिछले दिना म राज्य की सरकारों को दिया, डेवलपमेंट के कार्यों के लिए नहीं दिया बल्कि उन को अपनी जनता को रोटी देने के लिए दिया। सूखा पड रहा है, परेशानी पैदा हो रही है, राज्य की सरकारें आती हैं और कहती हैं कि आप हमारी मदद कीजिए। अब हम इस के ऊपर रिजिड हो कर बैठ नहीं सकते कि हम कुछ नहीं करेंगे। आज यह परिस्थिति देश के अन्दर है। आज गल्ले को हम ने अमेरिका से नहीं मगाया हमने कोशिश की, लेकिन आज यह मच्चाई है कि सोवियत रूस जैसे मुल्क न जा आकडे जानते हैं उन्हें पता होगा कि करीब करीब 29 मिलियन टन गेहूँ और मोटा अनाज मगाया। यह उसे मगाना पडा अपनी जनता को रोटी देने के लिए। आज यह मच्चाई है कि चीन जैम मुल्क न गल्ला खरीदा और बहुत बडे पैमाने के ऊपर खरीदा। कहा जाता है कि 29 मिलियन टन का रिजर्व स्टॉक आज

चीन के पास है। आज ऐसे वकन पर भी हमने कोई एक मिलियन टन या कितना गल्ला मगाया है। हम ने परेशानी उठाई। हम ने पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम का क्या इस मुल्क में चलाया? एक ही डरदा था कि जब देश अभाव में अन्न है जब गल्ले का उत्पादन कम हुआ है अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कीमते ज्यादा जा रही है गल्ला मगाने की अपनी नीति पर समझौता हम नहीं करेंगे अपने स्वाभिमान का नहीं खचेंगे जो मर्यादित देश पर है हम सब उम के अन्दर आगीदार बने उम को देखें। पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम या गल्ले का टेक आवर जा भी है उम में कमजोरिया हो सकती है, मफजना पूरी न मिले, तमा हो सकता है लेकिन एक मही नीति इस डरदे में लागू की गई कि इस देश की अभावग्रस्त जनता का हम आज अनाज पहुंचा सकें। आज 11 लाख टन गल्ला हर महीने हम दे रहे हैं वह किस के जरिए दे रहे हैं? पीलू मोदी जी ने कहा कि दो किलो हम देने हैं। माना मैंने बहुत सी जगह दो किलो दे रहे हैं कहीं छ किलो भी दे रहे हैं लेकिन 11 लाख टन हर महीने म गल्ला दे कर के इस देश की 19 करोड अभावग्रस्त जनता को हम ने मरने से बचाया है इस मच्चाई को स्वीकार करना चाहिए। हम इस बात को मानते हैं आज एक कठिन मकट है आज एक परेशानी है। अभी जाशी जी कह रहे थे गभीरता से स्थिति की तरफ ध्यान खींच रहे थे हम सब का इस में सहयोग चाहते हैं मुझे

[श्री चन्द्रजीत शायक]

खुशी है कि आज हम इस में राजनीति नहीं करना चाहते, छोड़ दें किसी एक व्यक्ति को जो राजनीति करना चाहता हो, लेकिन हम जानते हैं कि आज जब देश के सामने इतना बड़ा सकट है तो हम को गभीरता में इस के ऊपर सोचना चाहिए। मैं मानता हूँ और सरकार में भी इस बात की प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आज थोड़े से निहित स्वार्थ के लोगों को छोड़ करके जो गल्ले के बाक राज्य व्यापार के खिलाफ प्रचार कर के जनता में भ्रम फैलाना चाहते हैं, देश की धाम जनता इस बात को स्वीकार करती है कि सरकार ने देश के अन्दर गल्ले के थोक का राज्य व्यापार करके एक सही और जरूरी कदम उठाया है और यह कदम इस मुक्त से बराबर मजबूत होना चाहिए।

श्री जी जी ने कहा कि सरकार को जिम्मेदारी लेनी पड़ेगी। मुझे खुशी है कि आज हम यह महसूस करने हैं कि सरकार को जिम्मेदारी लेनी पड़ेगी। अगर सरकार को जिम्मेदारी लेनी पड़ेगी और आज हम 1973 में जहाँ खड़े हैं कोई भी सरकार अपनी जिम्मेदारी स बच नहीं सकती है तो उस जिम्मेदारी को लेने के लिए जितने आवश्यक कदम हैं वह भी सरकार का उठाने पड़ेगे। सरकार को चाहे नियन्त्रण करना पड़े, पूरी की पूरी नियन्त्रण व्यवस्था को अपने हाथ में लेना पड़े, उस के लिए नई मशीनरी बनानी पड़े, लेकिन बकल या बया है कि हम को ऐसा करना पड़ेगा। इसीलिए हम ने

गांधी-नगर में निर्णय किया और हमारा निर्णय यह था कि इस देश की गरीब जनता को जीवन के जरूरी सामान उपलब्ध करवाने पर दे सकें।

17 hrs.

मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह सार्वजनिक वितरण की व्यवस्था, जिस को पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम कहते हैं, मेरी राय में महज सकट का मुकाबला करने के लिए सकटकालीन व्यवस्था नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान जैसे मुक्त में, इस पिछड़े हुए मुक्त में, जिस में अधिक असन्तुलन है जिस में विकास के लिए कदम उठाने हैं यह सार्वजनिक वितरण की व्यवस्था इस मुक्त के लिए लाजमी है और स्थायी होनी चाहिए, वरिष्ठ इस के निवाय कोई दूसरा चारा नहीं है चाहे गेहूँ का सवाल हो चाहे चावल का सवाल हो, दूसरी आवश्यक सामग्रियों का सवाल हो ऐसी व्यवस्था बहुत जरूरी है और इस बात में कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है।

एक दूसरी बात भी हमें देखनी चाहिए—इस सकट के उभारने से, हमारे देश के निहित स्वार्थों ने, उद्योगपतियों ने भय का आनाकरण बनाने में मदद दी है। जानबूझ कर उत्पादन को कम किया गया है जानबूझ कर मुनाफाखोरी की प्रवृत्ति की गई है, जानबूझ कर इस मुक्त में इस तरह की दिक्कतें पैदा की गई हैं—यह मजबूती में सोचने की बात है। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारी पार्टी का एक बल

है, जिम्मेदारी हमारे ऊपर है—हम इस सञ्चार को स्वीकार करते हैं। ऐसे लोग हैं—जिन्होंने ऐसे संकट के समय में हमारी मदद नहीं की, जिनका विश्वास हमारी नीतियों में है, लेकिन भ्रमल के समय पीछे हट गये। बहुत ही राज्य सरकारों में जो जरूरी मदद मिलनी चाहिए थी, वह नहीं मिली। हम इस पर मोच रहे हैं, कमजोरियां धार्ड हैं, मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ। 25 साल की आजादी के बाद हमारी नीयत माफ रहते हुए भी, कदम सही उठाने हुए भी, नीतियां सही होने हुए भी, हमारे अन्दर कुछ कमजोरियां धार्ड हैं। इन कमजागियां को हमें दूर करना पड़ेगा। जहां तक जनता का सहयोग लेने की बात है—हम को रास्ता निकालना पड़ेगा। लेकिन इस में भी एक कठिनाई आती है और यह मोचने की बात है—अगर हमारी सरकार निर्णय करे कि हम अपनी पार्टी के लोगों के साथ मिल कर इस काम को करेंगे और हिन्दुस्तान का रेडियो इस मुल्क में हमारी नीतियों का, हमारे कदमों का, हमारे कामों का सही रूप में प्रचार करने तो विरोधी दल के लोग कहने हैं कि आप पक्षपात करते हैं। जब कि देश के पूजापतियां के अखबार इस देश की जनता के मनोबल का तोड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, जब इस देश में हमारा विरोधी दल जनता में बंभनी, परेझानी और उनकी एकता को तोड़ने का प्रयास कर रहा था, उस समय यदि हमारी नीति का प्रचार किया जाता है तो आप चार्ज लगाते

हैं कि रेडियो पक्षपात करता है, उममें हम अपनी पार्टी की मदद लेना चाहते हैं—तब फिर यह प्रश्न पैदा होता है कि जनता का सहयोग कैसे लिया जाय—इस तरह के सवाल बड़े गम्भीर रूप से हमारे देश के मामने आ रहे हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत आ गया है कि हमें इस मुल्क की बुनियादी नीतियों पर विचार करना है। इस मुल्क में इस व्यवस्था को उन खामियों को दूर करना है, जो इस स्थिति को बढ़ाने के लिए जिम्मेदार है।

मैं मानता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में जनवाद की जड़ मजबूत है। हिन्दुस्तान इस बात पर फर्र कर सकता है कि पिछले तीन साल जो हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन में सबसे ज्यादा सकट के साल थे, हमारी जनता ने अपनी राजनीतिक बद्धि की परिपक्वता का परिचय दिया, जनवाद में अपनी अटूट विश्वास प्रकट किया, इसमें जनवाद की जड़ें मजबूत हुई हैं, लेकिन अब वह प्रभावकारी कैसे बन सके, जनता का मददगार कैसे बन सके, जनता का सहयोग कैसे लिया जा सके—ये कई प्रश्न हैं, जो किमी एक पार्टी के सवाल नहीं हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश में तमाम विचार-शील लोग आज इन समस्याओं का समझते हैं—

The thinking mind of the country must come together, they must find out ways and means; they must suggest better alternatives.

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

हम इस के ऊपर विचार करने के लिए तैयार हैं, इस का रास्ता ढूँढने के लिए तैयार हैं .

श्री इयात्मन्वन सिन्ध (बेगूसराय)

ब्राह्म मिनिस्टर अपोजीशन पार्टीज में मिलती ही नहीं हैं, आप सहयोग की बात कर रहे हैं ।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव मुझे अफसोस है कि आप इस तरह का चार्ज लगा रहे हैं— जब कि हमारी सरकार की नेता हमारी प्रधान मंत्री और हमारे अन्य मंत्रीगण जिम तरीके से बिगोषी दलों के नेताओं से मिलते हैं, विचार-विमर्श करते हैं

श्री इयात्मन्वन सिन्ध कब मिलते हैं ?

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात वाञ्छित नहीं है यह सच्चाई नहीं है, सच्चाई पर पर्दा डालने में काम नहीं चल पायेगा ।

मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि आज जिम चीज का भय है, उसे कोई धम्बीकार नहीं कर सकता । आज हम को सोचना पड़ेगा कि हम अपना उत्पादन कैसे बढ़ाये । सरकार को प्राथमिकता निश्चिन करनी पड़ेगी कि किम चीज के उत्पादन पर सरकार को ख़ोर देना है । समय घा गया है कि जहा हम कोशिश करने हैं कि इस देश के मजदूर वर्ग की मांगों पर महानुभूति में विचार किया जाय, उन क माना जाय, वही हमारे मुल्क के ट्रेड यूनियन्स और

दूसरे संगठनों का भी कर्तव्य है कि वे इस बात में सरकार के साथ सहयोग करें कि हम अपने देश के उत्पादन को तेजी से बढ़ायें । इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज घाम तौर से देश के लोग इस बात को धम्बीकार करते हैं कि हमारी नीति सही होने हुए भी सबट हमारे देश में बढ़ा है और हमें उम का मकाबला करना है ।

एक चीज में अन्न में कहना चाहूँगा— हमने इस सम्भोर सकट की घडी को पार कर लिया है । इस में बुरा स्थिति मज़ा हा सकनी थी, जिस को हमने पार किया है और मिल कर पार किया है, मरट वा भागीदार बन कर पार किया है हाँमले में पार किया है लेकिन ज़ा कमजोरिया आज उभर कर सामने आई है उन का कर्म दूर करे ताकि उम के निय एक बेहतर रास्ता निकल सके । सरकार इस बात के निय मजबूत है, चिन्तित भी है और इस के निय रान्न निकाल जायेंगे । हमारे देश की जनता का मनोबल तोडा न जाय उम के मनोबल को कमजोर न किया जाये । राष्ट्रीय मकट के जमाने में जनता में अम पैदा करना मनोबल को माडना एव बहुत बडा गुनाह होगा । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बात में हम सब को मिल कर उन तमाम बला का धाबादन करना चाहिये— छाद्दये, कौम के सामने एक धार्मिक सकट है, हम इस का हल निकालें । लेकिन यह ऐसा बडा सकट नहीं है कि हम मायूस हो जाये, हमें भविष्य में अन्धकार ही अन्धकार दिखाई दे । हम जरा धाब उठाकर देखें— एजिया और अफ्रीका के तमाम मुल्क जो हमारी आजादी के साथ आजाद हुए थे,

थोड़ा पहले या थोड़ा पीछे, हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक व्यवस्था बावजूद इन कमजोरियों के एक मजबूत आर्थिक व्यवस्था है। हमारी आधारशिला मजबूत है, हम स्वावलम्बन की तरफ तेजी से बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, लेकिन जो कुछ भी कमजोरियाँ हैं, उन को हल करना है, उस का रास्ता निकालना है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे देश की जनता जिस में सहन शक्ति है, लेकिन उस की जो कठिनाईयाँ हैं, जो परेशानियाँ हैं, उस से हम अलग हैं और उन को हम हटाना चाहते हैं। सरकार कदम उठायेगी, कदम उठाये गये हैं और भविष्य में भी उठाये जायेंगे। अपने देश की गरीब जनता की कठिनाईयों को दूर करने के लिये जो भी आवश्यक कदम हैं, उन को उठायेंगे और हमें उम्मीद है कि यह संकट हम पार कर सकेंगे और देश को उस रास्ते पर, उस मन्जिल पर ले चल सकेंगे जिस के लिये हमारे देश की जनता ने हमें अपार समर्थन और बहुमत प्रदान किया है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Krishna Menon, if he is there. Shri Piloo Mody.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): How does Shri Krishna Menon take precedence over me?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is none of your business. You will please start.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Will you please explain it?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not have to explain it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Or, will I get an explanation outside?

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you want to speak, you please start.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I have already started and I am starting by saying that the failure that is all too evident is stamped on each one of their faces and it is a somewhat pathetic debate because gone is the verve, gone is the confidence, gone is the style, gone is the crowing.... (Interruptions). It is too unfair.

AN HON. MEMBER: Gone is Garibi Hatao.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Let us not talk about that.

That too was a forlorn hope anyway.

What we see today is nothing but failure and guilt stamped on the face of all these people who claim to have got a so called massive mandate. But I am not surprised because, when I hear them speak, I feel that these are the men and women doomed to failure. If there is one thing that will bring about failure, it is a refusal to accept having made mistakes. They will not admit to anything.

They will not admit to the fact that there has been a failure of power, that there has been a failure of administration, that there has been a failure of distribution, that there has been a failure of procurement, that there has been a failure of supply, that there has been a failure of Government, there even with their massive majority they cannot rule. This is failure. But they will not admit it. As long as men are born in this world who will not admit failures, they will go on failing. That is why I say, they are doomed to failure.

How many times do you hear them say: "There are no shortages"? Responsible Ministers starting with the Prime Minister say, time and again, there are no shortages, that there is no failure of distribution and so on. The Prime Minister says that it "may not have succeeded a hundred per cent". But will she please tell us

[Shri Piloo Mody]

whether they have succeeded 98 per cent or 78 per cent or 68 per cent or 32 per cent or 11 per cent? What is this? You cannot go on fooling the people for ever and for ever. Till you learn to admit mistakes, you will go on making bigger and bigger mistakes and your failure will be greater and greater.

My friend Shri Indrajit Gupta, was bemoaning the fact that all this has not worked properly. Why should he bemoan that fact? It is he and his people that have led them by the nose into these dangerous alleys where they do not know what they are doing. They have no capacity to understand the complex nature of what they have undertaken. Ultimately when they cannot deliver the goods there are all manner of excuses: failure of rains, Bangladesh refugees, international situation, world shortages, right reaction, left adventurism, CIA and who knows what else. These are their excuses for failure!

They say "Everything and everybody is wrong but us. We are the virtuous, we are the impeccable, we are the ones who can never make mistakes." With an attitude like that I am not surprised that they cannot govern, they cannot deliver the goods. After all it is ultimately an attitude of mind, it is the attitude of mind not only of the rulers but the attitude of mind that they can induce in the population at large that will either fail or succeed.

Then, strikes take place, *morchas* take place, wages increase by Rs 10 here and Rs 20 there. The Pay Commission sets, gives its Report which is at least a year old and you give a poor workman, after a great deal of strife and struggle, Rs 10 in one pocket and you pinch Rs 100 from the other pocket. What sort of a *tamasha* is this?

I have said not once but on many occasions that the prime responsibility

of the Government is to hold the price-line. But my friend, Mr. Chavan has invented another argument saying, "What am I supposed to do? People are dying all over. Do you mean to say I should not print money?" He is in the fortunate position of printing money. But take a family in a village which does not have any food. Can they print money? This is precisely what Mr. Chavan is doing. Printed money does not deliver the goods. Today, they all pat themselves on the chest and pat each other on the back saying "We have kept 85 lakhs of people alive. I think it is a miserable admission of failure to say that they have kept 85 lakhs of people alive." It is nothing to be proud of, it is something that you should have hidden, suppressed that you have to look after as many as 85 lakhs of people. And you have certainly not looked after as many people as you should have looked after!

We have kept them alive. This is what people are praising themselves for—that they have kept people alive! I have heard people say "We have supplied gram." Gram is fed to horses and not to human-beings. Yet they take pride in the fact that they have supplied them with this and with that.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATF: He wants chocolates.

SHRI PILOO MODY: When my Government is formed they will be supplied with chocolates. (Interruptions)

Now what we have been warning for 12 years, people whose ears are deaf is that they have got themselves entangled into what is commonly described but not understood as a 'inflationary spiral'. They are now caught between high prices, high wages and scarcities—the triangle is complete. I do not know what they are going to do. Did you hear Mr. Indrajit Gupta, who made such a great indictment on the Government recommend any reme-

dy as to how it can be solved, except that he has a little book which says, 'Take-over everything and you will be alright' there will be nobody to criticise your mistakes. Then one of his friends on your side also, lamented with great regret that he did not help them as much as he should have at the right moment—he wanted to win a few more seats, I suppose. He lamented that even the great Soviet Russia had to import 19 million tonnes of foodgrains against payment in gold, which is something that he did not say. Why? Because that is the road to socialism. There are five things that are common to all socialist societies without exception—high prices, high taxes, shortages and queues, black markets and the brain drain—and you have all of them here in great measure. Socialism has survived in this country.

AN HON MEMBER What about Sweden?

SHRI PILOO MODY It is not a socialist country it is a Swatantra country. I find it difficult enough to educate the hordes on this side and I have to educate the professor on my side also it is a little too much.

We talk about legal measures. Tell me one single authority that this Government does not have. Over the years as Mr Indrajit Gupta very rightly said, they have armed themselves with every weapon under the sun, the most pernicious weapons, weapons like the Maintenance of the Internal Security Act, Defence of India Rules, Border Security this, that and everything. Who do they use them on? Mr Maurva should know because they used it on students at Aligarh and put them in jail.

SHRI B P MAURYA (Hapur)
Border Security Act?

SHRI PILOO MODY CISA is used by your Government, with your support, in your own constituency on students because they broke a glass pane or they protested before the Vice

Chancellor or the Executive Committee. But to catch a black-marketeer, the MISA disappears. How many times have I said will you not just take one black-marketeer, one smuggler, one Minister and one official and put them in jail under MISA? That will be a great jwab to the rest of the country. But they cannot do it, and the reason why they cannot do it is only too obvious—because they need money from these people.

How else can my friend, Mr Mishra and the Home Minister who is not here go round and demand Rs 30 lakhs from somebody? And when the fellow says, I have no got it, 'Here it is, take a licence, make 60 and we share—30 to you and 30 to us. Out of 30 he pays 10 to the Congress Fund. How else does it happen? This is the way the marry-go-round goes on. How are they here? What is responsible for the 'massive mandate except money and media? It is all a puzzle in "Ms." Massive mandate' is the result of media and money. (Interruptions) and misuse of official machinery. I am glad he has added a couple of more 'Ms'.

I heard one voice from this side say. How could we have known in June or July or in August? In this House I warned this House as a result of a news item I read in the *London Times* which gave some readings of the Satellite and I have warned this House last year in June that you are going to have a drought, there would be what is known as a false monsoon and therefore, they should arm themselves with all the paraphernalia required to fight that drought. Already, I maintain, it was five years too late. But, nevertheless, had you listened to me then, you would not have become as crippled as you are to-day. You could have bought wheat any amount, at prices reasonable at that time. You did not do it. Why? Two reasons. They

[Shri Piloo Mody.]

loved to gamble. They thought gambling with the lives of 60 crores of people is game of dice. They can play dice. That is why they did not want to do anything without crisis overcoming them and they were waiting for the great heavens to fall around their heads before they decided to act.

Do you realise the position of this country today? Had the present monsoon failed we would have arrived at a situation when nobody in the world could have fed us. Nobody in the world and in order to avoid a situation like that, it was necessary that they place their orders for food-grains two months ago. Well they gambled and it was the worst type of gamble which no responsible Government would take—playing with the lives of 60 crores of people in a manner in which this Government had played two months ago, by not importing all the wheat to be imported, to tide over a possible failure of the coming monsoon.

Ultimately the desire to rule does not equip one with the capacity to rule. The desire to stay in power the desire to get elected is not synonymous with the ability, the wisdom, the sagacity or the honesty to rule this country in a manner befitting the greatness of this land. Therefore, when I just heard Mr Chandrajit Yadav saying that all intelligent and good-thinking people should come together I—invite him to come and join us. But in Mr Chandrajit Yadav's mind, getting together is getting together with all these crooks. I am not prepared to do that. Cleanse yourself by all means, then we can talk. But the day has now come when we will have to shed this water-tight party compartment lines. It is already too late. The nation is on the brink of a disaster. You have demonstrated your capacity not to be able to rule and, therefore, I appeal to the Prime Minister directly, and

I hope that she intervenes in this debate, that it is no great shame to admit one's failure. If you cannot rule, kindly hand over the power to me.

श्री नवल किशोर शर्मा (बीसा) सभापति महोदय सदन में एक गम्भीर विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है। इस विषय की चर्चा की आवश्यकता का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है उससे कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। हमारे देश में पिछले साल कीमतें बेहद बढ़ी हैं और आज भी बढ़ती जा रही हैं। इससे सारे देश के लोग चिन्तित हैं और उनके चिन्तित होने के कारण देश की जनता के प्रतिनिधियों के रूप में इस सदन ने इस विषय पर चर्चा करने का मौका ले कर एक अच्छा काम किया है।

सभापति महोदय मैंने बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ विरोधी दल के नेताओं के भाषणों को सुना है। सभी ने यह कहा है कि सरकार कीमतों को बढ़ने में रोकने में असफल सिद्ध हुई है। पीलू मोदी साहब ने तो यहाँ तक कह दिया कि आप अपनी असफलता स्वीकार कर और कुर्सी छोड़ कर यह कुर्सी उनको दें। मैं माँचता था कि वे सब कोई गम्भीर बात बनाएँ कुछ काम मुद्दों पर गौशनी डालेंगे जिन में कीमतें कम की जा सकती हों। लेकिन मूझ विरोधी दल के नेताओं के भाषणों को सुन कर खोर निराशा हुई है। उन भाषणों में मिबाय राजनीतिक तरीके से सरकार पर प्रहार करने के सरकार की गलत नीतियों को इधर या उधर से जोड़ने के, कोई खाम बात नहीं कही गई। कीमतों से ये बातें कहा तक तास्नुक रहती हैं वह

मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। विरोधी दल के नेताओं ने कहा कि यदि यह बड़ोत्तरी न रोकी गई तो हमारे देश के प्रजातंत्र को बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो सकता है। मैं श्री मेभियान की राय से सहमत हूँ। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यदि प्रजातंत्र को खतरा है और उसको घाप रोकना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए घापके पास इलाज क्या है? क्या यह है कि घाप सरकार के लोगों के इमेज को डैमिज करे, झूठे सच्चे आरोप लगाए, रिश्वत के, आरोप लगाए कि चोर बाजारी जो सरकार के कुछ लोग करते हैं उमसे कीमते बढ़ी हैं? समझ में नहीं आता है कि इन बातों के पीछे तर्क क्या है। अमल में यह चीज उनकी इस मनोवृत्ति की छानक है कि वे देश की जनता का भला नहीं सोचते हैं और उनका इगदा सरकार की किमी तरह से भी धावो-चना करने का है और सरकार को जनता के मामले कठबड़े में खड़ा करने का है। मैं चेनावनीदेना चाहता हूँ कि एसा करके वे एक भयकर भूल कर रहे हैं।

16 28 hrs

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the chair]

यदि इस समस्या का समाधान करना है तो इस समस्या के कारणों में हमें जाना पड़ेगा। इससे इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है कि कीमतें बढ़ी हैं लेकिन कीमतें बढ़ाने में सब से बड़ा योगदान जिम का रहा है वह खाद्यान्नों का रहा है। घाप प्रांकडों को देखें तो घाप इसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचें कि हमारे देश में पिछले अर्द्ध में जो कीमतों का इंडेक्स बढ़ा है उस में सब से बड़ा योगदान खाद्यान्नों की कीमतों का रहा है।

1971 के अंत कीमतें 181 3 थीं, 1972 में

1056 LS.—15

192.1 हो गई और 1978 में खाद्यान्नों की कीमतें 226, 2 हो गईं। हमारे मिस श्री ज्योनिर्मय बसु कह रहे थे कि दुनिया के मुल्कों के मुकाबले में हमारे यहाँ कीमतें बेसुमार ताबाद में बढ़ी हैं। उन्होंने आकड़े दे कर यह बताया है कि इनकी बढ़ी बड़ोत्तरी होना अपने अर्थ में आश्चर्य की बात है। लेकिन अगर हम देखें तो हमें पता चलेगा कि 1971 साल में 181 के मुकाबले में कीमतें 1972 में 192 तक ही पहुँची यानी उम में करीब 11 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई। लेकिन 1973 में यह बड़ोत्तरी करीब करीब 30 परसेंट हो गई। इस का कारण स्पष्ट है कि हमारे यहाँ खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन पर्याप्त मात्रा में नहीं हुआ। जाहिर है कि खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में कमी कोई सरकार की नीतियों के फलस्वरूप हुई, ऐसी बात नहीं है। अगर फर्टिलाइजर और सिंचाई के माधनों की कमी या इसी प्रकार के दूसरे कारणों से खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में कमी हुई होती, तो सरकार जरूर दोषी करार दी जा सकती थी। लेकिन अगर बारिश नहीं होती है, अगर इन्द्र देवता रुपा नहीं करते हैं, और उस के कारण देश के एक बहुत बड़े भूभाग में—उड़ीसा से ले कर महाराष्ट्र तक और राजस्थान से ले कर आन्ध्र और मैसूर तक—जर्बा नहीं होती है, तो उमका परिणाम स्वाभाविक है। हम वर्ष यह जो अकाल हम देश में या, वह केवल इस देश में ही नहीं था, बल्कि दुनिया के एक बहुत बड़े भूभाग पर—आस्ट्रेलिया से ले कर सोवियत रण और अफ्रीका तक पर—इस अकाल की काली छाया पड़ी थी। इस लिए खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में कमी होने के

श्री नवल किशोर शर्मा
कारण कीमतों का बढ़ना एक स्वाभाविक
बात है।

इस बात से भी इन्कार नहीं किया जा
सकता है कि हमारे देश में जी ब्रकर स्टॉक था,
उसमें भी कमी हुई। पहले हम दूसरे मुल्को
पर धातित रहा करते थे, लेकिन हमने यह
क़ौसला किया कि हम इज्जत के साथ खिन्दा
रहेंगे और हम भीख माग कर खिन्दा नहीं
रहना चाहते हैं। हम ने स्वावलम्बन और
आत्म-निर्भरता की नीति पर चलने का निर्णय
किया और इस के अनुसार हम ने अमरीका
से पी० एल०-480 के अन्तर्गत अनाज लेना
बन्द कर दिया। क्या हम ने ऐसा करके कोई
पाप किया? क्या सरकार की यह नीति
गलत थी? अगर वह गलत नहीं थी, तो
फिर हमारे यहाँ आयातों का स्टॉक कम होना
और उस के परिणामस्वरूप कीमतें बढ़ना
स्वाभाविक था।

इन परिस्थितियों में सरकार ने आयातों
के व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेने का निर्णय
लिया, क्योंकि वह जानती थी कि कीमतों
को बढ़ने में रोकने का यही एक मात्र रास्ता
है। भले ही विरोधी दल के कुछ मिन इस
बात की तारीफ न करें, लेकिन सरकार का यह
कदम बिल्कुल सही था। बहुत से लोग कहते
हैं कि आयातों का व्यापार ऐसे मौके पर
लिया गया, जब कि गेहूँ की पदावार देश में
कम थी, और यह एक धूल की गई, और अगर
ऐसा न किया गया होता, तो गेहूँ की कीमतें
न बढ़ती। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि
जी, बाजार और ज्वार का व्यापार तो सरकार
ने अपने हाथ में नहीं लिया था, लेकिन इस

के बावजूद उन चीजों के भाव बढ़ गये हैं—
बाजरा 150 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल के हिसाब से
और ज्वार 140 रुपये प्रति-क्विंटल के हिसाब
से बिक रहा है। यह इस बात का सबूत है
कि सरकार ने कीमतों को रोकने के लिये
गेहूँ का व्यापार अपने हाथ में ले कर एक
सही कदम उठाया।

यह सही है कि हमारी व्यवस्था उतनी
कारगर नहीं रही, जितनी कि वह होनी
चाहिए थी। असल में कीमतों को रोकने
के लिए हम को एक न एक दिन सारी आवश्यक
वस्तुओं के वितरण को अपने हाथ में लेना
पड़ेगा। हम जानते हैं कि इस देश में मुनाफा-
खोर और उन के साथ लगे हुए राजनीतिक
दल भी हैं, जो गेहूँ को प्राप्त करने के मार्ग
में रुकावट डालते हैं, जो अभी करनाम में
इस प्रकार के आन्दोलन को शह दे रहे हैं।
हम को ऐसे लोगों के बारे में मोचना पड़ेगा
और इस सम्बन्ध में एक मात्र उपाय यह है
कि हम सारी आवश्यक वस्तुओं के वितरण
को अपने हाथ में ले लें।

अभी श्री जोशी न कहा कि हमारी मशीनरी
सक्षम नहीं है और जब तक हमारी मशीनरी
सक्षम न हो, तब तक हम को यह कदम नहीं
उठाना चाहिए। यह एक बहुत बड़ी धूल-
झुलैया है। आखिर सक्षम मशीनरी बनवाने
के यहाँ से बन कर नहीं आना वाली है।
मशीनरी को काम और जिम्मेदारी देने से
उस में अपने आप जिम्मेदारी ग्रहण करने की
क्षमता पैदा होती है और हम को वह क्षमता
पैदा करनी पड़ती है। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहूँगा

कि सरकार को प्लासिब कमीशन के स्टडी ग्रुप को रीपोर्ट पर सम्प्रीरता से विचार करना चाहिए और आवश्यक वस्तुओं के व्यापार को अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहिए।

मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि सरकार का मुनाफ़ाख़ोरो के खिलाफ़ सक्ती से कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। अभी तक इस बारे में जरूर डील रही है और बड़े लोगों को सजा नहीं दी गई है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम बड़े लोगों के साथ कोई रियायत न करें। हम मुनाफ़ाख़ोरो को मेनटेनेंस आफ़ सिक्कुरिटी एक्ट के अन्तर्गत निरक़तार करे और उन को बड़ी सजा दें। तभी हमारे देश का कल्याण हो सकता है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We have already exceeded the time allotted for the debate, namely, three hours. There are still a number of speakers. The Minister is yet to reply; the Mover of the Motion is yet to reply. I would like to know what the House would like to do. There is no alternative to finishing the debate today.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: It is not necessary. Generally we do not stick to the convention as far as the discussion is concerned. We would like time to be given to all political parties in the House. According to rules, the adjournment motion discussion should be between 4 and 6.30 P.M. But generally we do not adhere to it. We have never confined the discussion to that time limit because we have wanted to give chance to all members. May I, therefore, request you in all humility—and I hope the Leader of the House will kindly agree—to continue the discussion tomorrow?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: What is the harm?

SHRI JYOTIRMROY BOSU: I had talked to Shri Salve who was in the Chair at that time. He told me that the half hour discussion of today would not be taken up today. I had also had a talk with Shri Borooah, the Minister in charge of the portfolio. He wanted that the half hour discussion be postponed to day after tomorrow. I am with both of them. I would request you that it be taken up day after tomorrow. In the meantime, this discussion may be allowed to continue.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think we will have to continue this debate until we dispose of the matter. If we have to extend the time, I would like to know by what time. We have already taken more than 3 hours.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Upto 7 O'clock.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: This is a subject on which each one of us would like to say something.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Make a suggestion—by one hour, two hours.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: By three hours.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: For the time being, as suggested by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, we will extend it by 1½ hours.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA (Bhavnagar): This House will recall that in August 1972 this House had discussed the unprecedented rise in prices for nearly six hours. From all sections of the House, we were emphatically told that during April-August 1972 the prices of essential commodities had gone up by 16-17 per cent. It was not denied by the Government at that time because it was a fact. So, the price rise is not because of the drought condition but it is basically

[Shri P. M. Mehta.]

because of the wrong economic policies of the Government. The policy is based, or its economic policy is based, on the political purposes of its party and that has created untold miseries for the millions of this country. I say that for achieving its political ends, this Government has misused the economic measures.

Take, for example, bank nationalisation. We had high hopes that that measure would push up or boost the general economy of the country, but really what happened? The economy is deteriorating day by day. The resources are not mobilised to the extent which they should have been, and the steps they take have not given due boost to the economy. The basic structure might have changed here or there, but it has failed to boost the general economy of this country.

The same is the case with the takeover of the wholesale trade in wheat. The decision was taken not in the Cabinet first or in the Committee on Economic Affairs; the decision was taken in the AICC at Gandhinagar. It was a political decision; it was not an economic decision. If my memory has not failed, most of the Chief Ministers were against the taking over of the wholesale trade in wheat. Only two Chief Ministers were in favour of that measure, and ultimately what has happened? Since August or September last, the people are not given the average quantity of two and a half kilograms of wheat per head in the rural or urban areas. We hear about deaths caused by starvation. In this way, this Government, to achieve its political ends, has misused the economic measures and the country will not forgive them for this.

This has created so many things. This wrong economic policy is the basic root for blackmarketing. Take, for example, the export and import policy. In the name of actual users nearly twelve hundred licenses to the

order of Rs. 1200 crores are given to the persons who are neither in industry nor in trade. They are simply making a black market out of these licenses. Is it outside the knowledge of the concerned Minister? No, it is not so, but the concerned Minister collects huge amount of funds from these licenses. This is the origin of the black market. From the sugar industry, from the drug industry, from cotton and yarn trade and from almost every industry this party has been getting huge funds for party purposes. They are helping the black market. How can you expect black money would be curbed? In this House the Hon. Finance Minister has more than once said that there was a parallel economy of black money. How can the poor Finance Minister curb black market? Black money will never end if the party functions in this fashion.

Take the supply of money. When there is a parallel economy the Government is compelled to supply more money. Last year the money supply was of the order of 14 per cent. In the previous year it was of the order of 13 per cent. But has the national income gone up? No. Has the rate of growth of economy gone up? No. On the contrary it has come down to the level of zero degree. There is no growth but the money supply is more. How can you expect prices will fall to rise? Prices are bound to rise. It is because of this, prices are going up day by day.

Take the example of yarn. In this House, when control on yarn was imposed we said that control on the coarse yarn was not at all necessary.

At that time the hon. Minister of Commerce Shri George said that there was no question of going back. What happened? The yarn was piling up in the mills on the one side and the mills sold them in the black market. On the other side the weavers were not getting yarn and they had to pay more price. In my own State two

lakh weavers were thrown out of employment... (Interruptions). The point I was making was that all this was because of the wrong policies of the Government and not because of the drought conditions. They have now de-controlled it after four months or so. They collected huge money from the cotton and yarn trade. This is the root cause of black money. With more money supply and less growth, inflation is bound to come and that makes prices go up.

Some Member from that side said that this was global trend. It might be. But in other countries when people are given adequate purchasing power and additional employment and the Government also try to hold the price line, it does not affect very much. But here, the Government, in spite of promises, fails to hold the price line. Time and again the Finance Minister has said in the House and outside, "We are taking concrete steps to hold the priceline" but the experience of the people is otherwise. The Government has failed to hold the priceline and crores of people today are living in miserable conditions. People have no faith in this Government now. Every time we discussed this question of price rise, the Finance Minister assured us that immediate steps will be taken to hold the priceline, but it was all simple talk and nothing has been done. Government has failed and is bound to fail with its wrong economic policies.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Sir just a few days ago, I was reading an interesting book by Andre Malarux, the noted French writer and humanist. In one place he has jokingly said, "I like telling lies, because at least hundred falsehoods make one truth!" I find some of the accusations levelled in this debate in this light as they were completely irrelevant to the question

of price rise. I shall confine myself, therefore, to the problem which is really very serious. The Government and the Congress Party are more concerned about the problem of price rise than anyone sitting on the other side, more so because the Congress members have during the inter-session period have gone to their constituencies, met the people in hundreds and thousands and discussed this problem with them. The people have exhibited a tolerance and a sense of understanding which I hope we have never come across.

Today the difference is, whereas the Congress Party and the Government are being seized of the problem and are trying to find out ways and means to solve it, the other side want to accentuate the problem by adopting all kinds of methods like the one we saw in Karnal yesterday where a big kisan conference was held, whose main aim was to persuade the kisans not to sell the grains to the Government and FCI. So, this problem has its economic as well as political aspect.

So far as the political aspect is concerned, today the Government is committed to a social transformation of the present feudalist and capitalist society into a socialist one by peaceful, democratic means. Whatever measures are being taken today are really in that direction. The takeover of the wholesale trade in food-grains is also a step in that direction. Therefore, today the wholesale merchants in collusion with certain forces of reaction want to take political advantage of the situation and create hurdles so that the grain does not come to the FCI and there is more and more acute famine. That is the political aspect.

So far as the economic aspect is concerned, it is well known that in the entire world today there is price rise. Some members were saying that the price rise in India is too high.

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]
 compared to other countries. I was looking into the price indices of different countries and I find that the highest increased of 54 per cent is reported from Denmark followed by 53 per cent in Japan. The price rise in U.K. 48 per cent. In the United States the price rise is 32 per cent and in the Federal Republic of Germany it is 29 per cent. We cannot say that this is a kind of isolated phenomenon only in India. It is a part of the international monetary crisis and India is a part of it. Therefore, some of these problems are beyond the control of Government. Anyway, we are trying to meet the challenge.

How do we want to meet this problem? When we are discussing this problem in this House, it is a good sign that reports of good rains are reaching us from all over the country. Government have fixed a target of 115 million tonnes of khariff crops this year. Now that the drought is over and there will be good crops, the hoarders also will release the stocks which they have been holding on in the hope of scarcity and within a very short time things will improve very much.

Another point raised by the opposition was deficit financing. It is true that we should reduce it to the minimum. But when a part of our country is facing drought, cyclone or flood could we stop spending money on relief work? Let us not forget that we have spent Rs. 450 crores by way of relief measures to give relief and food to the drought affected people in various States.

Then, the war with Pakistan which we have won was one of the crucial wars which we have fought and won in Asia. This has changed the face of the Asian sub-continent. Today what we witness in Afghanistan and other countries is the effect of that war. The political balance of Asia is changing, and that is one of the biggest achievements of the last war. The

sacrifices which we have undergone and we have yet to undergo for the next two or three years is insignificant compared to our achievements.

Another reason for deficit financing is that our defence expenditure has gone up from Rs. 1,400 crores to 1,600 crores. I do not know whether Sardar Swaran Singh has brought any good news from Iran. We cannot afford to cut this defence expenditure. Even if such a suggestion is made by the Government, the House and the country will not allow that because it will affect the security of the country.

So while deficit financing is bad, taking into account all these factors, it should be allowed to a certain extent. Government are quite conscious of the ill-effects of deficit financing and they have already stated that it should be drastically reduced and that there should be economy to the extent of Rs. 200 crores to 300 crores. I think with a little effort it can be done. So, in future deficit financing will not be resorted to on a large scale as at present.

We have increased the bank rate and imposed restrictions on credit. These are some of the measures taken by the Government to see that the effects of inflation are reduced to the minimum.

18 hrs.

It is a fact that this problem of price rise has really exercised the minds of all. We know the difficulties of our people. But because we had nine million tonnes of foodgrains in our reserve we had not gone in for import in a big way. I think, the whole House should have congratulated the Government and the Congress Party that in such a big crisis, when countries like the Soviet Union and China have gone in a big way for import of foodgrains from the USA, Canada and other countries, India has not thought of it because we want to build up our strength and want to be

self-reliant and we are importing only to the extent of one million tonnes or it may go up to two or three million tonnes.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: It may go up to 20 or 30 million tonnes.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: Never. It is only because of that that we did not go in for import in a big way. I say this because the charge was as to why in July 1972 India did not go in a big way for import. It is a challenge and we shall face it; we shall not go in for import in a big way.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I had a better opinion of you.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I am sorry, you change your opinion about me; I will be very happy.

This is the biggest factor which we should take into consideration, namely that in the face of all the difficulties we have thought that we shall not go in for big imports—import prices are also rising like anything—and we shall try to tide over this difficulty ourselves as much as possible.

Lastly, I would like to impress upon the Government that the distribution system should be improved. We have to fight on the political plane also those forces of reaction which want to see that our big effort in the wholesale trade of foodgrains is not achieved. I would implore upon Government that, because we are going in a big way to meet this challenge, the distribution system in the country should be such that we shall get all the essential commodities from the main producer at the source so that it goes to the fair price shops in the country and whenever a purchaser goes to buy anything, at least 10, 15 or 20 essential commodity items are there in the fair price shops and he will never fall a prey to the black-marketeers and profiteers in the country.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd): Sir, today I want to make a really bazaar speech. Today the word 'bazaar' dominates the mind of millions of common people of our country. The word 'bazaar' has become a horror to the common man, to the people in general in every corner of our country. The word 'bazaar' has created a terrible situation in every family today. Whenever a man is required to go to the bazaar, not only does he have to think what he will buy with his scanty means but when he returns home he has to face the angry eyes of mothers and sisters. He has to think how he will feed his family members.

I do not want to make any dissertative speech here as to what is the effect of money supply on the question of rising prices; what is the effect of deficit financing on inflationary pressure or on the rise in prices; what is the effect of excess demand disproportionate to our productive capacity; what is the effect of unaccounted or black money. These are meaningless useless, worthless for me because we had many dissertative, analytical speeches.

18.4 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Statistics after statistics, data after data were piled by many erudite speeches that were made in this House last August and during the last Budget session. It may be unnecessary also because we are now facing the horrible effect of the rise in prices.

Promises were made by Government last August. Many promises were made even during the last budget session. What is the outcome? What is the net result? Had there been any retardation in any way in the rise of prices? On the contrary, the price rise has assumed an abnormal speed.—a galloping speed.

Today, I want to warn the Government that the common people of our country have reached a point of exasperation. Their patience is almost exhausted. Many people are praising our common man, that he is very constructive in nature. I warn the Government again that this is only a lull before the storm. You see certain sparks before the storm in the sky. There are certain sparks like a food riot here or a looting of a shop there. These are nothing but sparks before the storm. These are indications of a storm that may overwhelm the whole country.

As I said, I do not want to make any dissertative speech. Today, I am not concerned with the causes of the price spiral. I am only concerned with what effect it has on the common people of our country, how they are suffering from hunger and starvation and to what stage they have been pushed due to the policies of the Government. To make a dissertative speech is useless and heartless and it is like a doctor who is just trying to treat a dying patient, making a good diagnosis, but miserably failing to prescribe the real medicine to save him. When a patient is dying, it is useless and heartless for a doctor to analyse the causes of the disease if he fails to prescribe the real medicine to save the life of the patient.

In the same way, this Government has made many dissertative speeches, many analysis, many recommendations and many prescriptions. But what is the result? It is known to all of you; it is known to everyone. I am not even concerned with the statistics of the wholesale prices. The wholesale prices are deceptive. There is a wide gap between the wholesale price and the retail price. You cannot control the bazar price; you cannot control the retail price. I am not concerned with the high prices of luxury goods. I am concerned only with one thing and that is the prices of essential commodities.

The people are concerned today with the rise in prices of essential commodities, rise in prices of wheat, rise in prices of rice, rise in prices of dal, rise in prices of oil, which are absolutely necessary to maintain themselves just as a biological being, not even as a mere human-being.

Some friends were saying that the price spiral is an international phenomenon. My hon. friend, Shri Panigrahi, who just now spoke was quoting the price rise in Japan, Denmark, U.K., and Germany. But he forgot what is their per capita income, what is their growth of GNP, what is their purchasing power. Those people can bear the pressure of rise in prices because they have the purchasing capacity which is thousand times more than that of the Indian people.

It is according to the statistics of the Government that 42 per cent people live below the poverty line. About the Class III and Class IV employees, about the primary teachers, about the school teachers, about the small farmers, about those who are the middle-income group people, about 80 per cent of the people, what purchasing capacity have they today? You are comparing the international price rise with the price rise of a country where most of the people live not only below the subsistence level but below the poverty level.

I do not want to enter into a dialogue with the Government because we know what will be their speech, almost like a tape-recorded speech. What will they say? They will say, because we are compelled to increase money supply; because of the demand of labour, we are compelled to resort to deficit financing: then they will say that it is because of the international phenomenon of price rise then there is another catchy phrase, 'this is a continuous phenomenon': then they will repeat, parrot-like, drought, Bangladesh refugees, Indo-Pak war and so on. All these things they have been repeating not once or twice

but *ad infinitum*. Therefore, I am not interested in going into the causes. As I said, we are interested not in the causes but in the recipe—what prescription you have for the people who are suffering from starvation and hunger. You are trying to shirk your responsibility as if you are not the rulers of this country, as if you are not the policy-makers as if you are not handling the whole economy of this country. If you say that it is the hoarders, it is the smugglers, it is the black-marketeers, who are responsible for this price-spiral, I want to ask you who rules the country. Are you in league with those black-marketeers, hoarders and smugglers? Do you not have laws to control them? Why do you accuse them? Your policy has failed. You have failed to control those people from creating this situation of abnormal price rise.

You are accusing the Opposition parties. What is the role of the Opposition? You had your mandate and we had our mandate. Whenever there is an Opposition, it is its duty to criticise the policy of the Government and express the anger, the resentment, the discontentment and the demands of the people. Some people have said that we are having more *morchas*, more *bandhs*. I want to tell them that *bandhs*, *morchas*, strikes and *satyagrahas* are the safety valves of democracy. We in the Socialist Party have decided to mobilise the cooperation of all Opposition parties to have a national *bandh* in the month of August. This is the way how we can express the minds of the people. The minds of the people are now boiling because people are hungry, they are starving. Their minds are boiling in anger and it may erupt into a volcano and swamp the Government. It may cause a disaster for our democracy. You accuse us of having more *morchas*, more *bandhs* and more strikes. But if we do not do that, if we do not give a call for strikes, if we do not give a call for *satyagraha*, we will be failing

in our duty because our duty is to act as the safety valves of the democracy by giving vent to popular feelings.

I want to conclude by saying that the Government have failed not only to ascertain the causes but also to tackle the problem of rising prices. This ruling party is here with a massive mandate from the people. That massive mandate was got by them on the basis of their main slogan, namely, '*garibi hatao*'. What to speak of *garibi hatao*? What to speak of removal of poverty? Today there is no question of removal of poverty, today it is a question of saving people from hunger and starvation, it is a question of saving people from the horror of price-spiral, it is a question of how the millions of people can somehow maintain their biological beings, not to speak of human-beings. The right which the ruling party got by that mandate to rule over the people has been lost by them. They have lost the confidence of the people. This Government should quit and should seek fresh mandate from the people, they should seek a fresh confidence from the people.

I shall conclude by warning again that the minds of the people have reached the point of exasperation. The pangs of hunger and starvation are boiling in their minds and they may batch out, erupt, into a volcano. I want to give this final warning to the Government.

श्री एन० ए० ज्वीन (बीनर) : मैं बजीरे खजाना को एक खुशखबरी सुनाना चाहता हूँ। मैं कुछ भी मुस्से में कहने नहीं जा रहा हूँ और प्रोजीसन मैम्बरो की तरफ से किए गए मुतासबे की हिमायत भी मैं नहीं कर रहा हूँ कि धारा हुकूमत छोड़ कर बनबान से खीजिये। मेरी दरखास्त यह है कि गलत खसत जैसा श्री श्री इसको धारा चलाइये।

[श्री एस० ए० शर्मा]

अपोजीशन में इस भार को उठाने का सलीका नहीं है। हीच पीच अपोजीशन में कोई ऐसी कदमें मुश्तक भी नहीं है कि ये आपको निकाल कर आपकी जगह सम्भाल सके। इसलिए मेरी बात को आप ध्यान से सुनें। मैं आपकी गद्दी छीनना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन आपकी बुनियादें जो हिल रही हैं, इनको आप मजबूत करें। सब से अफसोसनाक बात यह है कि हमारा मुल्क जिस एक खतरनाक बोहरान धीर फाइसिस से गुजर रहा है उसका सही तीर पर हुकमरान जमायत को ऐह्मास नहीं है। इसकी वजह से आपको भी धीर हमें भी परेशानी हानी चाहिये। जब धाग लग जाए तो कुछ लोग उसकी लांजीह करे, कोशिश करें जस्टिफाई करने की कि यह धाग क्यों लगी धीर उसके बाद बुनियाद से हो कर उसको बरदान्त करे तो धाम लोगो का बिश्वास उम मिस्टम से उठ जाता है जिस को धाप डैमोक्रेसी कहते हैं। कल प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने इतने दिनों के बाद यह कहा कि मुल्क वाकई खतरनाक खतरे में दो खार है धीर यह खतरा कम होने के बजाय बढ़ता जा रहा है। यह अफसोसनाक बात है। यह ऐह्सास होने के बावजूद हुकमरान जमायत से बावस्ता मैम्बर या बजीरो के लाइफ स्टाइम में क्या धाप कोई फर्क देखते हैं। तर्ज जिन्गी में, रिटायरश के तरीको में कोई फर्क आपको बिखाई देता है ताकि धाम जनता भी यह महसूस करे कि उस पर भी मुसीबत धा पडी है धीर इन्हो उसे बरदान्त करना चाहिये? धाम जनता को यह पता चले कि हुकमरानों को उनकी तकलीफों का, मुसीबतों का ऐह्सास

है। धापका एयर कन्डिशनिय का खर्चा, भोटर का खर्चा धादि सब खर्चें तो बीसे ही चल रहे हैं लेकिन मुश्तलफि स्टेटम में हुकमरान जमायत जिस किस्म के ड्रामे खेल रही है, बिहार में गफूरा, गुजरात में कोई जमूरा, मैम्बर यहा धा रहे हैं, वहां जा रहे हैं, लाखो रुपया खर्च हो रहा है, बरबाद हो रहा है इस सब से ऐसा महसूस होता है कि धाप लोगो में से किसी को यह ऐह्सास नहीं है कि हम एक खतरनाक दौर में से गुजर रहे हैं। मेरी मिफायत है कि एक बाजार डाक्टर की तरह हर बीमारी का एक ही कारण बता दिया जाता है कि बगला देश भी वजह से कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। जरूर बढ़ी होगी। धीर भी हमके कारण होंगे जिन में से कुछ जायज कारण भी हैं। बगला देश भी जायज कारण है। लेकिन क्या धापने इस मुल्क को कान्फिडेंस में लिया है धीर उमको बताया है कि बगला देश को हर चीज मुहैया करने का बावजूद बगला देश में इस मुल्क के फिलाख एक जबर्दस्त जखवा काम कर रहा है वहा इस मुल्क के खिलाफ एक खतरनाक प्रापेगंडा हो रहा है? अखबारों पढ़ने का मुझे मौका मिला है, कुछ बगाली दोस्तों से मिलने का भी मौका मुझे मिला है धीर यह एक सच्चाई है कि इतनी बड़ी कुर्बानी देने के बावजूद बंगला देश के लोग धाव हम से खुश नहीं हैं। क्या किम्सा है, क्या धापने मुल्क को कान्फिडेंस में लिया है? इतना बड़ा अकाल है लेकिन धाप 95 हजार जंटी कैदियों को पागल रहे हैं। धाप में धाव भी हिम्मत नहीं है कि धाव एक्काउंट करें इस बात का कि दो साल से धाप 95 हजार अदालतों पर जो

खर्च कर रहे हैं वह मुल्क की भूखी जनता पर खर्च किया जा सकता है। ये मिजन्स्रस्र ध्राफ धार क्या कोई झडे डेने जा रह है धीर इन झडो से ध्राप मुल्क की गरीब जनता का डेट भरेंगे ? ह्यारी डालिसीज डेल नही हुई है मैं समझता हू कि इन डालिसीज को इम्प्लेमेंट करने वाली जो डशीनरी है उनने हमें डेल किया है।

मैं जहा से ध्राता हू उमकी डालत मैं ध्रापके सामने रखता हू। यहा एक चीज के डाम एक रुपया डड जाने है तो डेरी रियासत डे जिसे जम्मु काश्मीर की डडकिस्मन रियासत कहा जाता है, डाम डड रुपये डडत है। जम्मु तक एक कायनान है, एक दुनिया है, डेकिन धगर जम्मु से ध्रागे श्रीनगर की तरफ जाये, तो डुडरे हासात नडर ध्राते हैं। हुकूमन की सोच डे, उम के धन्डाडे-डिरू डे, कोई डरू नही डडा है। श्रीनगर डे हर साल न जाने डिननी काफरेसिज होनी है। इम साल वहां 17 काफरेसिज हुई है, डिन डर डड से डड 27 साड रुपया खर्च हुआ होगा। धीर डे काफरेसिज हर साल श्रीनगर डे क्यो होनी है। डरू से डूर ध्रागने के डिए, इडरत करने के डिए, श्रीनगर की ठन्डी हवाधो डे काफरेस होनी चाहिए, क्योकि डडीरो धीर उन के धडीडो, धडरतरो धीर उन के धडीडो को डिल्ली डे डरू सताती है। इम तरड के खर्च डे कडी करने के डिए धी हुकूमत ने मुल्क को डीडार नही किया है।

डिल्लत की डालत मैं डान सकता हू, डेकिन खड चीजें ही मुडिया न हों, तो हुकूमत के डाल उड का क्या हलाक है ? डह डीक

है कि इनड्लेशन है, रुपया है, डेकिन कागडी रुपये का क्या किया जाये, डड कि चीजें ही ऐडेलेवल नही हैं ? काश्मीर डे कुकिग डैड नही डिलती है। वहा कुकिग डैड सिडं वडीरो, काड्रेसी हुकडरानो या उन के रिडनेडारो को ही डिलती है। डेट्रोल डल्ल डे है। उम के डाम धी डडा डिये गये हैं। डेकिन श्रीनगर को डिछने डहीने एक हड्ना डरू डेट्रोल के रहना डडा। केरोसीन गरीड की डरूरत है डकिन वड धी नही डिलता है। डडलाडेण धीर डार ड्राइसिम का क्या ताल्लुक है ? हुकूमन के डेवीरेटर धीर धरूधे धरूधे कारखाने डेल हो रहे हैं। इम डे डडलाडेण का क्या ताल्लुक है ?

हम नही कहते कि काड्रेस डार्टी हुकूमन को छोड डे। एक तो वड डैसे ही हुकूमन को नही छोडेगी, क्योकि इम का डस्का डडन सडन होता है। डूसरे, डिम मुसीडत डे उम ने इम मुल्क को सा कर खडा किया है, उस डे डिम की हिड्मत है कि यह डोड सड्भाले खडस तीर से ह्यारे वहा ऐसी ध्राडोजीशन है डिस ने धधी यह डैसला नही किया है कि उम की ध्राडरनेडिव-डिलासफी क्या होगी। डेरे डोसत, श्री डीलु डोडी, इम डडत यहा नही है। उन्होंने ड्राइड डिनडर से कहा ड कि धगर ध्राप हुकूमत नही कर सकती, तो मुडे इकतडार डे डीडिए। खुडा डडाये, धगर इकतडार उन की तरड डलना डुक करे, तो ह्यारे डन-संधी डोसत उन की डिवका-डोटी कर के रख डेंगे। धीर धगर डनसंध के डाल डार डडायेगी, तो डडसड डार्टी के डारे डील-डील

اقتصادی ناکہ بابت ہے۔ یہ احساس ہونے کے باوجود حکمران جماعت سے وابستہ ممبر یا وزیروں نے لائف سٹائل میں کیا آپ کوئی فوقی دیکھتے ہیں؟ طرز زندگی میں، وہاں کے طریقوں میں کوئی فرق آپکو دکھائی دیتا ہے ناکہ عام چلتا ہو یہ محتسوس کرے کہ اس پر بھی مصہبت اُپڑی ہے اور اُسے برداشت کرنا چاہیئے؟ عام چلتا کو یہ دیکھ چکے کہ حکمرانوں کو اُس کی تکلیفوں کا مصہبتوں کا احساس ہے۔ آپ کا ایگریگیشن گاہ کا خرچہ، موٹر کا خرچہ وغیرہ سب خرچے تو ویسے ہی چل رہے ہیں لیکن مختلف سٹیٹس میں حکمران جماعت جس قسم کے قبائلی کھیل رہی ہے، وہاں جا رہے ہیں، لاکھوں روپے خرچ ہو رہا ہے، برباد ہو رہا ہے اس سب سے ایسا محتسوس ہوتا ہے کہ آپ لوگوں میں سے کسی کو یہ احساس نہیں ہے کہ ہم ایک خطرناک دور میں سے گزر رہے ہیں۔

مہری شکایت ہے کہ ایک بازاری ڈکٹر کی طرح ہر بیماری کا ایک ہی کارن بتا دیا جاتا ہے کہ بلنگلہ دیہی کی وجہ سے ٹھنڈی ہوئی ہوں۔ اور ہوشی ہوگئی۔ اور بھی اس کے کارن ہونگے جن میں سے کچھ جا کارن بھی ہیں۔ بلنگلہ دیہی بھی جائز کارن ہے۔ لیکن کہا آپ نے ملک کو کانٹینینٹس میں لیا ہے اور اُسکو بتایا

ہے۔ کہ بلنگلہ دیہی کو ہر چھوڑ دیا کرے لے باوجود بلنگلہ دیہی میں اس ملک کے خلاف ایک ریزولوشن جڈبہ کام کر رہا ہے۔ وہاں اس ملک کے خلاف ایک خطرناک پروپیگنڈا ہو رہا ہے؟ اخبارات پڑھنے کا صحیح موقع ملے ہے، کچھ بلنگالی دوستوں سے ملنے کا بھی موقع صحیح ملے ہے اور ایک سچائی ہے کہ اتنی بڑی قربانی دینے کے باوجود بلنگلہ دیہی کے لوگ آج ہم سے خوش نہیں ہوں۔ کہا قصہ ہے، کیا آپ نے ملک کو کانٹینینٹس میں لیا ہے؟ اتنا بڑا آگاہ ہے لیکن آپ 95 ہزار چنگی قیدیوں کو پل رہے ہیں۔ آپ میں آج بھی ہمت نہیں ہے کہ آپ اعتراف کریں اس بات کا کہ دو سال سے آپ 95 ہزار آدمیوں پر جو خرچ کر رہے ہیں وہ ملک کی بھوکی جلتا پر خرچ کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ یہ پروٹرز آف ولو کہا کوئی ائڈے دینے جا رہے ہیں اور آپ ان ائڈوں سے ملک کی غریب چلتا کا پیمت بھرینگے؟ ہماری پالیسیاں فیمل نہیں ہوئی ہیں؟ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان پالیسیوں کو لپیٹھنہ کرنے والی جو مشہوری ہے اُس نے ہمیں فہل کیا ہے۔

میں جہاں سے آتا ہوں اُس کی بات میں آپکے سامنے رکھتا ہوں۔ یہاں ایک چھوٹے دلم ایک روپہ ہوا جاتے ہیں تو مہری ریاست میں جسے جموں کشمیر کی بدقسمت ریاست

[شری ایس۔ اے۔ - شہم]

کہا جاتا ہے، دام اس دن بڑھے ہوئے ہیں۔ جنوں تک ایک کالٹا ہے۔ ایک دنہا ہے، لیکن جنوں سے اگے سے تکر کی طرف جائیں، تو دوسرے حالت نظر آتے ہیں۔ حکومت کی سوچ میں، اس کے انداز فکر میں، کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا ہے۔ سرہنگر میں ہر سال نہ جانے کتنی کانفرنس ہوتی ہیں۔ جن پو کم سے نم 27 لاکھ روپے خرچ ہوا ہوگا۔ اور یہ کانفرنس ہر سال سرہنگر میں کیوں ہوتی ہیں؟ کرسی پر دوڑ بھاگنے کے لئے، عسرت کرنے کے لئے، سری تکر کی تہنقی ہزاروں میں کانفرنس ہونی چاہئے، کیونکہ وزیروں، اور ان کے عزیزوں افسروں کو دلی میں میں گرمی ستاتی ہے۔ اس طرح کے خرچ میں کسی کرنے کے لئے بھی حکومت نے ملک کو تھار نہیں کہا ہے۔

قلت کی بات میں مان سکتا ہوں۔ لیکن جب چھوڑیں ہی مہیا نہ ہوں، تو حکومت کے پاس اسکا کیا علاج ہے؟ یہ تھیک ہے کہ انفلوشن ہے، روپہ ہے، لیکن لاٹنی روپہٹے کا کیا کیا جائے جب کہ چھوڑیں ہی مہیا نہیں ہیں؟ کشور میں کوکلگ ٹیس نہیں ملتی ہے۔ وہاں کوکلگ ٹیس صرف بازاروں، کانگریسی حکمرانوں یا ان کے رشتہ داروں کو ہی ملتی ہے۔ پھٹرواے ملک میں ہے۔ اسی کے نام سے ہی بڑھا دیکھے گئے ہیں۔ لیکن سرہنگر کو پھٹلے

مہیا ایک دنہا پھر پھول کے رہنا پڑا۔ کانگریسی سرہب کی ضرورت ہے۔ لیکن وہ بھی نہیں ملتا ہے۔ بلکہ دیہی اور پارو کوہنگسوس کا کیا تعلق ہے؟ حکومت کے چلنے اور اچھے اچھے کارخانے ٹول ہو رہے ہیں۔ اس سے بلکہ دیہی کا کیا تعلق ہے؟

ہم نہیں کہتے کہ کانگریسی پارٹی حکومت کو چھوڑ دے۔ ایک تو یہ دیکھتے ہی حکومت کو نہیں چھوڑے گی، کیونکہ اس کا جسکا بہت منصف ہوتا ہے۔ دوسرے، جس مصہبت میں اس نے ملک کو لا کر کھڑا کیا ہے، اس میں کسی کی صحت ہے کہ یہ بوجھ سنبھالے؟ خاص طور سے ہمارے یہاں ایسی ایوزیشن ہے، جس نے ابھی یہ فیصلہ نہیں کیا ہے کہ اُسکی الٹرنیٹو فلنسی کیا ہوگی۔ میرے دوست سری پہلو سردی اس وقت یہاں نہیں ہیں۔ انہوں نے پرائم منسٹر سے کہا تھا کہ اگر آپ حکومت نہیں کر سکتے تو مجھے اقتدار دے دیا جائے۔ خدا بچائے، اگر اقتدار اُنکی طرف چلنا شروع کرے، تو ہمارے جن سلکی دوسرے اُنکی تقابوتی کرے دیکھے۔ اور اگر جن سلکے کے پاس پارو جائیگی تو سوتلر پارٹی نے سارے قیل تویل والے لوگ اس پر پڑھنگے اور اس ملک میں ایسی خانہ جنگی ہوگی جو آج تک نہیں ہوئی ہے۔

اس سلیکٹ کا یہ علیج نہیں ہے کہ
 کانگریس پارٹی حکومت کو چھوڑ دے۔
 سوال یہ ہے کہ اگر آپ یا آپ کے
 صاحب زادے کو کہو میں کہو ہوں
 کے باوجود تین دن بعد بھی چھوڑ نہ
 ملے تو کہا کیا جائے؟ ایک لکھا
 میں ایک اچھا کارٹون بنا تھا، جس
 میں کہا گیا تھا کہ اب فہمیر، پلاننگ
 کی ضرورت نہیں ہے، اب تو پانچ کے
 بجائے دس بجے ہونے چاہئیں، ایک
 بجے ایک کہو میں کہو ہوا، دوسرا
 بجے دوسری کہو میں کہو ہوا اور
 اس طرح کم سے کم ایک ہفتے کا راشن
 تو آ جائیگا۔ حکومت نے اہلی لہرواہی
 کی وجہ سے ملک کو ایک بڑی مشکل
 میں پھنسا دیا ہے۔ مہ نے جمہوریت
 کا راستہ اپنایا ہے تاکہ ملک میں
 خونی انقلاب نہ ہو۔ میں چھتاونی
 دیتا ہوں کہ آپ عوام سے اتنی دور
 ہٹ گئے ہیں کہ آپ کو معلوم نہیں
 ہے لہو اہل رہا ہے۔ اگر وہ لہو صرف
 آپ کو ڈھوتا تو وہ ایک جشن ملانے
 کی ضرورت تھی۔ لیکن وہ لہو ہم
 سب کو تہو دے گا۔ اس لئے جب
 ہم آپ کو بچانے کی فکر کر رہے ہیں
 تو دراصل ہم اہلے آپ کو بچانے کی
 فکر کر رہے ہیں۔]

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, I
 wish to make a submission to you in
 a minute.

May I request you to inform us as
 to the time upto which we will con-
 tinue? Because, I thought, Sir, that
 you took a decision to the effect that
 the House will not sit after 6 O'clock.
 And then, the second thing is this:
 There is a big unemployment demon-
 stration which has come to meet
 Parliament Members.

MR. SPEAKER: May I request you
 to resume your seat? Nobody prevents
 you from going there.

SRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, it is
 a very important thing and we are
 all here all the time. I thought, al-
 ready you had taken a decision to
 the effect that the House will not sit
 after 6 O'clock.

MR. SPEAKER: The Hon. Minister
 may reply now.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE
 (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): I
 think that it is very apt that on the
 very first day of the monsoon session
 of this Parliament, the House has
 chosen to discuss the most important
 problem before the people of this
 country, and it was very gratifying
 that the Prime Minister had accepted
 the discussion on this question here,
 and I am glad the representatives and
 leaders of all the political parties or
 practically all of them, participated in
 this debate.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Palan): It
 was accepted under the Rules of Pro-
 cedure of the House.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
 Shri Indrajit Gupta who initiated the
 debate certainly lifted the level of the
 debate and tried to look at the pro-
 blem very objectively. Of course,
 there are some Members who have
 made speeches which have their own
 value. But by and large, the debate
 was much more objective, excepting
 for one or two humorous speeches.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: I hope he is
 not reterring to mine.

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan] No, His was the most realistic speech I can say that, because he accepted the basic reality of the country that the Opposition cannot provide any alternative to the present Government

SHRI S A SHAMIM. At least I cannot

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN That was why I characterised his speech as the most realistic

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Now, Shri S. A. Shamim may go over to the other side.

SHRI S A SHAMIM Why? We can talk sensible things from here also

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN When we are discussing the question of foodgrains and essential commodities, what we are basically discussing is the economic situation in the country today. It is not merely the supply of a commodity or an article or an item which we are discussing, but we are discussing as a matter of fact the general economic situation in the country. I think what hon Members wanted to criticise was the Government's policies about it, because they thought that the Government's policies were wrong or they were implemented wrongly. This must be the logic behind the criticism that they had levelled.

Certainly, I would like to be very objective in this matter and try to analyse the criticism in this general light. Some hon Members tried to describe the sufferings of the people we have no opinions about it. We have admitted, we had admitted it before and we admit it even now. Some hon Members gave statistics in regard to the rise in prices etc. Well, these are not disputed figures and these are not disputed matters. It is true that the present price rise has been somewhat

unusual and in a way unprecedented. Now, the task before this Government and this Parliament and the country is that we have to find out why this has been so, what solutions we can give, and what policies and instruments are there with which we can deal with this situation.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU How can that be done when they are hand in glove with them?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN. I do not want to enter into a discussion with my hon friend. Why should he not listen to me for some time? Possibly, if he listened to me a little quietly, he would be convinced, possibly, I say so, let him give me a little patient hearing.

It is not merely enough to describe things. We know the things. It is not merely enough to say that there are going to be morchas or bandhs. Somebody tried to justify the morchas and bandhs on the ground that they were the safety valves of democracy.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU What else can they do?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN But they cannot have all devices and safety valves and no democracy at all. So it is no use merely justifying strikes on this ground or the other.

When we come back to the economic situation in the country, we have to take the total circumstances into consideration. We shall have to take into consideration the continuity of the situation that we in this country had to face. When some of our Members mentioned Bangla Desh, some hon Members opposite did not like it. I do not want to mention Bangla Desh. But it is not right to forget history, because what is happening today is the result of accumulated economic circumstances, historical situations and political developments and many other considerations and natural calamities.

too. These have an accumulated effect on the economy today. When you take into consideration these things, I am prepared to go into every factor that has ultimately led to the present situation and the policies we adopted to deal with it. May be somebody may say that a step we tried to take here was wrong or a step there went wrong—I cannot say that it did not partially go wrong here or there—but I have no doubt in my mind today that the total approach of Government to deal with these problems was in no way wrong, and if we had not adopted this policy, this country would have been in the most difficult and the most serious condition today.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Which policy is he referring to?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I am talking of the policy we adopted to deal with the situation in India in 1970, 1972 and 1973, because you have to deal with the situation imposed on us. I will go into details; I am not merely making a general observation and getting away with it.

Let us take the question of the food situation in the country. We decided to take over wheat only this year.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You mean food growing.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Kindly listen to me.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Are you talking about foodgrain self-sufficiency?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: You can ask a question later on. What was the policy that we followed in this country? At that time it was our general policy that it is necessary to build up buffer stocks in this country. Those buffer stocks were to be based on the increased agricultural production. That was the policy. Because

we had adopted a certain new strategy of agricultural production, what at the present moment we call the new agriculture.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What is the percentage of irrigation?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: As a matter of fact, this policy of ours was rewarded with considerable success. It cannot be denied that this policy was rewarded with some considerable success—I may not say great success. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Bosu, do not interrupt every time. There is a limit to it.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN. In 1970-71, we had built up, I should say, a record buffer stock in this country. Now when we make a mention of Bangla Desh, it is not liked. It was not only for the sake of Bangladesh. If we were not compelled under the situation to exhaust our buffer stock in that year, the manner in which we had to do it, possibly the present situation could have been handled more easily today—if one can look back on that situation.

Shri Indrajit Gupta asked me what was the policy I was referring to. At that time, we did not think what was going to happen in 1972 and 1973. We had then to take a decision—here are 10 million people who have to be fed. Even after they went back, we had to feed them. Nothing like an obligation; it was our duty to do that. We do not regret it. If it is necessary, possibly we will have to do it for our people again. That is a different matter.

So the food stock in this country was the most important thing. That certainly had a certain effect in 1970-71. Unfortunately, it was followed—this is one of the accidents of history; what can you do?—by a drought condition in the country, that is, a war effort followed by a drought condition. Let us not forget history,

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan] because you cannot merely examine an economic situation completely isolated from the historical background of it. The war effort was immediately followed by a drought in large areas, in both kharif and rabi. As far as kharif was concerned, practically all over the country, it was completely damaged. In this country particularly, a country whose economy is completely based on agriculture, any damage to agriculture completely distorts the economy. As a matter of fact, kharif is a very important season for this country because it produces the cereals which are the staple food of the large masses. It is the staple food of the very rich people also, because rice is also a kharif crop. Jawar, bajra and all other coarse grains, as we call them, are also produced mostly in the kharif season. So, the damage to the kharif crop in 1972 is a factor which we cannot forget. What is the use of merely telling them why it is so and why it is not so. What happened to the rabi crop and what happened to the wheat take-over are also things which certainly I shall deal with later.

This situation added to our additional difficulties because we had exhausted considerably our stocks and we could not help those stocks further, or replenish the stocks further by the production of kharif crop. Naturally, the difficulties and the decline in the kharif crop started to affect the economy.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You are depending on agriculture.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Everywhere in the world they have to depend on Nature in the case of agriculture. (*Interruptions*). Possibly, go to our socialist countries and also find out what happens there if Nature does not co-operate. One can certainly try to reduce their dependence on Nature. I can understand by taking the help of modern techniques possibly one can reduce the dependence on it, but one cannot be completely in

different to Nature's forces in the case of agriculture.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Is it of such a magnitude?

MR. SPEAKER: What shall I do with this gentleman? He is always interrupting.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Now, the hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta, made a point that deficit financing is one of the main reasons for the present inflationary conditions and the price rise in the country. He said "reckless deficit financing," if I can remember aright the phrase that he used. Well, what exactly is deficit financing? One has to find out what is deficit financing and ultimately one has also to judge for what purpose deficit financing was resorted to. If we had not made any effort to raise resources, if we had not made any other efforts to replenish our resources in different forms, and if we then go on spending money without any reason or rhyme, for fun's sake, one may say this is deficit financing which cannot be justified. But I would like the hon. Member to take into consideration the situation in 1971 and 1972.

Some Members very rightly made the point that even though our economic conditions may be difficult, there may be certain political difficulties in the country—at the same time we cannot afford to ignore the question of security in this country. Even if we have to starve ourselves, possibly we will have to take care of the security conditions in the country.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: That is why the police budget has gone up.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Naturally, our intention is to keep friendship with all the countries. We are not prepared for any war effort as such, but unless you prepare for your own defence, you cannot really speaking work with that confidence which is necessary for any country.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: So, you have the CRP? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: At the same time, one has to take into consideration....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I want to ask the Chair why the CRP is there.

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. Do not discuss it. (*Interruptions*). I am not allowing it.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Then the question was, one has to take into consideration all the post-budget developments. He wanted to ask me why it was necessary to resort to deficit financing. At the same time, at that time, Mr. Pilon Mody said that he had made a prophecy of the failure of rains. Possibly he always makes a prophecy for all failure, and we could not go by his advice in this matter. After the budget came the failure of the kharif crop. There was a large area under drought conditions, and then—I stated it before and I am repeating it again—I am not saying it for the first time. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: May I bring it to the notice of the House that these frequent interruptions distract not only the gentleman who is speaking but also the attention of the whole House. I thought that after becoming the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, he would behave more carefully and more responsibly.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, but what of that here? What has that to do with my right as a Member in this House? I do not like this sort of remarks. It will be give and take here. It is my parliamentary right; interruptions are parliamentary practices; you should have known that

MR. SPEAKER: Interruptions cannot be tolerated if they interrupt the whole House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have become Chairman on my own rights; kindly do not mention it again.

MR. SPEAKER: I must tell that you should not do it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am here to reflect people's miseries; I am not to be hoodwinked by anybody.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Large areas were under drought conditions. Though we had made a provision for nearly Rs. 70 crores in the budget, we had to spend roughly Rs 220 crores, for meeting the drought conditions, because of the failure of the Kharif crop. When there was failure of the kharif crop Government had to plan for some concentrated effort in the rabi crop season and we did it. We planned rabi crop on a greater volume and we had to undertake an expenditure of nearly Rs. 190 crores including the expenditure on fertilisers. Some Member asked what happened to that? It gave some results no doubt.

Mr Indrajit Gupta said: "Because you said you would procure about eight million tonnes and you could not procure eight million tonnes your assessments were wrong and your policies on procurement were wrong and you were kind and soft to the rich agriculturists." I should say this is not entirely correct.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Is it partly correct?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: In a big country it may happen in some places. I cannot say that it has not happened at all. It will be too drastic a statement to make for me.

In the case of agriculture, there are many factors whether it is old agriculture or new agriculture. In the rabi season though assessments were made in many States of good crop, in some areas, there was failure of electricity. The agriculturists

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan] could not get electricity at the time he wanted it. Sometimes he did not get fertilisers when he wanted. The new agricultural programmes were so sophisticated that if any one output was lacking there was complete failure. Therefore the assessment went wrong, not because nobody was interested in procurement target but due to other factors. In many States, for example in Haryana unfavourable rain conditions destroyed the crop.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: In Gujarat it was thermal electricity and atomic power stations. So it has been a failure of the Government.

श्री कुलचन्द बर्ता (उज्जैन) : मध्य प्रदेश में क्या हुआ ? एक तरफा निर्णय क्यों लिया गया . . .

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Some Member said that we had not taken necessary steps. How can he say so. It is the same kisans in Punjab and Haryana, in U.P. or in M.P. Possibly somebody can say that there is a larger proportion of rich kisans in Punjab. As Mr. Indrajit Gupta said they fulfilled the target by more than 70 per cent. Wherever it was possible they certainly made it. In other States there were difficulties. They certainly had a levy scheme. I was looking into the answer given to the questions put down for today. Information is given. In answer to a question how they had in Bihar an order for the procurement of wheat and it also gives the scale of the levy. If the holdings are below 2.5 acres, it is nil. If the size of the holding is more than 2.5 acres and if the area in which wheat is grown is more than one acre, the levy was at the rate of one and a half quintals. For the first acre in which wheat is grown and beyond five acres it was at the rate of two quintals per acre. So, it is not that they did not think of having the scheme of levy. They had a scheme and they also implemented it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Are not the two things contradictory—the take-over of wheat trade and at the same time imposing a levy? That means you think that the take-over is condemned to failure.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I shall answer this a little later. You have raised it only now. I was answering Mr. Indrajit Gupta who said that we have not made a proper effort of procurement, because a proper effort means graded levy.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Will you relate what you have said just now to the Government's theory about marketed surplus and marketable surplus and how the levy fits in with that?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Even about marketed surplus, you have seen that we have fulfilled our target of more than 70 per cent in Punjab. Ultimately, if you want to make this scheme more successful, you will have to depend on the cooperation of the people. On the one side you say you want democratic methods and on the other side you say, "Take the whip in the hand and work". You cannot do it both ways. Agriculture is a vastly decentralised sector of the economy. If we have to work any scheme, we will have to depend on the cooperation of the people at large. We do not rule out the necessity of taking stricter measures whenever necessary. (Interruptions). At the policy level, we have taken steps. In some places we may not have succeeded to the extent we should have. I do not say there are no mistakes or deficiencies. Deficiencies may be there in the implementation. This is our first year. Probably we will have to improve by experience further. I do not deny that, but to say that we did not make a proper effort for implementing the wheat take-over is not saying the things properly.

Somebody asked, what is the principle behind the take-over? Our take-over of wheat was also one of the

instruments, one policy measure as I understand it. If at all we have to deal with the price question in this country, the basic policy will have to be to have a very wide network of the distribution system through which we can distribute all the essential goods, of which food is the most important. In order to facilitate it, the take-over becomes relevant. You will have to see the take-over not only from the point of a view of nationalisation of the trade but as an instrument to implement the policy of distribution of essential goods.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Although you may not properly handle that instrument?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
We will see. We have just started

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Both the kisans and consumers have been badly affected by the way in which you have handled it.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
You are passing your judgment rather too prematurely. Certainly you are free to do it; I do not want to have any quarrel with you. I want your cooperation.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
This word is being bandied about in this House.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
It is my duty to ask for your co-operation and it is your pleasure to offer it or refuse it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
You are asking for it only in the House.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
Where else can I ask for it? This is the most important place where I can ask for it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
You ask for co-operation for your wrong policies.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
First try to understand our policies and then decide whether they are wrong. That is why I am trying to explain this policy.

Some hon. Members said that decision on take-over of foodgrains trade was against the wishes of the Chief Ministers and that except one or two Chief Ministers everybody opposed it. It is completely incorrect. As far as I know, only the Chief Minister of one State where there is no wheat production said that he is not concerned with it and so he was non-committed to it. That was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. All the other Chief Ministers were party to it. To say only one or two Chief Ministers agreed to it and the others were against it is trying to undermine the position of the party. These who do not believe in it can certainly say they do not believe in it. But to say that those who have taken this decision do not believe in it is rather unfair to themselves and also to the Government.

As far as deficit financing is concerned, apart from the increased defence expenditure, this is another point. During the last six to eight months, practically every month we had to distribute nearly one million tonnes of foodgrains. In one month we distributed 11 lakhs tonnes. It serves nearly 17 crores to 18 crores of people, and they belong to the vulnerable section of the society. Whatever may be the index and the opinion of the experts about inflation, it is a fact that we met the requirements of nearly 17 crores to 18 crores of people at a subsidised rate. We helped these people to face the situation. As Shri Chandrajit Yadav said, we tried to reach 17 crores to 18 crores of people through the public distribution system. Shri Piloo Mody asked "What is this? Why are you referring to all these things?" He talked like a medieval emperor. I was told of a story of a medieval emperor

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan] who, when informed that there is a shortage of bread, asked why they are not supplying the people with butter and chocolate. Here when we are talking of wheat and milo. Shri Piloo Mody wants us to give them chocolates. I think the earlier Shri Mody gets out of the world of children and chocolates the better it is.

This distribution of food to the poor people also means deficit financing because there is an element of subsidy. Can you say that this deficit financing is unjustified? When we give food at a subsidised rate and meet the requirements of a large number of people belonging to the vulnerable section of society and, for that matter, we resort to deficit financing, is it unjustified? When we provide purchasing power to the poor people so that they can meet their requirements by resorting to deficit financing, can you say that is unjustified? When we spend on defence Rs. 200 crores more than the budget provision, can you say that it is unjustified?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about the CRP?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: They are provided for in the budget. As long as you are sitting there, we have to provide for CRP. What can we do about it?

I am not justifying deficit financing. Nobody liked it. But we cannot help it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Is there no correlation between national production and money supply? Could deficit financing be unlimited?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: If you think merely in terms of pure economics, I can understand it. All economists have said it. But here you do not deal with text-books on economics; you deal with the lives of mil-

lions of people, which is not governed by the theories.

I know the price rise is there. But I want your answers for it. I am putting my problems before you. It is not merely telling me that there is some sort of relationship between money supply and production. The real answer is production. Ultimately, the basic question, if at all we want to deal with the problem of prices in this country, is that we will have to deal with the problem of production in a proper way.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: To increase production is reactionary!

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I would like to tell you, in the case of production, there are many facets of the problem. As cooperation from nature is necessary, it seems, this year, we have started well. The DMK leader says that I said last time that this was a passing phase. I would like to repeat it is a passing phase because the basic potentialities of the economy of our country are sound.

As the monsoon is good, the prospects of jute production and cotton production, at the present moment, are very promising. There are some areas still in the eastern U.P. and some parts of Bihar but there also, I am told, the rains have started. So, the things will certainly improve. In a vast country like this, some patches are going to be there.

I am sure, this year, the agricultural production will certainly improve. I have no doubt about it. Once we have that thing, there will certainly be much more relieved conditions. At the same time, we are not taking any chances. We have to plan for imports. I know nobody likes imports. I do not like imports. We have to spend our very valuable foreign exchange reserves for that matter. But, at the same time, what one has to

worry about is not, again, the economic sophistication but one has to worry about a large number of people. In case there is a failure of agricultural crop we will have to meet the situation by planning imports. That certainly will help us to meet the situation effectively.

In the case of industrial production last year, as a matter of fact, during the calendar year 1972 the industrial production showed nearly 7 per cent rise. But from the end of November, there was the disaster of the shortages of power. That certainly affected production. We have now learnt that failure of monsoon does not merely affect agriculture but it also affects the prospects of industry. This year with good monsoon there are better prospects.

There are many other factors for which certainly we need your co-operation. If the production is going to be the real solution for the problem of prices then the most important thing that we will need is the cooperation of all the trade unions in this country. I am merely mentioning this question. I do not want to go into detail now. This is one more aspect of the matter. This is another question that has to be discussed. We want constructive cooperation of all trade unions where the question of production is concerned.

I would like to say that those people who talk about monopolists, big capitalists and other people

SHRI S M BANERJEE The Indian Explosives Ltd factory which was manufacturing fertiliser was closed for 103 days. They did not listen to the Ministers. (Interruptions)

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN It is not merely a question of taking over. There are many other areas where without any reason there are strikes. I can give you some instances for that. I do not want to enter into

that sort of controversy here. If it is so it is bad.

19 hrs

The monopolists, the black marketers, the big industrialists, all these people are interested in less production. If there is less production there is scarcity. If there is scarcity there is more scope for black-marketing. If at all you have to fight with monopolists, you can fight with monopolists with more production, not merely with giving them some sort of slogans. So ultimately, the basic question of our economy is to concentrate on production. I have tried to look into the figures of investment during the last 23 years. And I see a rising graph of the investments as they are reflected in the capital issue. There is more investment here. I must say that the area of new agriculture is increasing in every State, more irrigation facilities are being made available, more rural electricity is made available, the new technique is going more and more to different areas. The area of new agriculture is expanding and the more the area of new agriculture there will certainly be more agricultural production. This is the general picture of the economy.

SHRI D K PANDA (Bhanjanagar) If the production is going up, why is the price of sugar going up?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN I have explained to you all this time. You have not heard me. What can I do?

SHRI D K PANDA I only request for a departure from the tradition speech.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN Even with all these difficulties we did produce more in rabi season and that is why we have got more than four million tonnes of procurement. I do not know what we would have done without it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
What was the total rabi production?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
These figures are being compiled. But this is our present assessment that the rabi production was from 28 to 30 million tonnes. It is not something bad, it is something very good.

Now I come to the question of getting cooperation. Joshiji mentioned some instances in the television. He gave an interesting example that an interview was given and in that an agriculturist was saying, "Yes; I have got foodgrains but I will not give to Government unless I get this much price". What was his conclusion? He gave the story to us. But what is the lesson that we have to learn from it? That is where you went wrong. (*Interruption*). That is where we want your cooperation. It is here we will have to tell the people, those who are producers of essential goods in this country, that they, along with their own problems, have also to take into account social considerations when it comes to the question of fixing prices of their commodities. Can you afford to give Rs. 112? You said, probably we will have to spend more on imports. But that is in an emergency. Can you make it a normal practice that you give as market price the highest price, the fancy price?

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र वर्मा : अमरीका को घाय
135 रुपये दे सकने हैं तो किमान को घाय
112 रुपये भाव नहीं दे सकने हैं ?
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
Possibly we have to spend more on import of food. Import of foodgrains is an exception and is a step taken in cases of emergency. If you give such fancy prices....

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र वर्मा : किमान को घाय
प्रोत्साहन दें ।

श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण : किसान के प्रति महवत् घाय मुझे न सिखाएं ।

श्री हकम चन्द कछवाय : घाय भूल गए हैं ।

श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण : भूल नहीं गया हूँ ।

I do believe in the principle that the kisans should get a reasonable price. Nobody denies that they should get a reasonable price, but you cannot think in terms of giving fancy prices for a basic commodity. If you accept that then the question of holding the price line will be completely defeated. How can you do that?

श्री हकम चन्द कछवाय : विदेशों को देना उचित होगा या यहाँ के लोगों को देना उचित होगा ?

श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण : मकट की बात मैंने कही है ।

This is misleading the people. This is your technique. This is the political attitude that is playing havoc.

Therefore, you have to take into consideration these normal features. You cannot go by the exceptional things that we have to do in difficult times. You cannot take it as a sort of the normal rule and make it as a normal rule for application at all times. That is completely a wrong logic.

What you are showing is your anger against the policy of take-over. This is what is happening. What you do not like is that we have taken this decision of take-over which you do not like because your interests are common with these middlemen, wholesalers and black-marketeers.... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: I strongly protest. We are for Government's purchase. We are against the monopoly. We are never against the Food Corporation or Super Bazar which has all failed.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: You are against the monopoly of the Government. You are not against the monopoly of the wholesalers. This is your wonderful logic.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: This is very bad logic. If he cannot satisfy us with convincing answers, let him not level baseless accusations against us.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Some Members said what steps we have taken on the Wanchoo Committee's recommendations. That was one of the points that were made.

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH (Siddhi): Without speaking about a fancy price, would it not be possible to raise the price of procurement by Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 to make it more realistic?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: You cannot do it mid-season.

SHRI RANABAHADUR SINGH: It is not the question of mid-season. It is a question for the future.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: The small farmer has responded to the national call and sold you his produce at whatever price that has been fixed for procurement but these people want to bargain by withholding their produce and if you increase the price mid-season, that is not the right thing. (Interruptions)

I was dealing with the issue raised by hon. Shri Indrajit Gupta that we have not taken any steps on the Wanchoo Committee's report. I do not know what exactly he means. We

have moved a Bill before this House because ultimately we have to take legal sanction and create certain provisions whereby we can make it impossible for anybody to do it. Of course, I know you are more well-versed in the art of creating black money, possibly they are more ingenious, but this is the way we have to do. We have provided a very comprehensive Bill before this House and it is before the Select Committee and I think many members of this House are also on the Select Committee and they can help us in the matter. But I must say that the question of black money is a complex problem and over-simplified solution to that simply. (Interruptions)

श्री हुकूम खन्ड कछवाय : सौ रुपये का नाट बन्द कर दो, सब ठीक हो जाएगा

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: The question of money supply has certainly become a very relevant question for the consideration of the Government and I would like to tell the House which I think I have told before. (Interruptions) I was going to tell you that as far as the money supply and credit position is concerned, there was certainly some sort of a spurt after January and in order to control this the Reserve Bank of India has taken a package of measures which has certainly helped to reduce the credit from the Reserve Bank of India to the banks. You might have read it but, for refreshing your memory, I would like to read a part of the note of the Reserve Bank

"It was considered accordingly necessary to siphon off a portion of the liquidity in the banking system in order to slow down the rate of credit expansion.

A package of monetary measures announced towards the close of May, in the form of an increase in the Bank Rate to 7 per cent and

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]
increase in the statutory cash reserves from 3 to 5 per cent, an increase in the minimum net liquidity ratio from 37 to 39 per cent., and the prescription of a minimum lending rate of 10 per cent has been designed..”

—that is, for big accounts—

..“to provide a corrective to the monetary situation. The credit expansion in the commercial sector since the close of the 1972-73 busy season (Rs. 170 crores upto June 8) has been mostly on account of food procurement operations (Rs. 160 crores).”

When you see the figures you forget that the Food Corporation of India does not operate on the money supplied by the Government but this is a commercial banking system that gives the necessary money for it. The situation is being closely watched and I think, if necessary, further steps also will have to be taken.

This is as far as the money supply part of our financial efforts are concerned. About the political efforts I have already mentioned. I have mentioned to you about the difficulties which compel us to resort to deficit financing. But, we have to see the efforts. The efforts in the last three years were difficult efforts. We have made the maximum effort of resource-raising. Through the budgetary taxation measures, more than Rs. 700 crores were raised in the last three years. In addition to that, we have made record bank borrowing in the last year and probably we will have to do the same effort this year also.

The small savings effort was completely intensified and they also made the record performance last year as also this year. These are the specific measures which we are taking in this direction. Despite these measures, if we have to resort to deficit financing, you can well understand the responsibility that Government faces. With all these efforts of resource-raising

which are accepted, if one has to do deficit financing, it means, it was something which was unavoidable, which was inescapable and which was necessary for solving the country's problems.

This is the general economic situation and I might say here that I did not hear any specific suggestion. Merely telling us that we should fight the monopolists, merely telling us, we have some weakness here or some weakness there, merely talking about the importance of strikes here or strikes there, is not the solution I did not see, I should say, any single suggestion which would help to solve the general economic picture.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: You have not spoken anything about what the Government is going to give.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I would like to make a suggestion to you. Let us meet. If not here, let us meet outside. If you have not been able to give any suggestions here, we are certainly willing to meet you again and you may please prepare your suggestions for us

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about Indirect Taxation?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Well, about Indirect Taxation, I do not want to go into it at length now, because, I had already replied to part of the question which you raised.

To conclude, therefore, I would say, the present situation is a difficult situation and there is no doubt about it. We have never minimised the gravity of the situation. We accept that. We know that people's sufferings are involved. But, at the same time, frightening people by describing it in a more graphic manner and creating conditions of strike and bandhs and non-cooperation and arrests, is not what is helping the people, it is not helping the economy, but it is doing disservice to the people of this country.

I, therefore, make an appeal to you all by saying 'Please take a constructive attitude.' As far as the basic potentialities of the country's economy are concerned, they are as healthy as they were before, and, if we work unitedly, in a spirit of cooperation, and with a sense of national dedication, I am sure, we will pass over this present difficulty.

MR SPEAKER: Now, Shri Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: May I just ask one question of the hon. Minister for clarification?

MR SPEAKER: Shri Indrajit has to reply to the debate now. So, why does the hon. Member intervene in between?

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: When the hon. Minister was replying, I did not interrupt him at all. I am just asking one question for clarification. How is it that the country is suffering more when there is only five per cent deficit in foodgrains than when there was 20 per cent deficit when Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Prime Minister?

MR SPEAKER: The hon. Minister may reply to this after Shri Indrajit Gupta replies to the debate. Shri Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): As we know, from experience, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan is an extremely clever man, and of course, he stole a march over me by ranging over the entire economic situation in the country, including industrial production, financial policies, deficit financing and so many other things. We did not have that advantage, nor did I have the time to launch a discussion on the entire economic situation facing the country.

The adjournment motion was limited specifically to two points. One

was the failure to control the abnormal rise in prices of essential commodities. The words 'failure to control the abnormal rise in prices of essential commodities' were chosen carefully. The second is the failure to supply adequate quantities of foodgrains to the people at reasonable prices. The people that we are referring to are not the people only in the distressed areas or the drought-affected areas where relief operations have to be carried out. That may be more or less a normal thing from year to year, affecting one region of the country or another. Much play has been made about the fact that Government have spent so much money on giving relief to distressed people in drought-affected areas and so on.

My motion in referring to the failure to supply adequate quantities of foodgrains to people at reasonable prices indicates another abnormal feature which has developed now, namely that in a city like Patna or in a city like Calcutta,—these are not drought-affected or distressed areas—the ration shops are empty; wheat is not being supplied at all, and statutory rationing is being reduced to a miserable 750 gm. per head. No reply has been given to these things.

Also, incidentally this is the first time that it has been publicly stated that this wheat take-over and procurement has failed mainly because the wheat crop, the rabi crop, in those States where certain targets were fixed, the production had not come up to expectation. This is the first time that I have heard this.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur): It is a fact and it has been said by everybody.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If it is a fact, then Government had better not go on concealing it until an adjournment motion comes.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD: It is being said by everybody.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I agree with Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan only on this point that if they had not been able to procure even this 4 million tonnes which they have procured, the situation would have been even worse. That is a poor consolation, but I agree with him that if they had not taken this step and fulfilled the target 50 per cent or a little less than 50 per cent, the situation would have been much worse. Of course, it is necessary to say this, because there are friends on this side. Shri Piloo Mody and others, who would like to reverse the whole direction and take us back to complete decontrol, denationalisation, leaving the wholesale market in the hands precisely of those people who have controlled it for the last 26 years and played havoc with the lives of the people and also munted. I do not know how many thousand crores of black money out of this foodgrains trade.

That is all right. But why we want to censure Government is that they have miserably failed to implement their own decision at a cost which the people are having to pay now. We are differing, I continue to differ with Shri Chavan, as to the principal reason for that failure. The principal reason is the fact that the measures of the Government have from the very beginning been completely half-hearted. When they look towards the people, the rising discontent of the people, the suffering of the people, all these demonstrations, strikes and so on which you may not like but which are facts, all the same, they realise that something must be done. Then they make a policy statement at Bidhan Nagar or somewhere else that 'we are going to take over the wholesale trade'. Very good, as far as the declaration goes. But when they look to the other side, to the people with whom they will have to cross swords to implement this thing,

then, of course, there is a retreat. This is the whole trouble. When I say 'half-hearted', this is the meaning of the word. Shri Chavan cannot deny that a large, solid powerful block or lobby of vested interests' both inside the Congress and outside, has mounted a terrific campaign during the last two months to see that this thing does not go through. Inside the Congress also--I want to ask this question a lot of things are being said about the procurement price.

SHRI BIBHUTI MISHRA (Motihari): Your side also

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA. I know when we try to help procurement, our peasants are killed as I said earlier.

The procurement price should be raised. This is the demand made by many people. Of course, Shri Chavan has replied to it. I also would like to know that if Rs 76 per quintal was more or less satisfactory to bring out the wheat in Punjab to very near the target--after all, they are also fairly well-to-do kisans in Punjab who are using tractors, electric pumps, fertilisers and so on why is it not satisfactory elsewhere? I want to ask this particularly in regard to the western districts of UP, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana. It is the same kisan there.

So there was organised resistance. My point is that the organised resistance which has come from certain Opposition parties is not the main factor that is a factor which can be expected from the day that the All-India Foodgrains Dealers Association called for a strike in the mandis and held a demonstration in the streets of Delhi, from that day, we know there are certain forces who will try to oppose it. My contention is that the main stumbling block has come from within the ruling party itself. The State of which Shri Chavan speaks, of which he was at one time the Chief Minister and the Food Minister, has

got very similar features in its agriculture to some of these other wheat-producing States where the rich farmers and big landed interests, even if they happen to be Congressmen, are determined just as the Jan Sangh and other people, to blackmail Government into increasing the procurement price. Therefore, they will not hand over their stocks. What has been done about it? What are they going to do about it? I take it they are not taking any decision to go back on this decision. Of course, he did not say anything whether the takeover of rice from the next session is going to be adhered to or not, although the Working Committee of the Congress has repeated the decision. But I have seen the performance in West Bengal of the Government as regards procurement of only 3 lakh tonnes of rice. There they have failed because they did not want to really come to grips with the situation and they did not want to annoy or provoke these powerful landed interests and also the big hoarders and traders. So there is no use blaming only the Jan Sangh for it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: But you are paying a tribute to the ruling party in Punjab.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am not. I only asked a question which struck me because it is puzzling me. I am only asking how is it that when the Wheat produced there is sold at Rs 76 per quintal, they fail to produce it anywhere else. (Interruptions) I do not know how it happened. You explain it.

Now, I want to finish and I will take only two or three minutes more. Mr Chavan said a lot about the need for more production and all that—the usual thing which we have heard so many times. Has it solved the problem ever? Has production never increased? Have the workers and peasants in this country not increased

the production over the years of practically everything? I know you are very happy now that there is a good jute crop. So am I. I have seen it growing in the field. People say it may be a bumper crop. What is the result? The price of raw jute has begun to fall catastrophically. Mr. Devi Prasad Chattopadhyaya came and announced that the Jute Corporation of India will now start thinking of making a plan for buying up at least 10 lakh bales of raw jute at a certain price, but he admits that they have not got the mechanism or the resources; that they have not got the warehouses; they have not got the purchasing centres, they have not got trained staff to grade and buy the jute. But anyway, that is a good intention which of course may remain on paper just like the take-over of wheat.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: What about cotton?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please do not go into the question of cotton and jute. I have raised it on an earlier occasion; the way you treat cotton you have never treated jute because this is a matter concerning the economy of eastern India. Now, there is a very good jute crop. The point is, the price is crashing and the cultivators are facing depression nowadays and they do not know what is going to happen. So, it is not so simple also, Mr. Chavan; please do not oversimplify this thing about production. Greater production does not necessarily lead to that type of fall in prices which is beneficial to the poorer people. (Interruptions).

I would like to refer to this question about power cuts. This is the major cause today for the industrial setback. But what has the monsoon got to do with thermal power plants? May I know? The majority of power plants in this country are not hydro-electric plants. They are thermal power plants. Let me tell you that the managements of several thermal power plants, both in the public sector and in the private

[Shri Indrajit Gupta] sector, have been publicly complaining that even now, after the nationalisation of the coal mines, the quality of coal that they are getting, which is required for the thermal power plants, is below standard and unsatisfactory. Who is responsible for this? Is the Opposition responsible? I want to ask When the mines were owned by private companies, then for the sake of profiteering, we could understand that they used to mix up different qualities of inferior coal and send them there. Can there be any reason for it now? The Government must find out these bottlenecks, now we are not prepared to hear these excuses

Lately, some statistics have been published by your Labour Minister here which prove conclusively that in the past year the number of production stoppages as due to strikes is far less than the number of production stoppages caused by the employers who are deliberately imposing lockouts for various reasons on their factories. What steps are you taking against them?

This price rise that you have sanctioned in the case of dalda, of 75 paise per kilogram, done by you, by the Government, who is the direct beneficiary of it? A firm like Hindustan Lever, which is the biggest manufacturer of dalda in this country. These big monopoly firms manufacturing dalda are coming and pleading that the price of raw inputs has gone up and "therefore, give us a rise." And promptly, the Government says, "All-right; put up the price by 75 paise per kilo." (Interruptions). I do not understand; this Hindustan Lever is also manufacturing so many other products such as soaps, hair-oils, shampoos and so on—toilet goods. Even these goods cannot be got at the standard price outside. There is no fixed price. You cannot even introduce a mechanism for this that at least they must be compelled to put up some pricelist in every shop showing the standard

price for things like lux toilet soap and other standard things like that. Even that is not there. There are 10 different brands sold at 10 different prices. What control mechanism is there in this country? When we talk about it, then you say, "Oh, you want democracy to function and at the same time you want the danda to function." "Then, what do you want? Do you want democracy or do you want danda?" Nothing is happening. Please make up your mind about this. If you say, "No danda in our democracy," very good. Let the people know that they are going to be thrown to the wolves. If any danda is necessary with your idea of democracy, then say so. Do not talk of socialism and socialistic pattern of society and this and that, give it up, why talk about them? Then mixed economy? Yes. But what is the prescription of that mixture? Which way is it going?

I want to end up by saying that I am not at all convinced by these arguments which have been put forward. The central question which I had raised has been evaded. Granted your drought, granted your everything, granted your unforeseen shortages, is it not all the more reason why precisely in those difficult days the available stocks must be procured and distributed more or less equitably, so that there are no starvation deaths at the one end people mint black money at the other end! That is all I am asking. In years of shortage, this kind of policy of take over of distribution through a proper machinery becomes all the more necessary. If you want to save people from distress and calamity.

But the argument given here is just opposite. As far as I can find out, the implication is that only in a year of good production, bumper harvest, our distribution machinery and our take-over plans can work. This is contrary to reality. It is precisely at this time that you need this thing to be worked

out much more comprehensively and implemented and that is where the Government has failed totally.

Therefore the point on which we had brought this adjournment motion, has not been met at all and therefore it does not lie in Mr. Chavan's mouth to accuse us for not cooperating—excuse my saying so. Where is the room for cooperation? So many suggestions have made here and outside, without number. Those suggestions are all thrown into the waste paper basket. Where are the trade unions to cooperate? Are you trying to tell me that industrial production has not increased? In Bombay some stunt has been enacted about seven day week. I want to know: Are you interested in production in the gimmick of Sunday working? If you are interested in production in the textile mills, our unions will tell you how to do it without making the workers to give up their common holiday on Sunday. But you have to do certain things. You have to work out a whole new system of democratic industrial relations and implement it and not talk only about participation in the management in the floor level. All these things are being discussed. Promises and assurances were given that a new law was going to be brought and this and that. But what has happened to all that? It has evaporated. This way nothing will happen. I am not convinced of the argument brought forward. It is not a question of being a pessimist. If these things continue, if this policy is continued in this fashion, I am afraid the country is going to be in far calamitous times.

People of this country will certainly not keep quiet. In some places they may be resigned to it. They will just suffer and keep quiet, but in some places they will not. That is the only difference. We shall be with them where ever they are and see what happens.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

“That the House do now adjourn”.

The motion was negatived.

19.35 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (MANIPUR), 1973-74—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. G. P. Yadav.

श्री ज्ञानशंकर प्रसाद यादव (कटिहार)

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मणिपुर का जो बजट इस समय प्रस्तुत हुआ है उस के सम्बन्ध में मैंने उस समय भी कहा था, जब पहले मंत्र में उसकी मांग विचारार्थ आई थी कि यह केवल मणिपुर की ही बात नहीं है, अभी आन्ध्र का बजट है, उड़ीसा का बजट है.

MR. SPEAKER: He can continue tomorrow. Earlier in the day, some leaflets were thrown from the gallery and Mr. Raghu Ramaiah is bringing a motion on that.

19.36 hrs.

MOTION RE: CONTEMPT OF THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU-RAMAI AH): I beg to move:

“This House resolves that the person calling himself Tanaji Kamble who threw some leaflets from the Visitors' Gallery on the floor of the House at 12.35 P.M. today and whom the Watch and Ward Officer