

de-centralized set-up located near Narsapur.

(d) Kakinada is situated very near to Narsapur-Razole structure. On-shore and off-shore operations can be advantageously conducted from Kakinada itself.

(e) The Minister of Petroleum should personally pay a visit to Narsapur-Razole structures immediately, to hold a high level meeting to expedite action on the above lines.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing should be recorded which is said without my permission.

*(Interruptions)***

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): Before that I made a submission to you.

MR. SPEAKER: He is on 377. I have not allowed that. *(Interruptions)* No, no. Prof. Dandavate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Before I move the motion.....

MR. SPEAKER: Now you have to move the motion. I would like you to move the motion first.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I will move the motion, but in order that there should be peace I only request you to call them.

MR. SPEAKER: I have called them so many times; I have called them on the Floor of the House and to come to my chamber and discuss the matter with me. This is beyond the limit.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing is to be recorded without my permission.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. SPEAKER: As a Speaker, I have to uphold the dignity of the House, the rules and the impartiality. I know how to do it and I am going to do it. Prof. Dandavate.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Mor-mugao): I am on a point of order. Under Direction 2(vi) I had given a notice of breach of privilege.

MR. SPEAKER: I have taken note of it.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: It is precisely the same, that there is an incident which is reported in the paper and shown by Mr. Bagri.

MR. SPEAKER: I have that.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: This gentleman has cast aspersion to the Chair and it went to the Press.

MR. SPEAKER: We will look into it. *(Interruptions)* Prof. Dandavate.

12.54 hrs.

MOTIONS RE: STEEP RISE IN PRICES OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): I beg to move:

"That this House expresses its deep concern at the steep rise in prices of essential commodities and recommends that urgent steps be taken to bring down the prices."

*(Interruptions)***

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी (हिसार) : मैं सदन का त्याग करता हूँ । **

Shri Mani Ram Bagri then left the House.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: People will listen to us; then they will decide.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am sure that the subject-matter of this notice is such that Members on both sides will be deeply concerned about it and I hope that the debate on this motion will ultimately lead to evolution of some concrete and constructive suggestions by which the rising prices can be checked and the inflationary pressure on the economy can also be avoided.

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

The price of essential commodities like sugar, kerosene, diesel is rising exorbitantly. The inflation in the country has reached a rate of about 23 per cent; it is a very dangerous situation. I have with me the latest review of the price of agricultural commodities and for the benefit of the House, I should like to quote some figures about the essential commodities. If you try to find out the percentage variation in the price of some commodities in the entire year, you will find that as far as sugar is concerned, the variation is 162 per cent; for gur it is 108 per cent; for groundnut at Madras market it is 42 per cent, for jute goods, hessian for instance, it is 23.2 per cent, for bajra it is 55 per cent, for cotton it is 21.5 per cent and for rice it is 10 per cent. On the submission of the Petroleum Minister Mr. Veerendra Patil himself in this House, it has become clear that for the import of crude oil last year, the government was required to spend Rs. 4000 crores and for the year 1980-81, on the very admission of the Minister of Petroleum it is clear that we will be required to spend about Rs. 5,000 crores. That is going to be the incidence of the import bill. It is a very important problem. I hope and trust that the government will try to evolve a certain procedure and machinery with the help of which this problem regarding crude can be solved in the best possible method. Industries must be told that they should be able to export certain industrial products and we should be able to get foreign exchange; by this very process it should be possible for us to meet additional pressure and burden that had been created by the crude import bill.

Various factors are responsible for creating inflationary pressure on the economy. The greatest factor is the impact of the parallel black money economy in the country, secondly, the increasing trend of deficit financing, thirdly, the imbalance between money supply and production and lastly, our

failure to streamline the public distribution system, rationalise controls and evolve a machinery and process by which there will be adequate augmentation of investments and also of savings. These are the problems that 13.00 hrs. are to be taken note of. To tackle the problem of inflation equation on the economy I would like to deal in some depth about the parallel black money economy. The authentic document is available to us. I would like to thank my colleague Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, who in the Fifth Lok Sabha had tried to unearth Interim Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee i.e. Wanchoo Committee. In the beginning it was indicated that there is no authenticity of the Report, but ultimately it was established that the Report which Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu had produced before the House, was an authentic document. I would like to draw the attention of the Government and through you the attention of the entire House about some of the important aspects that have been brought out by the Wanchoo Committee Report. As far as that Report is concerned they followed Kaldor method to estimate the extent of the black money that is already in circulation. Already available with them is the data for 1960-61. The process that they followed was—they tried to find out what is the assessable non-salary income; what is the actual assessed income. And finding out difference between the two, they were able to find what is the extent of unaccounted income in the year 1960-61. If I am right, it was estimated that unaccounted income in 1960-61 was of the order of Rs. 700 crores. Since the velocity of circulation is five, income velocity is five, if you multiply that by five, you roughly get the extent of the black money that is involved in various deals and transactions. That leads us to the conclusion that in 1960-61 the black money was of the order of Rs. 3,500 crores. They wanted to make the projections for 1969-70 and an ingenious method was followed by the Wanchoo Committee. They did not have the assessment and,

therefore, they followed the procedure of trying to find out what is the increase in the national income. Since from 1960-61 to 1968-69 the increase in the national income was of the order of 100 per cent, they took it for granted that the black money also increases in the same proportion in which the national income increased. Therefore, since 1960-61 unaccounted income was Rs. 700 crores they took it for granted that in 1968-69 it is Rs. 1,400 crores. Actually, it is likely to be more, but not less. Since income velocity was of the order of five, if you multiply that by five, you can roughly estimate—in the year 1968-69 the black money was of the order of Rs. 7,000 crores. This is the position in 1968-69 and I am sure the black money has not gone down.

13.03 hrs.

[SHRI V. SHIVRAJ PATIL in the Chair]

The extent of black money has increased. The pressure of black money on the economy of the country is the real inflationary pressure on the country and that has caused higher inflation and at the same time that has resulted into scarcity.

Let us try to find out how the black money has been utilised and that itself will indicate to the Government what steps must be urgently taken to see that the black money is unearthed. The utilisation of black money is mainly made for—

1. Secret business transactions.
2. Gold jewels and luxury goods.
3. Clandestine deals involving the foreign exchange.
4. Purchase of commodities for holding, leading to artificial scarcity.
5. Speculation
6. Black market.
7. Purchasing illegal quotas permits and licences.
8. Secret commissions and transactions.
9. "On money" in business transactions.
10. Deposits in foreign banks.

11. Donations to political parties.

These are the aspects that had to be taken note of by the Government while trying to devise measures and methods by which black money in the country can be completely eliminated at least dug out to a very great extent. If you want to immobilise black money already in circulation, one of the effective measures to be taken is demonetisation. Members of the opposition have been consistently demanding that in order to dig out the black money in the country, the radical step of demonetisation must be taken. We were always told by former Finance Ministers that this experiment of demonetisation was tried in 1946 and it failed. Let us try to find out why the experiment failed in 1946. When demonetisation was undertaken by the then Government in 1946, they demonetised the currency notes only of Rs. 1,000 and above. Ten rupee and hundred rupee notes were completely untouched. What was the extent of currency notes of 10 and 100 rupee denomination in 1946? They were roughly of the order of 76 per cent of the total currency existing in the country. When you try to implement the measure of demonetisation, if it does not touch 76 per cent of the currency, you do not expect the demonetisation process to succeed. On the contrary, in October, 1944, demonetisation was undertaken by the Government of Belgium. They saw to it that 100 francs, 500 francs, 1000 francs and 500 francs—all these were completely demonetised. The result was, they introduced the measure of demonetisation in October, 1944 and by December, 1944, actually the currency contracted from 16 crores of francs to 5 crores of francs. That is the standing illustration as to how demonetisation can be effectively brought about and how black money can be immobilised in the country. Therefore, if demonetisation has to be effective, not only 1,000 and 10,000 rupee notes should be demonetised, but you will have to touch the lower currency notes also. If that is done, probably demonetisation will be able to unearth the black money or

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]
immobilise the black money in circulation.

As far as the other aspects are concerned, I am quite clear in my mind that demonetisation in isolation will never succeed. It has to be made part and parcel of a package deal. Unless the measure of demonetisation is made part and parcel of a package of measures, we will not be able to check the inflationary pressure on the economy. Therefore, I suggest that in addition to demonetisation, the following package of measures must be undertaken:

1. Demonetisation.
2. Restriction on the accumulation of gold.
3. Ceiling on income, property and expenditure. That has been the demand of the entire opposition for years together.
4. Acceptance of the Raj Committee's recommendations to club agricultural and non-agricultural incomes for purposes of taxation. One of the lacunae in our entire taxation machinery has been that some of the kulaks and some of the rich men in urban industrial areas try to pass on a part of their urban incomes as agricultural income, as a result of which in some of the State they go completely scot-free. That is one of the sources of tax evasion. The Raj Committee has laid the maximum stress on this point that agricultural incomes and non-agricultural incomes must be clubbed together. Only by clubbing together the agricultural and non agricultural incomes, it will be possible for us to see that tax evasion in this particular area, is completely eliminated.

Then there is the problem of sugar production. The entire sugar industry is in a complete mess. In the Fifth Lok Sabha, I had initiated a debate on the Bhargava Commission's report on the sugar industry. I do not want to go into details at this stage in a discussion on the general question of inflationary pressure and rising prices. There can be a separate discussion on

the Bhargava Commission's report again. I may recall that in the Fifth Lok Sabha, I had initiated a discussion on the Bhargava Commission's report and I gave elaborate statistics as to how many sugar mills are there, how many are more than 50 years old, how many mills need complete overhauling, how many mills are making full use of their capacity, how many are having under-utilisation of capacity, in how many cases the management has been completely distorted, etc. All these aspects were completely discussed. One point I stressed at that time was this. I would like to plead with the new Government to take note of it. One of the reasons why the industry in the field of sugar is not properly managed is that neither the private sector nor the public sector feel any stake in running the sugar industry. In the past the ruling party utilised the nationalisation of sugar industry as a sword hanging on the sugar barons. They only threatened them that they were likely to nationalise the sugar industry but they did not do it. Therefore, because it was kept hanging, this problem was not solved. What happened was that the private sugar barons did not know whether the industry would remain with them or whether it was likely to be nationalised. So, they had no stake in adequately managing the industry. At the same time, because the industry was not nationalised, we could not get the advantage of the public sector management. Therefore, really the sugar industry has been lying on the border line of private sector and public sector. I may be allowed to say that, I think, the sugar industry's case has been referred to the boundary commission. One does not know whether it will remain in the private sector or whether it will go to the public sector. And because of this uncertainty about the nature of ownership of the sugar industry, you will find that there is less of efficiency, the fall in production has been very great and as a result of that, a number of complications have been created. Therefore, I would request the Gov-

ernment to address yourselves to the task of examining the Bhargava Commission's report in depth. I hope and trust that they will arrive at definite conclusions so that a firm decision will be taken on the question of nationalisation of sugar industry. If you decide not to nationalise, then I can understand your point of view. Even then, declare that for ten years you are not going to nationalise. If you are going to nationalise, take them over completely; let there be no uncertainty about the ownership of the industry. It is the uncertainty that creates a non-stake in the industry and that is responsible for the bad management and also fall in production.

Another aspect to which I must draw the attention of the House is the question of cost structure. In this country as far as prices are concerned, there is no rational linking up of the prices with the amount of cost that is involved in the production process. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in this very House when initiated a very interesting debate, had drawn the attention of this House that a time had come when the government must come forward with a concrete proposal as to what will be the ratio and relationship between the cost of production of a commodity including the transportation and storage charges and the actual price that has been formulated. I hope, more attention will be given to this problem and a definite relationship between the two will be established.

Then there is the problem of parity between the industrial goods and the agricultural produce. This is an important problem. Sometimes, it is the interest of the consumers that is not guarded and sometimes, it is the interest of the producers that is not guarded. As a result of that, sometimes injustice is done to the consumers and sometimes injustice is done to the agricultural producers. What is required is a balanced view regarding the problem of prices. The recent problem of the onion growers had sharply focussed the attention of the Lok Sabha. In the past, when the general elections took place, onions had be-

come extremely costly. At that time, it was the consumers that were hit. Now, the prices have gone too down and that is hitting the agricultural producers, the onion growers. Therefore, the time has come when the Government must come forward with a remunerative price to the onion growers. At the same time, the middlemen must be eliminated completely so that whatever is available, that goes to the growers and intermediaries are not able to exploit the entire situation.

As far as the production process is concerned, I take one illustration. Take, for instance, textiles. As far as textiles are concerned, large number of varieties of cloth are produced by the textile mills. Ours is a developing economy. In a developing country we cannot afford the luxury of producing varieties of cloth. If more varieties are produced, the cost of production will also increase because the entire production procedure becomes complex. Therefore, the time has come when a developing country like ours, which had raised its voice of socialism, must make up its mind whether we shall have 3,000 or 5,000 varieties of cloth, or we will concentrate on those varieties of cloth which are required by the common people. This is a point that needs to be stressed. You might have difference of opinion with certain political structures of different countries, but China is one country in which they have made up their mind that, so far as the production pattern is concerned, it is the necessity of the common man which will guide as to what will be the structure of production and, on the basis of that, they took a decision on the question whether they can afford the luxury of so many varieties of cloth or they have to emphasize on those varieties which are required by the common man. This is a problem to which we must address ourselves and, I am sure, if that is done, this problem can be tackled to some extent.

There is another problem, and that is the question of money supply. I know that the problem of money supply is extremely acute. I remember

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

when our Government came to power, we found a large number of States had over-drafts; there was heavy deficit financing and, as a result of that, the inflationary pressure on the economy was very high. I think the time has come when we must decide up to what percentage the money supply can be allowed to increase per year. Many economic experts have been feeling that if we try to allow more than 5 per cent increase in the money supply in the country, there is likely to be dangerous situation and, because of the gap between the money supply on the one side and production on the other, it is likely that the inflationary pressure on the economy will grow and, as a result of that, the prices will continue to rise. This perspective must be taken into account.

I have tried to place before you the general framework, the policy framework in which all these problems can be tackled. Questions of details are deliberately not touched, because I do not want to miss the wood for the tree. Therefore, I deliberately concentrated on some of the major basic policies to which the Government have to address themselves. There need not be any partisan attitude, as far as these problems are concerned. I am sure that the Treasury Benches feel equally concerned about the problems that I have raised because they are problems which require urgent solution.

I hope and trust that, like so many debates, this debate will not be merely recorded, but will be taken note of by the Government and concrete policies would be formulated, and in formulating the policies the members of the Opposition also will be taken into confidence. I hope they will be able to formulate rational, well-defined policies, on the basis of which we will be able to tackle the problem of rising prices.

If the problem of rising prices is not tackled, our experience for the last seven years indicates that whenever the prices become unstable, the political structure also becomes unstable.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): And *vice versa*.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Yes, and *vice versa*. If the structure of prices becomes stable, in that case the political structure also becomes stable. I do not equate stability with *status quo*. We stand for stability, political stability, financial stability and economic stability. But our concept of stability is not stability to be equated with *status quo*. We want stability to be reconciled with claims of change. Therefore, the policy framework that I have suggested will require a radical orientation in the basic economic policies of the Government, and if these radical policy variations are made, only in that case stability can be achieved. Therefore, I must make it very clear that when I stand for economic and political stability, I do not want any *status quo*. I want stability to be reconciled with claims of social change and economic change and, therefore, in the context of that, I hope and trust Government will take note of the various suggestions that I have made about the concrete formulation of economic policy and will come forward to see that the rising prices are checked and the inflationary pressures on the economy of the country are removed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I beg to move:

"That this House notes with deep concern and anguish the unprecedented price rise and widespread blackmarketing of many items and recommends that a net work of public distribution system be created within three months from date."

Mrs. Indira Gandhi before the last elections, as usual had promised—in 1971 she gave the slogan of *garibi hatao*—she started by saying that the Janata Government has not been able to control the price rise but "if I come back to power, if you vote me back to power, I shall check the prices". She knew it very well that she was talking through her hat, because it is not possible in a capitalist system to check inflation or to check the prices.

Coming to the rate of inflation. in reply to a question of Shri Satish Aggarwal, dated 21st March, 1980, it was stated that the annual rate of inflation with reference to the wholesale price index, with base 100 for 1970-71, as on 12-1-80 after the Janata Government was thrown out of existence, kicked the bucket, was 20.5 per cent. The annual rate as on 1st March 1980 increased to 23.8 per cent. In one-and-a-half months, therefore, the increase has been 3.3 per cent at the wholesale price rate index and at the retail level it has been 10 to 12 per cent.

Sir, the inflationary pressure is a continuation of the past trends which have been caused by various factors including inappropriate policies and ineffective management of the economy by the previous Government. I do not know how long they will go on repeating that, but we know this much that the Janata Government followed the path of what the Congress Government left behind and the Congress Government is following the path of what the Janata Government left behind. Therefore, beggars cannot be the choosers. We, the spokesmen of the have-nots in the country, we the beggars have nothing to choose in between. Let them go on doing it. It does not matter.

In the last 32-1/2 years, the Nehru dynasty has ruled for about 28 years—for 17 years late Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi for 11 years and Janata in between—forget about late Lal Bahadur Shastri—about 2 years and 4 months. Mrs. Gandhi came into power in March 1966 and went out of power in March 1977 and the rise during that period—I take the responsibility to what I say—had been 135 per cent average and 136 per cent on primary food articles. That is the wholesale increase and at the retail level in this period of golden era or the 'Dynamic Decade', the rise in the retail market for essential commodities, the basic food articles, had been 300 to 400 per cent because that has been a Government of the black-marketeers, by the blackmarketeers

and for the blackmarketeers. They could not touch them. If they touched them, they would not politically cooperate.

(Interruptions).

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul): You were telling at that time also that persons whom you supported were all smugglers and blackmarketeers.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Let us take the year 1973-74. It was the worst year and it had a record inflation. The monthly rise was unprecedented. It was between 2.5 per cent to 3 per cent per month. From September 1973 to September 1974, in one year the rise was about 32 per cent. Where was the Janata Government at that time? Where was Mrs. Gandhi and her henchmen that we find here? In the height of Emergency when they wanted to discipline the nation with a stick, when the jails were filled with 2-1/2 lakhs as written by Bernard Levyn, the famous political commentator who came from abroad—did she want to discipline the nation? That is the idea they have been selling to people that "by disciplining the nation I shall stop black-marketing and control the prices." A capitalist system cannot do that. She did it with the sole object of consolidating herself and her dynasty in power. From 23rd March 1976, in the height of Emergency, till 11th December 1976, there was a rise of 11 per cent at the wholesale level and the retail level is always 3 to 4 times above that. For the whole of 1976 the rise indicated in the wholesale prices was 11.9 per cent.

Sir, the hon. Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee is new to his portfolio, I would not say anything harsh just now, you will wait and watch him. During 1977-78 and 1978-79 when the Janata was in power, what was the price rise? Was it next to nothing? I am not taking the brief of the Janata Party. You give us the figures, you enlighten the House. What was the price rise in 1977-78 and 1978-79? The disaster started when Charan Singh took over. It was the 1979-80

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Budget that brought fire to the country. Prices started shooting up. The fire started them.

Now, Mr. Venkataraman believes in the Birla way of controlling the economy. I am not imputing motives, but this is what he said in reply to a question, that total Governmental control over stocks was not being contemplated at the moment. Without control over stocks, how can you check prices? How can you check prices when the key of the store room is not in your hands? Am I a child that I am given a story. It cannot be done. You can hoodwink the people. As the elections are coming, go on telling the story. You have kept the people ignorant for decades under the dynastic rule of Nehrus. Therefore, you can tell the story, but how much ice it will cut, we shall wait and see.

At a public meeting in Ahmedabad Mrs. Indira Gandhi promised the nation the introduction of a better public distribution system. All vote-catching gadgets. Would you be kind enough to enlighten the House how you propose to have a better distribution system which will cater to the minimum needs of the 650 million people living in the depths of poverty, the worst in the world? You see the latest ILO Report which says that this country is living in the worst economic condition ever known to the world. What do you propose to do? What are your plans for a better distribution system, we want to know that.

Government has been making gross under-statements. They have given figures of sugar prices, but we know that sugar is being sold between Rs. 7 and Rs. 9 a kilo. If you go to the interior villages in Nagaland, if you go inside Kerala, if you go to certain other areas, you will have to pay Rs. 9 for the most inferior quality of sugar.

SHRI MUKUNDA MANGAL (Ma-thurapur): It is Rs. 10 in Nagaland.

SHRI JYOTIROMY BOSU: He is more right.

As the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, I had the privilege of examining the sugar question, and I tell you that in the sugar-producing States—U.P., Bihar, Maharashtra and to some extent Tamil Nadu and Andhra—the sugar tycoons control local politics. Without the approval of the sugar tycoons, a politician cannot get elected to the Assembly or Parliament. He has to toe the line.

Will Mr. Mukherjee tell us what the true cost of production of sugar at the factory gate is, in spite of the serious manipulation made in the accounts? When the sugar juice is boiled, when the recovery is 10 per cent, the book entry is 8.5 per cent. Blackmarketing starts from there. Would he kindly tell us today in reply to this debate what the true cost of production of sugar at the factory gate is? Is it more than Rs. 1.25 per kilo? No. Even after manipulation, it is not more than that. Will he also give details of the subsidies and rebates that they are giving to the sugar tycoons, for what consideration, and how many sugar mills which have been receiving rebate are not running? I can give a list if he wants.

I need not give details. You know the prices, because somebody from your home is going to the market, but this much I can tell you that today have to spend five to six times what I had to pay for my daily grub when I became a Member of Parliament more than a decade ago. There is no need to give details. The details have been given, but I will give you some interesting figures. One of the biggest multi-nationals in this country, viz., Hindustan Lever has a monopoly over cooking medium, oil and hydrogenated oil, both and this a company which was caught. In their Ghazia-bad factory, a tanker lorry was caught redhanded with adulterated oil with a built-in chamber inside. You should see how this company has been increasing the price of soap, how they have been reducing the total fat content of soap, how they have been reducing the size of soap at the same

time. On 1st January 1979, the price of Sunlight was Rs. 1.10 and on 24th December 1979, it was Rs 1.46. What is the rise—more than 30 per cent in one year. Lifebuoy was sold at Rs. 1.25 on 1st January 1979 and on 24th December 1979, it was Rs 1.67. What is the rise Lux Toilet Standard, 1st January 1979, was sold at Rs. 1.35 and in December 1979, it was 1.71. Every item, in size, in quality, in weight and in price, it is a multipronged attack. The agreement between the Congress-I people in power and the big tycoons is very simple: 'I will finance your elections, I will finance your party and you allow me a free loot'. This is the understanding and this is what is destroying the country.

I would like to say certain things. What is happening to diesel. They have not been able to formulate a National Transport Policy as yet and therefore, the Road transport lobby is having its way through. Diesel, which was sold at Rs. 1.60 a litre, is now being sold at between Rs. 4.50 and Rs. 7 and kerosene between Rs. 4 and Rs. 7. Young school-going children cannot read after dusk because there is no light. Coal, building materials, everything is outside the reach of the common man. The country is going towards a clash. They want to hoodwink. They have brought the PD Act, detention without trial. We know that it is meant for us and we are always ready for that. But is it not a fact that this Act is nothing but running with a hare and hunting with the hound, which is Mrs. Gandhi's philosophy of life.

चोर को बोले लग जाओ,
सठ को बोले जग जाओ ।

In reply to an unstarred question, no. 1858, dated 21st March 1980, they have said that the price indices of essential commodities for individual States and Union Territories are not available. Can you imagine the Central Government giving a reply on the floor of Parliament that they do not have even the figures of price rise in the States? Essential foodgrains are outside the reach of the common man. I will read out one or two captions—'MP Village lives on grass', 'Rice

racket in Chhattisgarh' and 'Chotanagar faces starvation danger', which Mr. Ravindra Varma wants us to represent. This is the condition. What are we doing, sitting in this Parliament? Whose cap are we feathering, whose nest are we building. There is a bunch of Ministers, I do not want to be rude to any of you. But I am sorry to say, man of you are neither fish nor flesh, you do not have an idea of what is happening. You are sitting over a volcano and the volcano will start erupting before long. On the one hand, there is fierce price rise and on the other hand, there is a decrease in real earning. The decrease in real earning to this extent, taking 1960-61 as the base, the figures for 1974-75 are: Percentage fall in real earning for agricultural labourer—men—34.5%, women—49.9% and children—52.4%. On the one hand there is a severe price rise and on the other hand, there is a decrease in the real income of the workers. What Azadi is this, would you kindly ask the Minister to defend? Azadi for what, for loot, for starvation, for struggle for existence? That is the Azadi they talk about.

Mr. Madhu Dandavate has talked about onion producers. I had to deal with the Agricultural Prices Commission as the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. I may tell you that the Agricultural Prices Commission is a congregation of crooks. They are the worst enemy of the agriculturists. They are paid by the big industrial lobby. Their constant job is to under-value. They never indicate the remunerative price and they please the industrialists. I do not know what is the cost of production or the remunerative price of onion. But this much I know that the f.o.b. price of onion for exporters, the privileged few who are willing to contribute for the *garibi hatao* project of so and so, is Rs. 150 per quintal. And here the agriculturists are struggling for Rs. 30 per quintal.

What happened to pulses? During the last 14 years, there has been no growth a production of pulses while

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

the population has grown by 2 per cent every year, that is, 25 per cent. The poor man's protein is not available. That is the position.

As regards edible oil, the year before last, the total value of import of edible oil was Rs. 840 crores. Your party has been in power for 30 years. You have no national agricultural food plan. You want to look to your Yankee American uncles. Whenever time comes, you fall at their feet. You condemn CIA but, when the time comes, you fall at their feet and beg for soyabean oil, palm oil, rapeseed oil, something which is toxic and dangerous for human consumption. It cannot be divulged. Otherwise, it cannot be sold. Therefore, you import it and sell it in the market. This is the position.

About the Wanchoo Interim Report—I have no hesitation in saying, as a communist philosophy, we should not hesitate to take resort to any method of doing good to the people, to reach the goal—the bunch of the document had to be removed. That is stealing. It was laid on the Table of the House in spite of serious objections and protests on that side. It said clearly (November 1970) that a sum of Rs. 7000 crores was in circulation in 1968-69. I describe Mrs. Indira Gandhi as Queen of Black Money and Fountain-head of Corruption in this country. The people will realise it soon. This time, you will have to pay more heavily because the discovery will be much earlier. That shows there is no intention of serving anybody except her own cause. They wanted to suppress and destroy the Interim Report of which I have a copy with me. But it has become a public document now.

Regarding demonetisation, my hon. friend, Mr. Madhu Dandavate was explaining about demonetisation. But the pity is that Professor thought he was speaking in the class room. Who is preventing you to demonetise

money? Nine State Assembly elections will cost you Rs. 200 crores. Where will the money come from? The money has to come from sugar tycoons, textile tycoons, jute tycoons and so on. Even the allotment of quota I can tell you because I have some sort of an arrangement to know about these things.

The Wanchoo Committee has clearly stated in their Final Report which has been published—I quote:

“It is also spent in purchasing illegally quotas and licences at premia, financing secret commissions, bribes, litigation, etc. giving ‘on-money’ in business transactions, buying industrial peace, financing election expenses and giving donations to political parties.”

So, you cannot afford to kill the black money. Don't be so unkind; they will go out of existence. You will not survive.

Now, I would like to give you an example, the case of Mr. S. K. Modi who was caught with 4133 bags of wheat in Delhi. A case was instituted. Nothing has happened. He has not been touched even. The MISA case has been withdrawn against him because Mr. Uma Shankar Dikshit paid a private visit at night—I do not say, he carried a suit case or a sack—and the case was withdrawn. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what has happened to Mr. Modi's case, what has the Delhi Administration done? I would like to know about this from Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. Yesterday Shri K. P. Singh Deo raised the issue of coal and salt racket in Bihar. I gathered this morning that each paid Rs. 1½ lakhs and they are now free, gentlemen at large, serving the cause of ‘Garibi Hatao’. Will you please tell us something or confirm this?

Prices cannot be stabilised because of the capitalist path of development. Profit is the only motive. Every economic exercise is done with the object

of making more profit and if more profit is the motive, as my friend has rightly said, you cannot serve the society or the country.

Now I come to uncovered deficit financing. In 1950-51 indirect taxation was only 56.7 per cent amounting to 67.5 crores, but in 1979-80 the revised estimate has come to 76 per cent of the total Central revenue, amounting to Rs. 5,825.2 crores. And what are the non-profitable expenditures? On Police, in 1950-51 it was 3 crores and in 1979-80 it is Rs. 262.45 crores. On Defence, in 1950-51 it was Rs. 1683.2 crores and in 1979-80 it is Rs. 3273 crores. In 1979-80 deficit financing was Rs. 2700 crores but this year, although the Minister has said it is Rs. 1200 crores, kindly make a note that it will touch nearly Rs. 2000 crores. You will have to pay through your nose.

The slogan of export or perish which the rich nations impose on poorer countries is another havoc. The export subsidy given is Rs. 300 crores, at the cost of the poor tax payers.

I will read out one more item and conclude. The West Bengal Government has very clearly said that the remedy in the present system is not the final remedy. It has said:

(a) The Union Government must introduce a comprehensive system of public procurement and distribution covering the major cereals, pulses, salt, sugar, textiles, edible oils, kerosene, diesel oil, match boxes, paper and washing soap; (b) these commodities should be sold at a uniform price all over the country; (c) a special fund of Rs. 500 crores should be set aside to subsidise the public procurement-cum-distribution operations; (d) foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 1000 crores should be earmarked for essential imports; (e) exports of food articles, including sugar, and of other scarce commodities should be banned forthwith; (f) 80 per cent of the total output of sugar should be reserved for public distribution and

the entire sum indicated in the Union Government budget for subsidising sugar exports should be diverted for supplying sugar to the public at Rs. 2.50 per kilogramme; (g) the *status quo ante* as obtaining in the prices of coal, textiles, petroleum products, match boxes, etc., prior to the presentation of the Union Budget in February 1979, should be restored and excise duties imposed by the Centre on these commodities should be withdrawn; (h) all imports of oils and edible oils should be channelled through the public distribution system; (i) a sharp curtailment of credit to the monopoly industrial houses; and (j) massive releases of foodgrains from the Central stockpile through the public distribution system and through food for work programmes.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me time. I am indeed most grateful to you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motions moved:

"That this House expresses its deep concern at the steep rise in prices of essential commodities and recommends that urgent steps be taken to bring down the prices."

"That this House notes with deep concern and anguish the unprecedented price rise and widespread blackmarketing of many items and recommends that a net work of public distribution system be created within three months from date."

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT, (East Delhi): After listening to my friend Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu against today, after a long time, it is again clear that he learns nothing and he forgets nothing. His one-point programme, all the time—I have seen him in this House now and I have seen him in the previous Lok Sabha when I was there—is denigration of Mrs. Gandhi with all kinds of arguments, wrong, false, fictitious and sometimes absolutely baseless. This is what he has been doing all along.

Now, you say the Congress has been in power for 30 years: it is because

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

of your mercy? Is it because of the mercy of your Party or of anybody else? The Congress was in power for 30 years because the people of India voted the Congress to power. Mrs. Gandhi has not ruled this country for eleven years, and she is not ruling the country now, because of your mercy. You did you worst.

With all the mud-slinging, with all the character-assassination, with all your Shah Commission, of which you were also a strong admirer and supporter, with all the gross misuse of the media, with all your campaign, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is back in power because she has been supported by the people of India. Now, you say that she has been in power, the Congress has been in power, for 30 years. But with whom were you collaborating? During the last two and a half years, you had been collaborating with the Janata Party; most of the time, you had been collaborating, and here and there, in order that all the sins of the Janata Party should not fall on you, here and there, you have tried, slightly, to give some kind of a note of dissent. Otherwise, you were collaborating with them. The worst collaborators with the Janata Party during the last two and a half years have been the CPM. Therefore, you have been their partner in all their sins. Even now you are doing it; recently, I read in the newspapers—and I am sure that Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu would not have the guts to contradict me when I say this—that one of their important leaders has said that they are thinking of a grand alliance along with the Janata Party for contesting the Assembly elections. This is what you are doing. When I was hearing the so-called revolutionary whose Party is ruling in West Bengal, I was thinking, seeing the kind of fretting and fuming that he does here, that many heads of black-marketeers would have rolled in West Bengal; I thought that price rise must have been, to some extent, contained there. Maintenance of prices, contain-

ing price-rise, enforcement of prices, under the Essential Commodities Act, is the responsibility of the State Government. I thought that the Government in West Bengal, which is his Party's Government, would, perhaps, have done something extra, something better than the others, in containing or stopping price rise. This brave, so-called revolutionary talks in a brave language, and sometimes we have heard them say this; we have also said it; 'Hang the black-marketeers by the nearest lamp-post'. But here are these revolutionaries who are not prepared to use even the Prevention Detention Act against the black-marketeers. Let Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu tell me this: against how many black-marketeers in West Bengal have you taken action; what did you do to enforce prices under the Essential Commodities Act? Nothing. The price situation in West Bengal is, in fact, worse, according to what little I know. I am not an expert in economics; I am an ordinary worker, and I am voicing the feelings of the ordinary man; and whatever observations and submissions I make, I make them in my own way without loading the House with any figures and so on which some of my hon. friends, in their wisdom, have chosen to do. The price situation in West Bengal—in Calcutta and other places—is, in fact, worse than elsewhere in the country; in any case, it is not better. What I am respectfully submitting for the consideration of this House is this. Certainly, the question of containment of price-rise is a very complex question, is a very difficult question, and I am fully of the view that a mere *status quo* approach will not do, mere tinkering with it will not do, merely adopting the old way of stopping or containing it will not do. No miracles are possible; I know. Yet, the people of India do expect miracles from Smt. Indira Gandhi. They have faith that she would do something to contain price-rise though it is a very difficult job.

My learned friend, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, as usual, was giving very many suggestions; he gave almost a

very long list of suggestions. I want to ask him. During these 2½ years what happened to these suggestions? When he was a Cabinet Minister, what happened to these suggestions? It was your government. Sir, it is a national problem and I do not want to unnecessarily politicalise it. It was your government of which you were a party and which gave a budget, which gave record taxation, record inflation and an increase in prices which was a record in the history of this country. You cannot deny it. How did you become a party to that? An explanation that we have been hearing is his. Chaudhary Charan Singh says, 'No, everybody was responsible'. Morarji Desai says, 'No, it was Charan Singh who gave the budget'. One Minister says that another Minister gave the Budget and so he was not responsible. In the recent elections we heard them saying, 'Charan Singh was the man responsible for this' to which the reply of the people was, 'All of you are sinners and so you ought to be punished,' and they have punished them.

Now for such a heavy inflation rate who is responsible? I do not say that the Congress rule for 30 years was not responsible. I do not say that. But now is the time to put things right. I would suggest to the government and the party to which I belong. I have a few suggestions for their consideration. I have seen and I had something to do with the containment of prices in Delhi during the emergency.

I always observed that the difference sometimes between the price at which it is available to the consumer and the price at which it comes from the factory or from the grower to the consumer has generally been between 30 to sometimes 300 per cent. I would suggest for your consideration and I wish to state it very frankly that no one Ministry will be able to solve this problem. Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee alone or his Ministry of Civil Supplies will not be able to solve this problem.... (Interruptions)

It is a complex problem. It requires a multi-pronged attack, a multi-pronged approach and a co-ordinated approach for containment of prices. There must be a National Prices Containment High-power Board at the Centre which must look into the prices.

Sir, prices are being raised for articles for which there is no justification excepting that this government will take some steps to curb the price rise. So many unscrupulous manufacturers are deliberately raising the prices so that afterwards they can come forward and say, 'Well, we are ready to reduce it.' Therefore, I caution the government. At present there is no machinery at the centre in the sense it should be there. There must be a Central Price Vigilance Board and it should not be the usual type of a Board consisting of some experts here and there and some Ministers and so on which meets after six months. They must sit day to day, consider the situation of prices of various items, go into all the factors and take on-the-spot decisions which should be binding.

Then one Board at the Centre will not do. The mere power of the government will not be able to contain the prices. It will be the power of the people which should be involved. I am sorry to say—the consumer feels helpless. He feels unhappy, he is sore and he is almost killed and he is being fleeced. He is being looted and yet he is not organised. Whatever he feels he cannot say it in an organised manner. It has to be the combined sanction and strength of the government and the people which can certainly help in reducing the prices by creating the necessary atmosphere. Therefore, I would suggest that in all the States, in all the districts and in all the towns, there must be Price Vigilance Committees consisting of officials and non-officials whose job should be to review weekly the price situation at their places and see that an atmosphere is created that somebody is looking into it, somebody is giving attention to it and the

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

people will also feel that they are involved in it and it is the strength of the people and the strength of the government which has to get together to contain this price-spiral. I am very strongly against taking action against an innocent person. But, a very strong action is required to be taken against the blackmarketeers and hoarders. Prof. Dandavate was saying that there is a lot of black money in the country. I ask him: What did he do to unearth it? Mrs. Gandhi undertook a scheme under which over Rs. 1,000 crores—at least Rs. 1700 crores were brought to the surface by her.

For three years where were you sleeping? You were busy managing the Railways. I know it. I have faith in your ability, in your integrity, in your honesty. I do not mean any personal reflection on you. But the point is: what did you do then? What I say is this. What is necessary is a proper distribution system. You have almost wrecked it.

I know that. For Delhi, I want to make a few observations and then I will end my speech. In Delhi what a havoc they played—the Janata Government played? They played a havoc in the distribution system. They put their own channels their men were allotted the ration shops to run them and to loot the people. Virtually no action was taken. Artificial shortage was created. There was mal-distribution of sugar, of cement; no action was taken by them. After they had lost the elections because their friends were the capitalists, because their friends were the vested interests.

13.56 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair] Mr. Bosu, you were their collaborator. I challenge you—because they were of their friends—they became their vested interests—there was a higher price-rise. They deliberately started making the situation worse as a result of which they created the

chaotic situation in Delhi; on the price front there was a virtual chaos. Nothing was done to stop it. In fact they were busy collecting money, looting money from the people. They took money from the people. The situation became chaotic. The result of all that was that the Metropolitan Council had to be abolished. What I may suggest is this. Prof. Dandavate, you might laugh at me; you might ridicule me. But go and talk to the people of Delhi and see for yourself. A bunch of Janata people in Delhi were the collaborators of blackmarketeers. They were their friend and supporters. They deliberately created this situation in Delhi. I would ask my friend, the Minister, to create a Civil Supplies Corporation for other places as also for Delhi soon and create the conditions in the light of what I am suggesting. Every effort must be made to see that the prices are contained. For sugar, who is responsible? Who was responsible for less sugarcane production? Is it not due to the wrong policy of the Janata Government in regard to Sugar? You followed a wrong agricultural policy. Of course they are friends of the cultivators. The former Prime Minister Shri Charan Singh's homeland is the sugar land. The position was worst during his time. He was also pulled down. It was during his time that the sugar cultivators got the worst thing. Your wrong sugar policy and agricultural policy led the country to this situation. Finally, Sir, I would say that Government must take steps, bold steps to increase the production wherever it is lacking. They should take bold steps to contain the rise in prices and increase the production of essential commodities. For that a combined action, concerted action, vigilant action and every day action is necessary.

I hope that various voluntary organisations, newspapers and others will join hands with the government and the people in waging a relentless war against the price rise. Then only we can succeed.

With these words, I thank you for the opportunity you have given to me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Rajagopal Naidu.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Chittoor): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have heard the Janata Leader. I have respect for him. He talked like an economist and not like the Janata leader. I am happy about it. He wanted parity in prices. During the Janata Rule what they have done is this. When they came to power, the first thing that they did was that they had prohibited the export of agricultural commodities to other countries saying that they were doing it in the interest of the consumers.

14 hrs.

Because of that, the price of every commodity went up at least by 15 per cent at the existing level. It helped only the capitalists. What about the cotton growers, sugarcane growers, jute growers and others. All of them lost 5,000 crores within one year due to fall in prices. Capitalists gained enormous profits. That the result of the Janata party government's rule. When sugarcane prices fell down the sugarcane growers of U.P. agitated in Lucknow, they went on a peaceful demonstration. Prof. Rangaji and others led them very peacefully. But what did the Janata party government give them! Not the price but lathi-charge. They had broken their heads and legs. That is the way in which they had behaved against the agriculturists. Now they want parity of prices. When we wanted remunerative price Shri Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister, warned the factory owners not to raise the sugarcane price which was below remunerative level. He warned the Agricultural Prices Commission not to raise the price of foodgrains. That is the way in which Janata Party helped the agriculturists. I agree that there should be parity in prices and I thank Mr. Dandavate that now

he has come forward with this idea. We want parity in prices. No sooner did our government take over the Cabinet decided to enlarge the scope of the Agricultural Prices Commission and to include the managerial expenses also to fix up the prices of agricultural commodities. Therefore, Indiraji's government now wants to help the agriculturists and that is why the Cabinet has taken that decision. The Janata Government had not helped the agriculturists.

Sir, it is said that Government has not taken any firm decision with regard to the nationalisation of sugar industry. What did the Janata government do? They had not done anything with regard to that. When we wanted nationalisation of sugar industry and also when we wanted to control the sugar factories so that they may pay the arrears of the sugarcane which they had already taken the Janata government did not take any effective steps to clear those arrears. When such was the case how can they say that Janata Government served the agriculturists.

Sir, he wanted the elimination of black money. Quite right. But he must show the way also.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have done it.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: They had not shown the way. Now you are showing the way because you are in the Opposition. Certainly we will take your advice and see that black-money gets eliminated. With regard to price, there must be an integrated policy for any Government to follow. Our Government will do it, I am having faith in it. But unless production is stabilised and unless production is increased, it is not possible for any Government to reduce prices. The Janata Government had a policy to discourage production. I know this. When jaggery prices went down and jaggery workers asked Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh the then Minister for Agriculture the Minister said, don't grow sugarcane. That was the advice

[Shri P. Rajagopal Naidu]

given to the agriculturists. They have encouraged reduction of cultivation of sugarcane. Therefore there is reduction in the production of sugar. Mr. Madhu Dandavate said, it is because the sword was hanging upon the sugar industrialists that sugar production went down. What I say is this: Sugarcane production itself went down. Therefore sugar production went down. That is also one important reason. That is why I say, there should be a stable policy with regard to the fixation of price for agricultural commodities. Unless there is fixation of price for agricultural commodities and unless they are maintained, it is not possible to increase agricultural production. Unless agricultural production is increased it is not possible for us to keep the prices low.

There must be a law. There is no law now. In almost all countries—not only in developed countries, but in developing countries—there is a law for fixation—not only for fixation of the price but also for implementation of these price laws. Government fixes up the price which we call support price. But they are not buying the surplus. Therefore, there is a lacuna in this respect. Therefore, there must be a machinery to completely purchase these things. And also with regard to the essential commodities I want to suggest that there must be a buffer stock. In scarcity days it is not possible for us to import the commodity or to grow the commodity here. Therefore we must have a buffer stock with regard to sugar or kerosene or diesel oil or any other thing. Either we have to import it or we have to procure it from our own sources. We must see that buffer stocks are maintained. Only when these buffer stocks are maintained will it be possible for us to meet the demands of our people. Then only we can control the prices. Therefore, this aspect of the matter must be taken into account.

Sir, many people have said about the drought conditions. The drought

now comprises of 16 crores of people and 11 States. It is not an ordinary drought. Of course our Government is taking all steps to meet the demand of the people and they are doing all that they can to help the people. But I will suggest one thing. This is with regard to the Food-for-work programme. Under these drought conditions the help of the Government is quite necessary in the rural areas, especially to the rural workers. The Food-for-work scheme which was introduced by Shrimati Indira Gandhi will help the rural areas in two respects. One is, helping agricultural workers to earn their livelihood and also to create permanent assets in villages like roads, school buildings, panchayat ghars, tanks, channels and other things. Therefore, the allotment must be increased. Now a provisional allotment is made of Rs. 70 crores in this Budget. But that is not sufficient. It is going on on an *ad hoc* basis. If it is on *ad hoc* basis then there is a difficulty. The States are not able to plan to provide cash component and to spend the allotment given to them. Therefore, it must be on a permanent basis and it must be raised to at least 5 million tonnes and now because there is drought the allotment should be raised. Regarding food for work, there are two things. One is the normal plan and the other is the Special Plan. Under the Special Plan, immediately allotment should be increased. It must be moved immediately. Then only we can meet the drought conditions.

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव (आजमगढ़) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, आज इस सदन में एक ऐसे विषय पर हम विचार कर रहे हैं जिससे हमारे देश की जनता का हर वर्ग प्रभावित है। रोजमर्रा के इस्तेमाल में आने वाले सामनों की बढ़ती हुई कीमतें। चाहे अनाज हो, चाहे, तेल हो, चीनी हो, कायला हों, साबून हो, चाय हो, हर चीज जो भी हम इस्तेमाल करते हैं, उस हर चीज की कीमत दिन-प्रति-दिन बगैर किसी रोक-टोक के बढ़ती जा रही है। ऐसे लोग जो अपने घरों के मामलों में

दिलचस्पी रखते हैं, उन्हें इस बात का पता चलता है कि हर हफ्ते जिन्दगी के काम में आने वाले सामान के दाम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। जो सामान पहले हफ्ते में खरीदा गया, दूसरे में उसका दाम बढ़ता हुआ नजर आया।

श्रीमन्, इससे हर वर्ग परेशान है। लेकिन जो सब से गरीब लोग हैं, मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं, जो हमारे देश की आबादी का 85 प्रतिशत हिस्सा है, आज उसकी सब से ज्यादा कमी टूट रही है इस बढ़ती हुई मंहगाई से। आज हमारे सामने यह सवाल नहीं है, जैसा कि कहा गया कि जनता पार्टी के शासन काल में मंहगाई बढ़ी कि जनता पार्टी के जमाने में मंहगाई बढ़ी या कांग्रेस के कि हमारे सामने सच्चाई है कि जिन्दगी की जरूरत की चीजों की कीमतें निरन्तर बढ़ रही हैं। यह आज वास्तविकता है। यह ठीक है कि जनता पार्टी के जमाने में भी कीमतें बढ़ी लेकिन आज उससे ज्यादा कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं। जो चीज आज हमारी जिन्दगी को तबाह कर रही है, उससे हम एक दूसरे पर दोषारोपण कर के आख नहीं मूद सकते।

श्रीमन्, आज देश के किसी भी कोने में साढ़े छः रुपये से आठ रुपये किलो चीनी मिल रही है। खाने के काम आने वाला तेल 14 रुपये से 16 रुपये किलो मिल रहा है। किसान जो डीजल इस्तेमाल करता है, वह डीजल 8 रुपये लीटर में चोरबाजारी में खरीदने के लिए मजबूर हो रहा है। मैं कल मेरठ जिले में था। वहां के विद्यार्थियों के एक स्कूल का शिलान्यास करने गया था। वहां सैंकड़ों विद्यार्थियों ने मुझे घेर कर कहा कि हमारे इम्तिहानों के दिन हैं, बिजली रात को आती नहीं, मिट्टी का तेल भी नहीं मिलता है जिससे कि हम पढ़ाई कर सकें। श्रीमन् यह केवल एक जगह की ही बात नहीं है। देश के सारे हिस्से में ही ऐसा है। मैं 15 दिन पहले तमिलनाडु में था। वहां भी यही स्थिति थी। वहां भी गरीबों, मध्यम दर्जे के लोगों ने यही शिकायत की कि देश में कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं। जैसा कि भगत जी ने अभी कहा, वास्तविकता वह नहीं है। चुनाव से पहले इस देश में चार रुपये किलो, साढ़े चार रुपये किलो चीनी मिलती थी लेकिन वह आज साढ़े छः रुपये से आठ रुपये किलो मिल रही है। इसके लिए कौन जिम्मे-

दार है? इस के लिए हम सोचेंगे या नहीं? इसका कोई हल निकालेंगे या नहीं? आज मिट्टी के तेल की, डीजल की, चाय की, कपड़े की, साबुन की जो कीमतें बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है, उसके लिए सवाल यह नहीं है कि आप उसके लिए किस के ऊपर दोष डालते हैं। सवाल यह है कि क्या ऐसे कदम उठाये जाएंगे जिससे कि हमारे देश की 85 प्रतिशत जनता को उससे राहत मिल सके। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर कौन ऐसा परिवार है जिसमें 6 या 8 आदमी परिवार में हो, और वह परिवार 6 रुपये, 7 रुपये या 8 रुपये से कम में सब्जी खरीद कर खा सके? आप परवल, गोभी, टमाटर किसी के भी दाम ले लीजिए।

वह मजदूर जिस की आमदनी पांच छः रुपये रोज है, वह बुनकर जो सारा दिन मेहनत करने के बाद अपने करघे पर काम करने के बाद पांच छः रुपया कमाता है और अपना पसीना बहाता है, कहां से छः रुपये की सब्जी खरीद सकता है? देहात में रहने वाला आदमी कैसे खरीद सकता है। कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं। इस पर सरकार को हमदर्दी के साथ विचार करना होगा। यह सवाल देश की जनता के लिये, राष्ट्रीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए चुनौती बन रहा है और इस सवाल पर आपको ठंडे दिल से गौर करना होगा। भगत जी वैंस्ट बंगाल की सरकार के ऊपर दोष डाल सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह वास्तविकता नहीं है कि जिस शहर में वह रहते हैं और हम सब रहते हैं यानी दिल्ली क्या यह लंदन से भी अधिक महंगा शहर आज नहीं हो गया है? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि बम्बई शहर आज लंदन से भी ज्यादा महंगा शहर हो गया है? किसी पर इस का दोष डालना, मैं समझता हूँ कि वास्तविकता पर पर्दा डालना होगा। ऐसा करना सच्चाई से मुकरना होगा। अगर इस चुनौती को स्वीकार नहीं किया गया तो हिन्दूस्तान की अर्थव्यवस्था भयंकर रूप धारण कर लेगी। वैसे ही वह एक भयंकर संकट के दौर से गुजर रही है। हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था के सामने आज चुनौती क्या है? सब से बड़ी चुनौती यह है कि हमारा उत्पादन ठहराव की स्थिति में पहुँच गया है, इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन में स्टैगनेशन आ गया है। यह एक वास्तविकता है कि हमें

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

औद्योगिक उत्पादन करने के लिये बिजली नहीं मिल रही है, डीजल कारखानों को चलाए रखने के लिये नहीं मिल रहा है, करोड़ों टन किसानों का अनाज सूखे के कारण इस वास्ते सूख गया कि उन को डीजल और बिजली उपलब्ध नहीं कराई जा सकी, उनके ट्यूबवैल लगे हुए हैं लेकिन बिजली के अभाव में वे चल नहीं सके, नहरें नहीं चल सकती थीं, इसलिए कि पानी की कमी हो गई थी, इजन चलाने के लिए आपके पास डीजल और कोयला नहीं था, ट्यूबवैल जो डीजल से चलते हैं, वे चल नहीं सके क्योंकि डीजल का अभाव था।

सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली की क्या स्थिति है। 85 प्रतिशत फेयर प्राइस शाप्स जिन को हम कहते हैं वे आज शहरों में हैं या छोटे छोटे कस्बों में हैं। सत्तर प्रतिशत जनता जो गांवों में रहती है, उसको कोई पछने वाला नहीं है। गांव में रहने वाले 54 फीसदी आदमी आज गरीबी की रेखा के अन्दर रह कर जिन्दगी बिता रहे हैं, 48 प्रतिशत आबादी शहरों में ऐसी है जो गरीब है, जो गरीबी की सीमा में रह रही है। उनकी आमदनी बढ़ाने का कोई उपाय नहीं किया गया है। उनकी परचीजिंग पावर गिरती चली जा रही है, हर महीने गिरती चली जा रही है। आज समस्या आम आदमी की क्रय शक्ति, परचीजिंग पावर बढ़ाने की है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बारे में सरकार क्या सोच रही है। कैसे वह मजदूर की आमदनी बढ़ाने जा रही है, कैसे जो खेती विहीन मजदूर है, खेतिहर मजदूर है उनकी आमदनी को बढ़ाने जा रही है। शहरों में जो मजदूर काम करते हैं महंगाई जब बढ़ती है तो उनकी आमदनी को बढ़ाया नहीं जाता है। उसकी आमदनी को कैसे बढ़ाया जाए, यह समस्या है। अगर सरकार ने इन समस्याओं का निराकरण नहीं किया तो सरकार को एक भयंकर स्थिति का मुकाबला करना पड़ेगा। महंगाई पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करना पड़ेगा।

आप मुद्रा स्फीति को लें। 23 प्रतिशत बह दश में बढ़ी है या 24 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। सरकार ने जान बूझकर इस साल का

बजट घेघ नहीं किया क्योंकि विधान सभाओं के चुनाव आ रहे थे। गरीब जनता की भवनाओं को भड़का कर उसको उनका वोट लेना था। लेकिन इस चुनाव के बाद सरकार किस तरह से साधन इकट्ठे करेगी? इनको इकट्ठा उसको करना पड़ेगा। सरकार को इरादे हम को मालूम हैं। गरीबों के ऊपर, मध्यम दर्जे के लोगों के ऊपर, जिन की आमदनी बंधी हुई है, उन के ऊपर सरकार बड़े पैमाने पर चुनावों के बाद टैक्स लगाने वाली है। तब क्या होगा? तब मुद्रा स्फीति और बढ़ेगी। यह देश हित में नहीं होगा। इस सब को रोकने के लिए आप को प्रभावकारी कदम उठाने होंगे।

कैपेसेटी का आज अंडर-युटिलाइजेशन हो रहा है चाहे वे इस्पात के कारखाने हो, बताएगी कि उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए सरकार बताएगी कि उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए सरकार ने पिछले दो महीनों में कौन-कौन से कदम उठाए हैं ताकि देश की जनता को इस बात का यकीन हो सके कि आने वाले समय में हमारे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा।

आज अभाव की स्थिति है। इस अभाव की स्थिति का फायदा इस देश में कौन उठाता है? चोरबाजारी करने वाले, जखीरेबाजी करने वाले और इस देश के बड़े उद्योगपति इस अभाव की स्थिति का फायदा उठाते हैं। पिछले 10 साल के आंकड़े इस बात के सबूत हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में कारखानों में जो सामान पैदा करने वाले पूंजीपति हैं उनकी आमदनी, और उनमें उत्पादित चीजों की कीमतें मनमाने तरीके से बढ़ी हैं। कारखानों में बनने वाले सामान की कीमतें गत 10 वर्षों में 170 फीसदी बढ़ी हैं। यह वह सामान है जिसको उद्योगपति अपने कारखानों में पैदा करता है। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ इस देश के किसान द्वारा पैदा की गई चीजों की कीमतें पिछले 10 सालों में केवल 50 फीसदी बढ़ी हैं। यह भेदभाव क्यों? इस देश के रिजर्व बैंक की रिपोर्ट, सरकारी आंकड़े और जो आर्थिक समीक्षा निकलती है उससे इस बात की पुष्टि होती है।

आज हमारे देश की स्थिति इसलिये और भयानक हो रही है कि हमारी आने वाली पीढ़ी को उचित आहार नहीं मिलता है। इस देश में 80 फीसदी लोगों के बच्चे ऐसे

हैं जिन्हें दूध पीने को नसीब नहीं होता। ऐसे बच्चे हैं जिन्हें सूखी रोटी पेट भरने के लिये नसीब नहीं होती। इसका नतीजा क्या होगा? नतीजा यह होने वाला है कि हमारे देश की भावी सन्तान की दिमागी और शारीरिक शक्ति दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के मुकाबले में कम होने वाली है।

आज हमारी क्या आर्थिक स्थिति है? अमरीका का रहने वाला आदमी प्रति दिन 690 ग्राम दूध पीता है। फ्रांस के अन्दर एक आदमी 620 ग्राम, इटली में 630 ग्राम दूध पीता है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का आदमी औसतन 116 ग्राम दूध पीता है। उसमें भी यह दूध केवल 20 प्रतिशत लोगों के पास जाता है। 80 फीसदी लोगों के बच्चों को एक घूंट दूध भी नसीब नहीं होता है। दूसरे मुल्कों में चाहे वह पूंजीवादी मुल्क हो या समाजवादी मुल्क हो, जो विकसित देश हैं, जैसे रूस, युगोस्लाविया, अमरीका, फ्रांस, इटली, कनाडा, आस्ट्रेलिया, इन देशों में आज पर कौंपटा 3,000 केलारीज व्यक्ति रोज इस्तेमाल करता है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में केवल 1,800 केलारीज प्रति व्यक्ति इस्तेमाल करता है। क्या इस पर हम सांच रहे हैं कि नहीं?

श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी ने चुनाव के समय इसी दिल्ली के अन्दर बढी हुई प्याज की कीमतों को अपने चुनाव का मुद्दा बनाया, और हमारे देश के गरीब लोगों ने महसूस किया, उस वक्त उन्हें जो सबसे ज्यादा चीज खल रही थी वह बढी हुई प्याज की कीमतें थी, उसका श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी ने इस्तेमाल किया और कहा कि जनता पार्टी की, लोकदल की हकूमत है इसलिये प्याज की कीमतें बढी हैं। अगर यह हकूमतों नहीं होती तो मैं देश के अन्दर प्याज, कपडा और खाने के सामान की कीमतें कम कर देती। लेकिन आज क्या हो रहा है? उन्हीं के राज्य में चीनी 4 रुपये प्रति किलो से बढ़ कर 8 रुपये पर बिक रही है। दो महीने के अन्दर ही एडिबिल आयल 10 रुपये प्रति किलो से बढ़ कर 14 रुपये हो गया। डीजल जो 3 रुपये लिटर से भी कम होना चाहिये वह आज 8 रुपये लिटर मिल रहा है। आज मामूली आदमी के इस्तेमाल के लिये और विद्यार्थियों को पढने के लिए मिट्टी का तेल नहीं मिल

रहा है। किसानों की फसल सूख रही है। कोई उनको पूछने वाला नहीं है। बलूक मारकोटिंग को रोकने के लिये हमने प्रिवॉटिव डिवेंशन कानून पास किया। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी के जमाने में कितने लोग बलूक मारकोटिंग के लिए पकड़े गये हैं? आज सारा हिन्दुस्तान राष्ट्रपति शासन के अन्दर है, बंगाल और केरल पर शासक दल की निगाहें इसलिये हैं कि वहां उनका दाल नहीं गल सकी, लेकिन पूरी अपनी शक्ति का दुरुपयोग कर के देश के 10 प्रदेशों के अन्दर इन्दिरा राष्ट्रपति शासन लगा दिया उसके बाद भी गरीब आदमी की महंगाई से कमर टूट रही हो, गरीब हरिजन और आदिवासी के बच्चे जलायें जाएं, दिन दहाड़े उनकी हत्याएँ की जाएं, उनके मकान जलाए जाएं, वह इस देश में असुरक्षित महसूस करे, क्या यही इनका शासन है?

असम की समस्या को ही आप ले लें। वहां की समस्या की बुनियाद में हमारे देश की आर्थिक परिस्थितियां ही हैं। आज वहां का नाजवान महसूस कर रहा है कि उसके लिये इस देश में कोई भविष्य नहीं है। आज उन्हें कोई काम नहीं मिलने वाला है। समय आ गया है कि हमारे देश के हित में, हमारी संसदीय व्यवस्था के हित में जो बुनियादी सवाल है, इस देश की गहरी होती हुई आर्थिक संकट की समस्या, उसके ऊपर सरकार विचार करे। वरना 2 करोड़ से ज्यादा पढ़े नाजवान और नवयुवतियां इस देश में पढने के बाद बेकार बैठे हुए हैं, उन्हें काम नहीं मिल रहा है। आज उनके मन में भयंकर निराशा पैदा हो रही है, जिसका नतीजा यह होगा कि हमारी व्यवस्था एक संकट के दौर में जाकर भवर में फस जाने वाली है अगर सरकार ने उसका कोई रास्ता नहीं निकाला। अगर आज इस समस्या का हल निकालना है तो सरकार को गम्भीरता से सब से पहले जिस तरीके से भी उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है, उसको बढ़ाने के लिये हर संभव कदम उठाना पड़ेगा।

इसलिए मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारी यूटिलाइजेशन कौंपैसिटी में कमी है, पावर हाउस और स्टील प्लान्ट्स का मिस-अनोजमैट है, कोयला खानों में अव्यवस्था है, इस पर सरकार को तुरन्त ध्यान देकर ज्यादा

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

सक्षम काम करने वाली व्यवस्था को बनाना चाहिए।

वहाँ के मजदूरों की बात बारबार कही गई कि मजदूरों को व्यवस्था में प्रबन्ध में भागीदार बनाइये, ट्रेड यूनियनों के साथ बैठकर बात करिये, उनकी समस्याओं पर विचार करिये, मगर सरकार ने एक मौखिक सहानुभूति दी है, इस सम्बन्ध में कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इस काम को सरकार जल्दी से करेगी।

मैंने शुरू में कहा कि 85 फीसदी फेयर प्राइस थाप्स या तो शहरों में हैं या कस्बों में हैं, गांव के गरीब आदमी को बेजबान समझा जाता है, गांव की तरफ कोई इस बारे में ध्यान नहीं है कि गांव के मजदूर, खेतहर को भी सूखी रोटी मिलेगी या नहीं, गांव के बेकार लड़के या लड़की को भी रोटी मिलेगी या नहीं। टोटे मध्यम दर्जे के किसान को भी चीनी, डालडा, साबून, चाय उपलब्ध हो सकेगी या नहीं। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि परमानेंट तरीके से पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम को इस देश में लागू किया जाये।

केवल एमर्जेन्सी की सिचुएशन, सूखा आ गया या बाढ़ आ गई, उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए ही नहीं, बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान आज जिस आर्थिक दौर से गुजर रहा है, उसमें यह जरूरी है कि इस देश में पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम हमारे इकनामिक सिस्टम का एक हिस्सा बन जायें, उसको बड़े पैमाने पर, शहर हो या गांव हो, सब जगह लागू किया जायें।

आज जो हमारे देश में औद्योगिक उत्पादन में ठहराव आ गया है, उसके लिये जरूरी है कि सरकार अपनी पूरी आर्थिक नीति में प्राथमिकता फिर से निर्धारित करे और आने वाले बजट में सरकार को इस बात को ध्यान में रखना पड़ेगा कि जो गरीब लोग हैं, जिनकी आमदनी कम है, कैसे उनकी आमदनी बढ़े, कैसे उनको खाना, कपड़ा, दवा और जिन्दगी की जरूरियात का सामान मिल सके। इस के लिए उसे प्राथमिकता तय करनी पड़ेगी। मेरा सुझाव है कि प्लानिंग कमीशन को निश्चित रूप से डायरेक्शन देना चाहिये कि वह प्राथमिकताओं तरीकों को फिर से बदले, एलाोकेशन को फिर से देखे। जब तक खेती नहीं बढ़ाई जायेगी, छोटे उद्योगों को नहीं बढ़ाया जायेगा, लोगों को

काम मिल सके, इसके लिये जब तक जीव ऑरिएन्टेशन स्कीम बड़े पैमाने पर पूरे देश में लागू नहीं करेगे; हमारे देश में मंहगाई बढ़ेगी और आर्थिक संकट बराबर गहरा होता जायेगा।

यह कोई सूखे या बाढ़ का संकट नहीं है, इससे समस्या ज्यादा विकराल और गहरी हो जाती है, मगर पिछले वर्षों का अनुभव बताता है कि हमारी व्यवस्था पर एक पूंजीवादी शक्ति बराबर हावी होती जा रही है। इस देश के लिये यह जरूरी है कि पूंजीपतियों को ऊपर सरकार नियंत्रण लगाये, पब्लिक सेक्टर का विस्तार करे, पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम को बढ़ाये। गांव, छोटे उद्योगों की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दे और मिडिल-मैन को इलीमिनेट करने के लिये योजना बनाये। साधारणतः क्या होता है कि कपड़ा बुनने वाला बुनकर लुट जाता है, खेत में अनाज पैदा करने वाला किसान लुट जाता है। जब किसान का गन्ना, गुड़, अनाज मंडियों में पहुँच जाता है, बड़े आदतियों के पास पहुँच जाता है तो उसकी कीमतें अचानक 25, 50 फीसदी बढ़ जाती हैं। इसलिये आज मिडिलमैन का इलिमिनेशन बहुत जरूरी हो गया है, ताकि पैदा करने वाले लोगों की सहो रूप से सहायता हो सके।

कई बार इस देश में इस बात का बड़ा फलू अनुभव किया जाता है कि हमने अपने देश में 20 मिलियन टन अनाज, 4 मिलियन टन चीनी सरप्लस बनाकर रखी है, लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि लोगों की पर्चेजिंग कैपैसिटी में इरोजन हो रहा है। उनकी क्रय-शक्ति गिरती जा रही है। नतीजा यह है कि आज वे लोग गल्ला और जिन्दगी का जरूरी सामान नहीं खरीद सकते। इस लिए सरकार को यह व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि कम से कम ये चार पांच चीजें लोगों को आसानी से और उचित दाम पर मिल सकें मोटा अनाज-गेहूँ, चना, दाल पहनने के लिए कम से कम ऐसा कपड़ा, जो आम आदमी पहन सकता है और गरबे आदतियों के लिए दवाएं।

सरकार को अपनी प्राइस पालिसी पर फिर से गौर करना चाहिए। उसको व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि हर स्तर पर कीमतों का ठीक तरह से निरोक्षण किया जाये और उनको नियंत्रित करने के लिए आम पब्लिक

का सहयोग लिया जाये। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने भी देखा होगा कि यूरोप जैसे विकसित समाज में भी को-आपरेटिव मूवमेंट के जरिये रोज-मर्चा के इस्तेमाल में आने वाले सामान उचित कीमत पर लोगों को उपलब्ध किये जाते हैं।

क्यों नहीं सरकार यह सोचती है कि हमारे देश में भी आने वाले जमाने में को-आपरेटिव मूवमेंट और कनज्यूमर सोसायटीज को प्रोत्साहन दिया जायें, ताकि रोज-मर्चा के इस्तेमाल की चीजें लोगों को मिल सकें ?

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार बढ़ती हुई कीमतों के सवाल को किसी दलगत राजनीति का सवाल नहीं बनायेगी। आज आम जनता बढ़ती हुई कीमतों से कराह रही है। उसके मन में बराबर डर बना हुआ है, क्योंकि पिछले दिनों का अनुभव बताया है कि हर हफ्ते और हर महीने कीमतों लगातार बढ़ती जा रही हैं और वे उसकी बर्दाश्त से बाहर हो रही हैं। इस लिए सरकार को इस बारे में प्रभावकारी कदम उठाना चाहिए।

SHRI B. K. NAIR (Quilon): I certainly share in all earnestness the concern expressed by the hon. Members of the other side about rising prices. It is not a party question, I entirely agree. I think it should be handled and viewed as an issue outside politics. As far as possible we should try to keep out politics from our consideration of economic issues like this. It is a matter which concerns the entire course of our people. We are representing, each of us, about 5-6 lakhs of voters and I certainly share their concern inasmuch as in our constituencies poor and downtrodden people predominate. To the extent that we claim to represent them in Parliament, it should be our earnest concern to ameliorate the situation. The price situation is alarming. It has been going on for quite a long time. I do not want to find scapegoats but it cannot be forgotten that our policies in the industrial field, economic field and other fields have contributed to this rise in prices. I do not believe that this is

going to be the last occasion on which this issue is being discussed; it is not the firsts. Even this Parliament has been discussing this issue on so many other occasions; certainly in the future also we may have occasions to discuss this issue.

When we are dealing with the price situation, let us appreciate the fact that it is not allround increase in price we are concerned about. There were times when we were alarmed about the rise in the price of food-grains, cereals, potatoes, onions, etc. Fortunately, though we certainly cannot say that everything is within the reach of everybody, the alarming rise is restricted to certain items. In respect of certain other items there has been a steady fall in their prices, for example, onions about which there were complaints, friends were clamouring the other day that oranges were rotting in Raipur because there was no transport. It is a complex problem. You cannot single out certain things for condemnation and overlook the fact that there has been growth in other respects. We find that there are a lot of bottlenecks in regard to production, in regard to transport and in regard to distribution. Now in all these three stages we have very serious bottlenecks. The first is in regard to production. Production has been falling over the past two or three years due to wrong policies adopted by the Government. The only solution that they, Janata Party, could resort to was import. What did they do with regard to idle capacity? When capacity was idle, they imported a lot of cement. When they found that somebody complained that the coal that is produced in our country is not suitable, just on advice that it is not suitable, they went in for import of coal from Australia. They imported steel and all sorts of things because easy money was available. They did not care for the future of the country. They did not care to see that the machinery was lying idle. They did not care to satisfy the demand of the workmen. They did

[Shri B. K. Nair]

not meet their demand and did not put the production machinery going. Rather than going into all this—slackness in production in our own available capacity—they resorted to large scale imports, so much so that our production capacity suffered still further. We are ultimately now faced with the situation where we have to build up all things over once again.

Janata Party had one particular feature as their guiding philosophy. All of them were against public sector. There is no doubt about that. All the time they were engaged in denigrating Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and, of course, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. In that process they denigrated public sector. They thought by denigrating public sector they would be successful in erasing the memory of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the history of India. That is one of the serious mistakes they committed. In erasing the memory of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru they went to the extent of pulling down all the structures that were laboriously built up and they went in for easy solutions. Unfortunately, during the past 2½ years there was no Government worth the while either in the Centre or in the States. They were more concerned with the Chair. They were more concerned with their fortune. They were quarrelling all the time. They forgot the people. Now they stand up and say, look here, people are suffering and people are starving. They are not very honest and sincere. Had they been honest and sincere they could have seen the trend of the time and they would have woken up much earlier than that.

Now what is the solution of the problem? Shrimati Indira Gandhi and our party are wedded to twenty point programme. I do not think it is a panacea but it does go a long way to increase production and in installing fair means of distribution. That is our objective. Without increase in production you cannot have any sort of social justice meted out to the people nor we can satisfy the

economic needs. Production is the basic thing. We can go in for democratisation as suggested by the Janata Party to stop black money but this will take time.

Within the existing structure, there are very serious limitations. How far we can go, how to function within the available structure and within the shortest possible time, it is no use suggesting to build paradise after 50 years and to make people to wait. No. I think we are concerned with immediate problems of price control. I think the attention should be paid to increase production and also to oil our transport machinery. Transport is a very important thing. The transport system has suffered a lot because Janata Government could not satisfy railmen inspite of promises to them. There was a promise to railmen for bonus. Even though stalwarts like George Fernandes and Madhu Dandavate were in the Cabinet they could not fulfil the needs of the railmen and transport has been suffering and the railmen have been suffering. Now there is a definite and fair promise that something will be done about it. I presume the railmen are satisfied that when Shrimati Indira Gandhi promises, something is done. It is not like Janata Party promising and promising but not keeping their words.

Our party has come to power. Things are being done even though they are not big mighty things, but things are being done in our limited capacity. We are getting things done one by one. I am happy that production has been stepped up in certain respects. The movement of goods has also improved. About the distribution system I may say it is not so very easy. Nationwide distribution system may not be possible. We are 65 crores of people. 65 crores means about 10 crores of families. How to meet the needs of 10 crores of families by the public distribution system? It will have to be limited to urban areas and within certain influential people only. One cannot reach the outskirts of the country—hills and mountains. We cannot reach there. The solution can

only be found through enlarging the field of production.

The last Budget showed a green light to the blackmarketeers and hoarders. When the Government goes in for charging the cess on consumer items like bidi, cigarettes, match boxes, soap and everything, certainly the traders will take it as a signal for higher prices. That showed the signal. There started the entire mischief. Till that time the prices were under control.

Before the transfer of power took place, during the last few years of Mrs. Gandhi's rule, the prices were under control. We had a surplus of foodgrains. That was the main contributory factor. We had a good monsoon. During the Janata rule also, they had good monsoons and that was why prices could be kept under control for the first two years of Janata rule. But when the fantastic budget of Shri Charan Singh came into operation, he was trying to set off the urban people against the rural people, the farmers against the traders, so much so, both the farmers and traders started looting the people. The traders supported by Jana Sangh and the farmers supported by BLD started a merry spree of looting the people and a very difficult situation for the people was created. Now effective steps are being taken by the new Government. Our Finance Minister, Shri Venkataraman is trying to sort out control and discipline on the financial side. Other steps are also being taken. A Cabinet Committee has been formed to go into production and also for improving the transport facilities. So, we have taken some concrete steps to control the blackmarket and control the price situation. But there are political parties on the other side which will enjoy the prices going up. They want to make political capital out of it. There are parties in Kerala who go about saying, "She has been in power for so many days now. What has she done? The prices are going up." So, they are certainly enjoying the prices going up. They are not

cooperating and they are not sincere about controlling the prices and checking hoarding and blackmarketing. The West Bengal Government has come out with a fantastic advertisement which says:

"Every day the market gets more combustible. One's daily necessities soar in price. Most things are becoming out of reach. All this is part of our daily experience. Has this problem no solution?"

Is it not possible for ten essential articles like foodgrains, sugar, oil, kerosene, cloth to be sold at fixed low prices throughout the country and be distributed through ration shops thus bringing them within the orbit of the purchasing power of the common people? We feel this can be done. The Central Government can initiate such a measure throughout the country. The State Government has no stock of foreign exchange to enable them to import goods from abroad nor can they obtain materials from the other States without the Centre's permission. It is therefore, the primary responsibility of the Centre to procure them, since the means of transportation and communication are entirely in their hands. The Central Government has to undertake the despatch of goods to the various States. After all this, it is up to the State Government to carry on as best as it can."

So, they have no role to play. They are having their honeymoon with blackmarketeers and hoarders. They assure them that they will not be arrested and they will not be detained. We feel that if all the State Governments cooperate in the business of controlling blackmarketing and hoarding, if only they detain half a dozen captains in the field of hoarding and blackmarketing, in the various cities and towns, then prices can be controlled. Let them take this step. The Central Government should also be very earnest in implementing this law. In the States where the President's rule is in operation, the Central Government can implement.

[Shri B. K. Nair]

it. The various States also should take action along these lines.

About sugar, I feel the time has come now to go in for importing some sugar, if necessary and also to reduce the free sale, to ease the situation so far as availability of sugar is concerned. Free sale can be abolished for the time being and that also can be distributed to the people to meet the shortage.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Ram Gopal Reddy.

An HON. MEMBER: He is a sugar magnate!

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): I am a sugarcane grower.

Sir, the socialist group in the Janata Party wanted to do something good for the country, but unfortunately they were in such a microscopic minority in that party that they could not do anything. Shri Mohan Dharia tried his level best to introduce the public distribution system, which was introduced by Shrimati Gandhi long long ago. But unfortunately, they have destroyed everything. There was no system during the Janata period. As a matter of fact, it was a non-governance period from 1977 to 1979. As you know, psychology plays a great part in controlling the prices. As soon as Madam Gandhi assumed power, prices have started falling.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Will you tell us what were the prices during 1977-78 and 1978-79?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Reddy does not purchase in retail.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: During 1974, the prices were rising very high. At that time, Madam Gandhi took stringent measures and the prices had gone down. Mr. C. Subramaniam, who was the Finance Minister then, suggested to the Prime Minister to reduce the DA of the Government servants. But Madam

Gandhi said that there should not be any reduction in DA because they would hit the Government servants.

In 1978, we had lot of sugar. At that time, experts suggested to the Government to have a buffer stock of 10 million tonnes. Unfortunately, the Government did not do it. They just de-controlled it and all the sugar was smuggled out of the country.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: With the knowledge of the Government?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: Yes, Sir! If not in connivance; it was within their knowledge. Sugar was mostly smuggled out and most of it was consumed in the country also. The sugar price went down rock bottom. On account of that, sugar famine has come. At that time, we had 45 lakh tonnes of sugar because production of sugar was 65 lakh tonnes. This year it is not going to touch even 40 lakh tonne. This is the Janata period. This Year, all preparations are being made. Next Year, from October 1980 to April 1981, we are going to have a minimum of 51 lakh tonne of sugar. So, in one Year, our production is going to be more by 25 per cent. There was a period when production of sugar was 30 lakh tonnes. It went up to 50, 55 and 65 lakh tonne. But the Janata Government destroyed the sugar industry. Many sugar factories have suffered huge losses and they are at the verge of liquidation. That is why, I request the Government to continue dual price policy in sugar and at the same time, release more sugar through retail shops.

Coming to oil, it was available at fair-price shops at controlled rates. Shri Mohan Dharia was very particular that this item should continue as a controlled item. But, unfortunately, the Janata Government did not allow him to follow that policy and slowly it was de-controlled. Now the price of oil has gone up. Otherwise, the poor people of this country would have got oil, sugar and other essential commodities at controlled prices.

Coal is a very important item for the development of the country. The thermal factories used to work at a capacity of 58 per cent. During the Janata regime that came down to 40 per cent. So, there was shortage of electricity, which hit our industrial production.

Rice is available in plenty in the country. If there is any shortage in any area, I would request the Minister to release a large quantity to that area. If there is a shortage in Tamil Nadu, we in Andhra Pradesh have got a large quantity and we can supply it at controlled price.

We are importing so many items and that is why the prices of some of our manufactured items have gone up. If we try to manufacture them in our own country, then inflation due to import will not hinder the progress of our country.

During the Janata regime the prices were rising. Now with the fall of the Janata Government I am sure the prices will also fall.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Reddy, you are charging the Janata Government for their failures. But how are you going to bring down the prices? What is your policy?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: One step is de-hoarding and arresting the blackmarketeers. But the most important thing is production. This Government is giving more attention to production. If you wait for another six months, you will notice the increase in production in the fields of oilseeds, foodgrains, sugar and electricity. The construction of dams is in progress. As the Minister said the other day, the plan is to increase the irrigated area by 2½ per cent every year. There are so many other schemes on hand with the Government. Also with the psychological change, the people are feeling that with the present policy of Government a day will come soon when the Opposition will have to applaud the achievements of the Government.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): Sir, many friends have already referred to the fact that this continuing price rise is the single most explosive issue which we are facing in this country. The apparent calm on the surface should not deceive any of us. Unfortunately, most of the newspapers do not report the fact that a great deal of discontent on this issue is being actually expressed in various parts of our country through peoples' dharnas, morchas, demonstrations and so on. Unless a firing or lathi charge takes place, it does not come to the notice of the papers or perhaps to the Parliament itself. But we need not wait for that contingency.

I would like to say a few things on this subject. Because much ground has been covered, I do not want to repeat all that. My good friend, Shri Bhagat, whom I do not see now, made an appeal that this issue should not be politicalised, but then he proceeded to politicalise it. I am, of course, a little embarrassed because I am speaking in the company of so many illustrious ex-Ministers who have sat on the Treasury Benches at one time or the other. And they can of course accuse each other. But the point that I want to make is that very often when this question of prices comes up here in other forms like questions and answers

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Indrajit Gupta, you are also a ruling party in Kerala. You continue to be the ruling party in Kerala.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Maybe. But I do not agree with Mr. Bhagat's analysis that you can compare any State Government's performance in this field with that of the Central Government. It is fantastic. The country is one whole. Certain basic economic policies, planning policies, fiscal policies and taxation policies are initiated by the Centre. That affects the entire economy. Even the minimum prices or support prices of so

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

many important commercial crops are fixed by the Centre.

Then, Sir, the Essential Commodities Act is being referred to constantly. The Essential Commodities Act no doubt is available to the State Governments also. But I have some little knowledge of this matter because I was also very much exercised as to why more stringent action could not be taken by any State Government under this Essential Commodities Act. And I really find that even under that Act they have very little powers. I mean, they can institute cases, they can start prosecutions against unscrupulous traders, profiteers and all others, no doubt. You will find that in many States—In West Bengal certainly I know several thousands of prosecution cases are pending, but beyond that what can you do under that Act? These people immediately get bail, their cases drag on and on. Sometimes, in the end they are fined, some fine is imposed on them.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): That is why 15 days of detention.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: So, as far as preventive detention is concerned we have always opposed it because it is bound to be misused. (Interruptions). You are now ruling. You are ruling in all the States now.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: You are ruling there. You all take shelter behind these blackmarketeers.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA (Serampore): How many people you have arrested in Andhra under the Preventive Detention Act?

PROF. N. G. RANGA: The whole lot of you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I think, Sir, you better let him speak first and I will speak later.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Let us be charitable and reasonable to each other. Then I need not interrupt you. Let us be true to facts as they are.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We were detained under the Preventive Detention Act.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Even if I am not true to facts as you understand them, you should not keep up a running commentary.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Then I would interrupt you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We all respect you for your age and all that.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Age does not matter. You are also aged, but we must respect each other in regard to truth.

AN HON. MEMBER: Both are very young, Sir.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You should not behave like some of the youngsters here.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He is not old. Sir, he is young.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You want my ruling on this?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Whenever this question comes up, there are sometimes attempts to prove or to assert that these high prices are due to certain factors which in my opinion are only temporary factors and they do not go to the root of the problem at all. By temporary factors I mean the transport bottlenecks, the railway bottlenecks or the natural calamities, sometimes drought, sometimes flood, sometimes, they say, a certain law and order position in a particular State or what is going on in Assam now. These are all transitory, temporary factors. Over a long period of time, say 15, 20 or 30 years, you cannot say that this uninterrupted price rise and this inflationary pressure has been basically caused by these factors. These are temporary factors. The main cause lies in the fundamental policies of the Government. Whether it is this Government or the previous Government or the Government before that, the

question is, however many Boards you may set up, however many committees you may set up as suggested by Mr. Bhagat, whether the Government has the will, the political will, to control and fight prices, because everybody knows, and in every capitalist country of the world it is known, that if you want to control and curb prices, it cannot be done except by treading on the corns of those people to whom these high prices are bringing profits. You cannot do it. It is a contradiction in terms.

15 hrs.

Everybody knows that a high price economy, while it hits the common man, brings benefits to profiteers and traders and big capitalists. They do not mind a high price economy at all. A high price economy is the best method of increasing your profits. How is it here we find that in the last few years, while prices have been increasing and the people's suffering has also been increasing, the big business houses and the monopoly houses have not been suffering at all? Because a high price economy is always of benefit to them.

So, what I mean to say is that the policy of the Government, the past Government and the present Government also until it shows that it has any other desire, is basically pro-monopolist, pro-capitalist, pro-trader—I do not mean the small traders because they can be curbed, but the wholesale traders—and pro-vested interest, and I am afraid that this Government which has come to power now, let alone doing anything, will not even spell out, because of the impending elections—at least until these elections are over, the country will have to go on suffering—what their policy is going to be, for obvious reasons. What they will do after the elections remains to be seen when the real Budget comes. But for the time being they will not even spell out anything, because they are heavily dependent on those vested interests for their support and their contribution in winning the elections. The

Janata Party was also like that, they were no different.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: We are different.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That remains to be seen. You please spell out something.

During the interim Budget we were time and again appealing to Mr. Venkataraman to indicate at least broadly the directions in which he wanted to go. They would not do it. They are under a political constraint.

Therefore, first of all I want to say that there are basic causes which have been operating over so many years. They are not the privilege or the monopoly of any particular Government which was in power. There is no fiscal discipline, there is no monetary discipline, in the economy. Do these public sector banks abide by any directive or any kind of norms or warnings which are given from time to time by the Ministry of Finance regarding bank credit? They do not abide by them. And the Reserve Bank, which is supposed to be bankers' bank, in my opinion is the biggest sinner of all. The Reserve Bank is the fountainhead of inflationary pressures which arise out of this unrestricted growth in bank credits being given.

Of course, banks have to give credit, it is obvious, but there is no monitoring agency, no agency whatsoever, to see what is being done with the bulk of this bank credit, whether it is being used for increasing production or whether it is being used for other purposes like cornering commodities, speculation, hoarding, building up inventories and all that. There is no machinery, and there will never be any machinery. Government has no machinery or check.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have been allotted only five minutes.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But you have to deduct Prof. Ranga's interruption from that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have already deducted two minutes.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: I took only one minute.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I was trying to find out whether there was any indication of the direction in which they want to go. Last month, on the 21st, there was a newspaper report from the Financial Correspondent of *The Statesman*, which is not a Communist paper, which represents a big sector of the big business in Calcutta. The Calcutta Stock Exchange has greeted the relaxation of credit curbs. The cut of 20% for big borrowers' accounts has been restored. This is one concrete thing that I found out, that the new Government has done. There was a curb of 20% on the credit, which is to be given to these big borrowers and it seems that that has been restored and naturally it is being welcomed by the Stock Exchange. This is an example of the fact that whether it is the lean season or busy season, we find that bank credits are growing all the time and they are going mainly to big business sector, private commercial sector and all those people who are interested in causing an artificial shortage of commodities in the market. This is one thing.

I need not go into the question of sugar, cloth and cement. I hold the Janata Government equally responsible for what they did. The worst thing that was done was to de-control sugar supply and leave the consumer entirely to the open market. The previous position has not been restored yet and it will be very difficult to restore it. I found that Shri Rao Birendra Singh, the Agriculture Minister of the present Government only a few weeks ago, is quoted in the press that in a press conference he has warned the sugar mill owners for not depositing the levy sugar which they are supposed to give out of their production for distribution through the public distribution system. They

are not producing that levy sugar. But then after that, what is happening, what have they done about it? Nothing and the sugar mill owners and the sugar trade owners know that in the coming months, it will be much more profitable for them to sabotage the levy scheme and sell in the open market and therefore, they are hoarding sugar on a big scale. So, the Government could have at least told us, without spelling out the details, that they are determined to go in for a big de-hoarding operation. They have not said anything of the kind because otherwise, the sugar people will not help them in the elections. This is the whole trouble. The same thing has happened with cloth. I am afraid, my friend, Mr. George Fernandes, must bear a part of the responsibility at least. Previously there was some obligation on the private sector textile mills to manufacture a minimum quantity of controlled cloth, standard cloth. But that was removed by the Janata Government and they were freed of that obligation so that now the public sector, the National Textile Corporation Mills are saddled with the whole responsibility of manufacturing the standard cloth and the more expensive varieties of cloth, in which higher profits are made, are left entirely to the private sector. What do they propose to do? Have they told us anything about that? They have not told us anything. In edible oils also, the same sort of huge racket is going on. They have not told us anything as to what they propose to do.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude. Your party was allowed only five minutes. You will be taking the time of other members. You have already taken ten minutes. Please conclude.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I will wind up. We are thankful for small mercies that after so much quarrelling, we have been allotted the precious time of four hours for a discussion on such a subject. (*Interruptions*). It is either a kind of inhibition or allergy that Prof. Ranga has got towards me.

At one time, he used to sit side by side with me over there and then also, whenever I get up, he used to get agitated. I do not know why. I was going to say something which would have pleased you also, about how the farmers are being fleeced because they are getting lower prices for their produce. (Interruptions). What is the matter with you? Would you not allow me to speak? You do not want me to speak or what?

PROF. N. G. RANGA: I am not excited. You are getting excited unnecessarily.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You have the advantage over me. That is all I can say.

I conclude by saying these three basic causes, one is the basically pro-capitalistic and anti-people policies of the Government, fiscal policy, economic policy, taxation policy, etc. These things have to be gone into.

The second is profiteering by the industrialists and the traders which they have already referred to. The main generation of black money is taking place from that. They have not told us what they propose to do about that. No doubt, all these things have been aggravated in the last 2-3 years. But that is not the answer. Something has to be done now.

The third is the absence of any effective public distribution system. I have no illusions that such an effective public distribution system will be brought into operation even by this Government. It cannot be. Because to make such a public distribution system effective, the Government must have control over the stocks through which they will feed the public distribution system, the stocks of cloth, the stocks of edible oil, the stocks of foodgrains, the stocks of sugar and even things like matches, exercise books and so on. This they cannot do because these stocks are with somebody else. The stocks are controlled by somebody else. Unless these stocks are taken over, the public distribution

system cannot be fed by the Government. To take over those stocks means that you either have to nationalise certain things or at least you have to requisition certain stocks which will be very uncomfortable for them to do. If they do it, they will make hostile the entire vested interest group of monopolists, industrialists and traders. They will come into confrontation with them. That they do not want to do. Therefore, the public distribution system, howsoever much lip-service is paid to it either by the Janata Government or the present Government, will never be effective.

I conclude by saying that within the framework of the present situation, there is no easy way out on the question of prices. As far as we are concerned, because some members speaking here the other day said, "You people are creating trouble outside, organising dharnas outside, you do not let the Government function", I want to make it clear that we shall continue to organise dharnas, demonstrations and voice the people's protests. Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat also said, after all, the consumer must speak out. Mr. Bhagat said that unless the consumers make their presence felt more effectively, nobody will listen to them. They think that all the politicians are same "ये सब चोर हैं सारे।" That is what the common people say. "They all go there and shed tears for us but do nothing." The people say, "They promise us many things, 'लेकिन वहाँ जाने के बाद सब रावण बन जाते हैं।' Don't you know how the common people talk? Therefore, their main job is, if the Government wants to do anything sincerely, let them show and prove. But as far as we are concerned, we are jolly-well going to go to the people and go on organising as much form of protest, demonstration, dharna, movement and struggle against high prices as it is possible to do. Because that is the only way by which the common people can make their presence felt. That is the only way in which the problem can be ultimately solved.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

I thank you, Sir. I am sorry I took more time.

*SHRI A. M. VELU (Arakkonam):

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to say a few words on the Resolution regarding spiralling prices of primary necessities of common people in the country. When my Party stepped down from authority in 1977, we left a legacy of 18 million tonnes of foodgrains for the Janata Government. As soon as the Janata Party assumed office, all the restrictions on the movement of foodgrains were removed as if that was the panacea for all the problems that the country was facing. The inevitable consequence was that the hoarders and blackmarketeers had a field day. The buffer-stock of foodgrains got dwindled and the prices of foodgrains started picking up. Though the production of foodgrains augmented by leaps and bounds, yet the prices of foodgrains were soaring sky-high. The directionless and policyless attitudes of the Janata Government were the root cause for rising prices.

The 1979 Central Budget further fanned the flame of rising prices. Unnecessary wrangles between urban and rural sectors were given a free-play resulting in discontent among the people. This brought in numerous hurdles in the transportation of essential commodities, for which the blame should lie squarely with Charan Singh Government.

The AIADMK Government in Tamil Nadu was in complicity with Charan Singh Government at the Centre. The essential commodities are being distributed through the Civil Supplies Corporation. The salesmen, after taking delivery of commodities like sugar, kerosene etc., from the godowns, sell them in blackmarket openly. The levy sugar should be sold at Rs. 2.95 per kg. These people sell it in the blackmarket for Rs. 5 a kg. In Tamil Nadu drums are not available for transporting kerosene. The salesmen exploit this also by selling a drum of kerosene at a margin of Rs. 100 each.

Even when these people are apprehended, the Tahsildars, the Dy. Tahsildars and the B.D.Os do not have powers to arrest them. These local officials should be vested with necessary powers so that they can give deterrent punishment to these culprits.

In the newspaper of yesterday, you must have come across the news about large-scale pilferage of electricity. The petty officials who were enjoying the patronage of AIADMK Government are involved in this. They have not yet been able to get out of AIADMK phobia. There are any number of Advisory Committees in Tamil Nadu which comprise of committed men of AIADMK. They are the seed-bed of corruption. They should be dissolved immediately. The Milk Supply Corporation in Madras is on the verge of extinction because of malpractices. The National Dairy Development Board should take it over immediately in the interest of the people of Madras. The distribution mechanism for edible oils should be modernised. Super Bazars are catering to the needs of people in urban areas. There should be mobile super-bazars for the people of rural areas, whose misery cannot be described in a few minutes here. In each District a Committee consisting of the M.P. and the M.L.As should be constituted for the purpose of supervising the distribution of essential commodities. An M.P. from Nagercoil can come to Arakkonam and supervise the distribution outlets for essential commodities.

Pulses are not produced in Southern States. The climate in Southern States is not suitable for cultivation of pulses in southern States. The requirement of people in Southern States is to be met by getting pulses from Northern States. The people of Southern States should not be made the victims of vagaries of nature. At the moment because of rising transport costs, the price of pulses is beyond the reach of common people in Southern States. The Government of India should give

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

transport subsidy so that the price of pulses can be within the reach of common people. The Janata Government suddenly exempted the private sector textile mills from producing standard cloth, which has led to steep rise in the price of standard cloth. The private sector textile mills should be directed to produce the quota of standard cloth fixed for them. Then only the people will get standard cloth at reasonable prices. The Preventive Detention Act must be implemented with vigour and verve. There should be a permanent price control machinery so far as essential commodities are concerned.

With these words I conclude my speech, thanking you for the opportunity given to me to participate in this important debate.

श्री शिव प्रसाद साहू (रांची): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे देश के सामने जो कठिन समस्या मूल्य वृद्धि के रूप में छाई हुई है यह एक बड़ा गंभीर मसला और बड़ा गंभीर सवाल है। इस में कौन सी सामियां हैं, कौन सी गलतियां हुई हैं, इन सारी बातों पर हम लोगों को गौर करना होगा और मूल्यों में कमी हो, इसके लिए हम लोगों को उपाय सोचने होंगे ताकि मध्यम वर्ग और गरीब तबके के लोग ही नहीं बल्कि और तो और जो अच्छे पैसे कमाने वाले लोग हैं, जो नौकरी पेश के लोग हैं और जिन की हजार हजार रुपये तलब है ऐसे लोगों को भी आज अपनी जीवन-निर्वाह करने में जो भारी कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ रहा है उसे दूर किया जा सके। कोई भी चीज करने के पहले हमें यह देखना होगा कि हम ने कौन सी गलतियां की हैं और यदि गलतियां की हैं तो उस से हमें शिक्षा लेनी चाहिए। इन सारी बातों पर हम लोगों को गौर करना होगा।

मैं आप के माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज की जो मूल्य वृद्धि है उस के लिए मुख्यतः हमारे जनता पार्टी के दोस्त और लोक दल के लोग जिम्मेदार हैं। इन लोगों ने जैसे ही सत्ता में पदार्पण किया इन के जो गुर्गे और वर्कर्स हैं उन्होंने सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली के लिए हांड लगा दी कि हमें दूकान मिलनी चाहिए, हमें मिलनी चाहिए। यदि जनसंघ घटक के

लोगों का दबदबा है तो उन्होंने अपने वर्कर्स को दूकानें बांट दीं, लोक दल के लोग हैं तो उन्होंने अपने वर्कर्स को बांट दीं। नतीजा क्या हुआ कि यदि कोई अधिकारी उन पर अंकुश लगाना चाहता है तो वह कहते हैं कि मैं जनता पार्टी का हूँ, मैं लोकदल का हूँ और अधिकारी माने हो जाते हैं। इच्छा रहते हुए भी वह अपने को कमजोर महसूस करता है। तो अब इस में इस तरह की बातें न हों। ऐसे लोगों को दूकानें नहीं दी जायें जो उन को ठीक ढंग से न चला सकें और सस्ती से उन के साथ बर्ताव किया जाय। जो जमाखोरी करते हैं उन की ओर भी हमें ध्यान देना होगा। उत्पादन को भी हमें देखना होगा कि उस में बढ़ोत्तरी किस तरह से हो। जो उत्पादन की प्रतिक्रिया थी और वितरण की प्रणाली थी जनता पार्टी और लोक दल के लोगों ने उस को बिलकुल तोड़ दिया। शहरी क्षेत्रों में तो चीजें मिल जाया करती थीं लेकिन जहां तक मैं वाकिफ हूँ बिहार और उड़ीसा के जो पहाड़ी क्षेत्र हैं, वहां पर दूकान नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है। यदि है भी, तो बिदल कागज पर ही है। दूसरे किसानों के माध्यम से मुश्कियां लोगों को दूकानें दी गई हैं लेकिन उनको चलाने वाले जनता पार्टी और लोकदल के कारिन्दे ही थे। किसी ग्राम-पंचायत के नाम पर अगर दो किबंटल चीनी उठाई गई तो उसमें से 10-20 किलो चीनी जंगली और पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में बांट दी गई और बाकी चीनी प्रति बोरा 5-6 सौ रुपये की आमदनी करके शहरों में ही ब्लैक कर दी गई। यह समस्या बिहार के छोटा नागपुर और उड़ीसा के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में है। इसको रोकने के लिए सरकार को कड़ाई के साथ कार्यवाही करनी होगी।

एक दूसरी त्रुटि यह भी रही है कि जब शासक वर्ग कमजोर होता है, उसमें जब गलतियां होती हैं तो अधिकारों वर्ग भी उसका लाभ उठाता है। जब जनता पार्टी के कारिन्दे दूकानें चला रहे हैं, ब्लैक कर रहे हैं तो अफसर भी उनके साथ मिलकर कालाबाजारी में सहयोग करते हैं और अपना हिस्सा खाते हैं। यह जो सारी गड़बड़ियां हैं, यह जब तक चूस्त और दुरूस्त नहीं होगी तब तक सफलता नहीं मिल सकती है। इन बातों पर अंकुश लगाना होगा

[श्री शिव प्रसाद साहू]

तभी जो मूल्य बढ़ रहे हैं उनको सरकार कन्ट्रोल करने में समर्थ हो सकेगी। यदि इब पर कन्ट्रोल नहीं लगाया जाता तो सुरसा की तरह से मूल्य-वृद्धि की समस्या बनी रहेगी। इसलिए सरकार को सस्ती के साथ कदम उठाने होंगे।

जहां तक वितरण का सम्बन्ध है, मैं वह भी कहूंगा कि सभी लोगों को बराबर मिलना चाहिए। आज की स्थिति में शहरों में बसने वाले जो पढ़े-लिखे लोग हैं वे हल्ला करके अधिकारियों तथा अपने चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों के माध्यम से सारी चीजें प्राप्त कर लेते हैं लेकिन विशेष तौर से जो लोग जंगलों में, हिमालय के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में आदिवासी भाई हैं, ताना भगत और कन्द जाति के भाई जोकि उड़ीसी में रहते हैं, जिनमें बोलने की शक्ति नहीं है वे राशन की दुकान को जानते भी नहीं हैं। इसलिए सरकार को चाहिए कि जो समाज में गिरे और दबे हुए लोग हैं उन तक भी सारी चीजों को पहुंचाने की व्यवस्था को।

मूल्य वृद्धि का एक कारण और भी है। आज खाद मंहगी हो गई है। कृषि में प्रयोग होने वाले ट्रैक्टर और औजार बहुत मंहगे हो गए हैं। किसानों का इन चीजों पर बहुत पैसा लगता है। मेरा सुझाव है कि खेती में उपयोग होने वाली चीजों के दाम सरकार कम करे। ऐसा करने पर ही अनाज का भाव कन्ट्रोल हो सकेगा अन्यथा ट्रैक्टर और खाद इत्यादि के दाम बढ़ते जाने पर यह समस्या कभी हल नहीं होगी चाहे आप कुछ भी करते रहें। हमारी पिछली कांग्रेस सरकार ने जिस तरह से विद्यार्थियों के लिए सस्ती कापियां और किताबें वितरित करने की योजना कार्यान्वित की थी उसी प्रकार से खेती के काम में आने वाला जो सामान है वह भी कम कीमत पर किसानों में बांटा जाए। आज कपड़े के दाम आसमान को छू रहे हैं। 1977 के पहले श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने मिल वालों से कहा था कि तुम बड़े-बड़े लोगों के लिए टॉरलीन, नाइलोन और अन्य कड़े कपड़े बनाते हो लेकिन जो जंगलों में बसते हैं, पहाड़ों में रहते हैं, गरीब तबके के लोग हैं, आफिस के चपरासी हैं और हमारी गरीब कहने हैं उनके लिए तुम्हें कंपलसरीली 25 प्रतिशत मोटा कन्ट्रोल का कपड़ा और

साड़ियां बनानी होंगी। वह कपड़ा काफी सहूलियत के साथ सरकारी दुकानों पर ड्राई, तीन रुपए मीटर के हिसाब से हमारे कामगारों, मजदूरों को मिल जाता था और बहनों को सस्ती साड़ियां मिल जाती थीं। लेकिन जब लोकदल और जनता पार्टी के लोग आए तो हमारे आदरणीय श्री जार्ज फर्नान्डीस के दिल में पता नहीं क्या आया कि इन्होंने मिल वालों को छूट दे दी कि तुम्हें मोटा कपड़ा बनाने की जरूरत नहीं है। जितना मंहगा कपड़ा टॉरलीन का बनाना है, बनाओ। इसलिए मैं आप के माध्यम से यह आग्रह करूंगा कि जिस तरह की व्यवस्था इन्दिरा जी ने लागू की थी मोटे कपड़े की गरीबों के लिए, हरिजनों के लिए और आदिवासियों के लिए, उस तरह का 25 प्रतिशत कपड़ा पुनः उत्पादित किया जाए और उस कपड़े को कन्ट्रोल की सरकारी दुकानों के माध्यम से उपलब्ध कराया जाए जैसा कि पहले कराया जाता था ताकि आम लोगों को राहत मिले।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि जो व्यापारी हैं, उन को जो भी सामान अधिकारी हैं, वे पहले समझा दें और एक वार्निंग दें कि जो सामान सरकार के माध्यम से मिलता हो, उस को वे आम लोगों को दें और उस में भविष्य में काला-बाजारी न करें। उसी तरह से हमारे मंत्री-मंडल के जो लोग हैं, वे उन बड़े लोगों को, चीनी पैदा करने वालों को, मीमेंट पैदा करने वालों को, यह कड़ी चेतावनी दें कि तुम को लेवी की शुगर देनेी होगी, तुम को एक मौका हम और दे रहे हैं कि संभलाओं और लेवी की शुगर उपलब्ध करवाओं अगर इस तरह की चेतावनी को मिल-मालिक पालन नहीं करते हैं, तो मेरा सरकार से यह अनुरोध होगा कि सरकार उनके खिलाफ कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाये और जो भी कानूनी रास्ता हो, उसको अपनाए।

मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया और इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul): We are discussing a very important problem which is affecting the sixty five crores people of India. As the leading economists of this country and elsewhere have said, the price line is the life-line of the people of not only this country but of the whole

world. So it is incumbent on the part of this government to reduce the prices of all essential commodities including rice, sugar, cement, matches, all kinds of oils, manure, fertilisers, diesel, kerosene, cloth and almost all essential commodities....

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA:
How are they going to do it?

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: They are going to do it. They will do better than you have done.

Now, the prices are high. Who is responsible for the present rate of price level? Who is responsible for the higher rate of price level which is prevalent in this country? I put a very simple proposition to the hon. Members who are here for a very long time. We are getting married with some lady. (*Interruptions*) No marriage between two men. Don't put that question. Therefore, we are getting married. You cannot expect us to give birth to the child within 3 months. If a couple give birth to a child within 6 months or 3 months, it is an illegitimate child. We do not accept it and our human society will not accept it. The price level is the consummation which has taken place the time of the Janata rule, your rule, your partners' rule and your associates' rule in which the price level has consummated and the delivery is now taking place. That is the price level. You have delivered the price level here which is prevalent now. The important government of the Janata is the root cause for all the price level which is prevailing in the country now. Therefore, you do not have locus standi. I say this Government is not responsible for the present price level but, at the same time, we should not also go on abusing others and finding fault with others or we should go on levelling charges against this Government. It is no use doing this. The people did not vote them to power because they did not have faith in them. They voted us to power because they had the unshakable faith in the

leadership of our beloved lady Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi who can alone deliver the goods to the people. On that basis the people voted her to power. We also got votes on that basis. Do not forget this. The people know that nobody except Indiraji could safeguard the interests of the people of India. There is nobody here, in the near future to safeguard the interests of people of this country.

I again say that the Janata Party Government is responsible for this price level. Take the case of gold auction. Who suffered most? It is the womenfolk who suffered very much because of the rise in price of gold. Of course, you may say that gold is not falling under the category of essential commodity. We are not also accustomed to purchase gold. We only want gold for the *tali*—not thali for lunch.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Say Mangalsutra.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: Tali or mangalsutra or whatever be the name, it is used for tying the neck of the wife.

The price of gold at the time of Indira Congress that is, in 1976-77 was Rs. 420 a sovereign—not 420 under IPC. It is you people who got the votes in 1977 by cheating the people, by your 420 method. It is not applicable to us but it is applicable to you people who cheated the people. Therefore you are responsible for this price level. We should all see to it that the price goes down. That is the aim of this Government.

The Janata Government's misrule or mischievous rule was responsible for this price rise. For the last 2½ years the people felt that there was no Government at all. So also the people of Tamilnadu felt that they had no government there. Whether it be a government run by MGR or the junior Janata, All India Janata, both are sailing in the same boat. MGR of Tamli-

[Shri K. Mayathevar]

nadu, Morarji Desai and Charan Singh Governments spoil the whole of India. You must all come out with the truths here. Shri Indrajit Gupta is not here. I want to congratulate him from the bottom of my heart. He presented the real picture bringing forth the truth before the House.

Anyway the price of sovereign gold rose to 1400 in Tamilnadu. The people especially the Indian womenfolk could not purchase even a quarter sovereign for making tali for the marriage of their daughters. Of course now it has been reduced to some extent. At the time of elections the ornament gold price was up along with the other essential commodities.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA: The prices of all essential commodities have also gone up.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: That is not under discussion. I am only saying that in the regime of Indira Congress in 1976, the prices of essential commodities were very low. But, after the Janata Party came to power it rose up. When Indiraji was the Prime Minister of Indira, in 1975-76 she arrested all the smugglers and put them behind the bar. You safeguarded and protected the smugglers. You were their guardians. We find that on the one side you are crying for the poor people while on the other side you are also crying for the rich people. So, we would like to know with whom are you sailing? Are you sailing with poor people or with Tatas and Birlas? Please come out with the real truth.

Sir, during the Emergency all the blackmarketeers and profiteers were arrested with the result that the prices came down and this was appreciated by the people of India. After the lifting of the Emergency the prices are going up. Therefore, you are responsible for the rise in prices in this country.

Sir, during the Emergency in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere the Congress

Government was supplying one meal for one rupee. Unfortunately, it was called Janata meal. When Janata Government came in power they destroyed that one rupee meal.

So far as essential commodities are concerned I feel that the distribution media is not functioning satisfactorily. We are producing more rice, wheat, oil and other essential commodities yet we find that prices are also going up. Therefore, my point is that these in-between people like Tatas, Birlas and smugglers are responsible for this price rise. I would like to know from my friend in the Opposition whether they are prepared to support in unequivocal terms the use of Preventive Detention Act against these smugglers. If the government make use of the P.D. Act then you will come crying tomorrow that this government has deprived them of the fundamental right. My view is if you think one per cent of the people who are hoarders and smugglers then you can save the rest of the 99 per cent of the population. Smugglers should be hanged to save the poor people of India which constitute ninety-nine per cent of the population.

Sir, the distribution system should be regularised and the Central Government should give a directive to the Governor of Tamil Nadu to open fair price shops in all the villages. In my constituency there are 3,000 to 5,000 villages. We do not have fair price shops there. Fair price shops should be opened in all the villages in India.

Sir, I would also like to say that some of the officials indulge into receiving bribe from these hoarders and smugglers. So action should be taken both against the hoarders and smugglers as well as these bribe receiving officials throughout India.

Sir, the Essential Commodities Act is there, which is a State law. But there are so many lacunae there. We demand that these lacunae should be plugged. There should not be bail granted for these economic offenders. There should be no bail at all under

the Essential Commodities Act. Our hon. Minister sitting here was the Minister for Commerce in 1975-76 and he brought so many effective enactments to put down economic offenders. This was lifted by the Janata Government which resulted in rise of prices..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: As an Advocate you are arguing.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: I am advocate for seven lakhs of people who voted for us, Sir. We are all advocates for our respective constituencies. Our friend here is an advocate for his constituency. You are advocate for North Madras. Our friends are advocates of their respective constituencies. Actually we have several lakhs of clients—not one or two clients. In fact we have seven lakhs of clients who have voted for us. Therefore, I am arguing, as an advocate, not only for my people but also for the people of the whole of India, as other honourable Members of this House.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): Only for your constituency?

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: For all. Sir, the lacunae in the Essential Commodities Act should be plugged. Stringent provisions should be introduced. Bail should not be granted to these economic offenders and black-marketeers and hoarders and so on.

At the time of emergency cloth was sold cheap in the market. The price list of the cloth was printed; it was affixed with the cloth. The Prices was affixed with the stipulated rate in respect of all cloth. It was so in the case of every commodity. I request the Government to follow the same procedure now. The same procedure should now be adopted. This was there during the emergency but in the year 1977 the Janata Government abolished and lifted that particular procedure. You should now re-introduce it and thereby you should reduce the abnormal price rise indulged in by the medium business people and the big money people. This is my

submission. They must affix the correct price in respect of all the essential commodities to enable the consumer to get things at reasonable prices. This is my submission.

Sir, in the year 1970-71, the price index was 100. During the Janata regime, during 1978-79 what happened was this. The index rose to 225 per cent. It is a very shameful situation created by the erstwhile Janata Government. They are responsible for this price rise which we are facing now at the national level and at the State level.

Sir, regarding inflation I wish to say a few words. During the congress regime the rate of inflation was very much contained. The rate of inflation in their regime was brought down from 23 per cent to 4 per cent. That was at the time of emergency. When the emergency was lifted and the Janata Government came to power, this went up again to 22.3 per cent. Now inflation is 22.3 per cent. Therefore it is incumbent on the part of this Government to contain inflation and reduce price; but we cannot forget that this Government came to power only within 3 months. The Janata Government could not reduce the prices for 2½ years. I now ask our hon. friends, is it possible to reduce the price all of a sudden within three months. Is it possible to expect an animal or human being to give birth to a child within 3 days after marriage?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If conception has taken place 10 months before the marriage what is the harm? It is possible.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let him speak.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: Sir,, what I was saying was this. The loopholes in the Economic Offenders Act should be plugged. At least I am sure our friends will support us on this point. Economic offenders should be taken to task. Stringent action should be taken against them. There should not be any mercy for them. They should be prosecuted. There should not be

[Shri K. Mayathevar]

any bail for the economic offenders. If that were to be so, although some advocates can earn more, in respect of bail cases, it will not help the situation really.

I request the Government to take all steps to reduce the circulation of money. The Central Government should take all steps to reduce the circulation of all currency notes. There is no use of printing and circulating hundred rupees notes and currency notes of all kinds at length, which is responsible for the present inflation. You should not increase the circulation of money. This causes inflation and rise in prices. You must produce more wheat, foodgrains, cereals, oil and other essential commodities so as to balance the inflationary trends and also to reduce the prices.

Before I conclude I would like to say that I blame the Janata government for rise in prices and not this government. The Opposition should at least give ten months' time to this government to bring about the improvement. Even a lady needs ten months time to give birth to a child. So, you must give the Government of India ten months time. Be patient till then. With these words I conclude.

श्री मूलचन्द डागा (पाली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह प्रस्ताव जो हमारे उधर बैठने वाले माननीय राजनीतिक पंडितों ने रखा है, उनकी भावना अच्छी हो या नहीं, लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आचार्य कृपलानी ने कहा था कि इन राजनीतिकों को भगवान समझकर मत चलो। इनका कहने का तरीका बहुत ठीक हो सकता है, लेकिन इन्होंने जान-बूझकर इस प्रस्ताव को रखा है। अभी इस सरकार को शासन में आये हुए करीब 60 दिन ही हुए होंगे, उस हालत में भी आपने इस विषय को रखा है जब कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर 30, 40 परसेंट पापुलेशन आज अकाल से पीड़ित है, देश के अन्दर सूखा है, बादल नहीं बरसे, उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा, यह मानी हुई बात है।

जहाँ तक मुद्रा स्फीति का सवाल है, वह आप जानते हैं कि आपने कितनी घाटे की

अर्थ-व्यवस्था कायम की है। जनता पार्टी के माननीय सदस्य इसका उत्तर दंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में अकाल की स्थिति में उन्होंने जो मुद्रा स्फीति पैदा की उससे आज हमारे पास ट्रांसपोर्टेशन की फौसिलिटी, डीजल आदि न होने के कारण, कम है। जब एसोसियल कमोडिटीज आर्डिनेन्स यहाँ लाया गया तब आपने उसका विरोध किया, इन सारी बातों से मालूम होता है कि आपका उद्देश्य पाक नहीं था इस प्रस्ताव को लाने का। अगर इस प्रस्ताव को लाने के पीछे आपकी यह भावना होती कि भारत की वर्तमान सरकार ने कोई कदम कीमतों को नीचे लाने के लिये नहीं उठाये तो मैं मानता, लेकिन हमारे दण्डवते जी ने तो बड़ी जनरल और अर्थनीति की बात कही और उसको उन्होंने पार्टी की दलगत नीति से ऊपर उठने की बात कह दी। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कभी-कभी अहिंसा की आड़ में हिंसा होती है, पुण्य के पीछे पाप होता है। यह प्रस्ताव इस समय उपयुक्त नहीं था। अगर सरकार की कोई मशीनरी काम न करती, तो पांच छः महीने के बाद ऐसा प्रस्ताव लाने की बात समझ में आ सकती थी।

मैंने पास होलसेल प्राइस इन्डेक्स के जो आंकड़े हैं, उनके मुताबिक राइस का इन्डेक्स नम्बर वीक एंडिड 29-12-1979 को 190.2 था और वीक एंडिड 1-3-1980 को 188.1 हो गया। इसी तरह व्हीट का इन्डेक्स नम्बर 19-12-1979 को 173 था, जबकि 1-3-1980 को वह 170.9 हो गया। हा, मैं यह जरूर मानता हूँ कि एडिबल आयलज का नम्बर 201.5 से बढ़ कर 216.2 हो गया।

इन आंकड़ों से मालूम होता है कि वर्तमान सरकार ने कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाये हैं, जिनकी सराहना करनी चाहिए। 14 मार्च, 1980 को पूछे गये एक सवाल के जवाब में सरकार ने बताया कि 114 रेड्ज कर के 956100 किलोग्राम शुगर और खण्ड-सारी, 1048675 किलोग्राम राइस और 141200 किलोग्राम ग्राम सीज किया गया।

श्री निरंजन चौब (दमदम) : छोटी सादरी कहा है ?

श्री भूषणचन्द्र ठापा : छोटी सादरी राजस्थान में है। उसका निर्णय हो चुका है।

15.54 hrs.

[SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL in the Chair.]

इन आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि दो महीनों में ब्लैक-मार्केटिंग और होर्डिज के यहां रोज़ कर के ये चीज़ें रीकवर की गईं और 164 लोगों को एर्रेस्ट किया गया। सरकार ने इन दो महीनों में इतने माल को सीज कर के जाहिर कर दिया है कि वह ब्लैक-मार्केटिंग और होर्डिज को खत्म करना चाहती है। उस पर भी आप उस बात की सराहना न करते हुए एक यही बात कहना चाहते हैं कि इन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया। यह मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ।

मैं सरकार का ध्यान डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन सिस्टम की ओर दिलाना चाहूंगा। राजस्थान में आज 2 करोड़ 40 लाख लोग अकाल से प्रभावित हैं। गांवों में लोग रहते हैं। मैं आज भी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों में समाज के आखिरी पंक्ति में रहने वाले लोगों के पास तक आप का डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन नहीं पहुंचता। जो अर्बन एरिया में, शहरों में रहने वाले लोग हैं, जो आवाज करना जानते हैं, जो बोलते हैं, आन्दोलन करते हैं उन के पास तो पहुंच जाता है लेकिन गांवों की जो मूक जनता है उस के पास पहुंचाने के साधन आप के पास क्या हैं? मेरे यहां सारी सहकारी समितियां हैं, उन सब के यहां एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर मुकर्रर हैं। आज हालत यह है कि कोई माल ले नहीं जाना चाहता। मैं चाहूंगा कि मंत्री जी इस का उत्तर देंगे, एक बोरी शक्कर की अगर कोई गांवों में ले जाना चाहता है तो आप ट्रांसपोर्टेशन का एक रुपया देना चाहते हैं। वह सप्लाई विभाग के आफिस में आता है तो वहां उस को कई दिन तक इन्तजार करना पड़ता है। हमारी मशीनरी में अभी भ्रष्टाचार है, इस को मानना होगा। भयंकर करप्शन है और उस के कारण हमारे जो गरीब लोग हैं उन के पास तक जीवन की आवश्यक चीज़ें पहुंच नहीं पाती हैं। मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस के लिए कोई न कोई ऐसी मशीनरी निकाले। कपड़ा बाज़र उब को मिलता नहीं है।

एक बात और हो रही है। राजस्थान में आज लोगों की क्रय शक्ति बिलकुल कम-जोर हो गई है। अकाल के कारण उन को जो अनाज मिल रहा है वह तीन किलो या दो किलो भी नहीं मिल पाता और जब क्रय शक्ति नहीं है तो वे अपनी चल और अचल सम्पत्ति को बेच रहे हैं। वह बेचने के कारण और कुछ लोगों के पास माल बढ़ जायगा। सरकार की मशीनरी के अन्दर कहीं कोई फूला है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान में किसी ने इस राज्य-व्यवस्था का लाभ उठाया है तो तीन लोगों ने उठाया है—एक तो सरकारी मशीनरी, नाँकरशाही ने, एक बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपतियों ने और एक राजनेताओं ने। इन तीनों की गूटबन्दी ने देश को नुकसान पहुंचाया है और इस में कोई शक नहीं कि जब तक यह गूटबन्दी नहीं तोड़ी जाती, आम जनता का लाभ नहीं पहुंच सकता। ज्यों ही आप का प्राइस इंडेक्स बढ़ता है, महंगाई बढ़ती है, सरकारी आदमी को महंगाई भत्ता मिल जाता है, आर्गनाइज्ड लेबर को मिल जाता है, लेकिन एग्जीक्यूटिव लेबर का क्या होगा? गरीब आदमी का क्या होगा?

इसलिए मैं यह कहता हूँ कि अनप्रोडक्टिव एक्सपेंसेज जो हैं उन को कटौत करने के लिए गवर्नमेंट को कदम उठाना चाहिए। उस के लिए आप क्या कदम उठा रहे हैं, गवर्नमेंट आज भी मुद्रास्फीति को रोकने के लिए क्या कर रही है? मेरा कहना है कि अनप्रोडक्टिव एक्सपेंसेज को रोका जाय, सीलिंग ऐक्ट को लागू किया जाय ताकि जिन के पास ज्यादा जमीन है जो जमीन को काम में नहीं लाते हैं, अनयूटिलाइज्ड जमीन जिन की रहती है उस को लेकर वितरित किया जा सके। उस के लिए क्या किया जा रहा है? यह करना बहुत जरूरी है।

AN. HON. MEMBER: Mr. Appala-
naidu's name is there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will call him.
Now Mr. Chitta Basu. Members will
speak only upto 4.20 p.m.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think we have
not forgotten by this time that the
Congress I won the elections on a
very catebi slogan. The slogan is

[Shri Chitta Basu]

that they want a government that works. Now the first question is that that government which works had been installed in power about 2½ months ago. Is that government that works is really working to bring down the level of prices? I think you will agree that this government does not work when the question of curbing price rise comes in. There were certain empty words, empty promises and those empty promises are never to be materialised, never to be executed. This Government has been proved a paper tiger in relation to the question of waging a battle against the price rise. Recently, there has been a price rise. I quote from the Government of India, Ministry of Industry, Office of the Economic Adviser. It says "The Official wholesale price index for all commodities stood at Rs. 230.8 during the week ended February 23, 1980 as against the Rs. 228.2 for the previous week. Even during the period of one week, there has been .2 per cent rise of price index. At this level, the increase was higher by 1.1 per cent and 20 per cent respectively when compared with the previous week and a year ago. Therefore, this slogan does not work in so far as the price rise is concerned, as has been proved by the official release of the Government of India itself. This price rise has been an uninterrupted phenomenon in our economic life. I do not hold a particular government responsible for this. I hold a particular system responsible for this price rise, the system of capitalism, the system of monopoly capitalism, the system of feudalism. That is responsible of continuous and uninterrupted price rise.

My grouse is that even the earlier governments led by Mrs. Gandhi continued to support that system. The Janata Party also continued to support that policy maintaining the basic structure of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism. This government is also sustaining that very basic structure. Therefore, there is no hope of fur-

ther curbing down the prices; rather they will go up. What has been the result? During these years, according to the statistics compiled by the Planning Commission, the real earnings of the industrial workers with income less than Rs. 400 per month in 1966-67 went down by 1/3. In 1975, that is, the period of emergency, the income of the industrial workers had also gone down by 1/3. The real annual earning of the agricultural labour in 1961-62 was Rs. 282.5. In 1963-64, it dropped down to Rs. 185. In 1975, that is, during the emergency, or at the beginning of the emergency, the real earning moth of the industrial workers and the agricultural labour come down. In a nutshell, the real earnings of millions of Indian workers, agricultural labourers and middle class people have been reduced by as much as 50 per cent in the recent years. There has been a sudden erosion into the income of the weaker sections of the community due to the sudden rise in prices. There are many factors which really contribute for the continuing price rise. I do not want to discuss each and every point. There has been enormous increase in money supply in recent days; there has been enormous increase in bank credit, in deficit financing, and there has been runaway inflation and the existence of a parallel economy of the black money. The fiscal and monetary policy really contributed to the continuous rise in price. My request to the hon. Minister is this. Unless this policy is revised, unless a new policy frame is built up, the price rise cannot be contained at all. If the Government is really interested in curbing the price rise, they should revise the entire framework which is contributing to the price rise.

16 hrs.

The question of public distribution is of repeated. There cannot be effective public distribution system unless there is physical control over the stocks. The whole lacuna about the public distribution system is that

while they want to have a public distribution system there is no proposal for procurement or physical take over of stocks and therefore this cannot be successful. Therefore, the talk of public distribution is nothing but skin-deep commitment. Therefore, I should request the Government to see that there is an efficient system of procurement and distribution.

In this connection, the question of take over of the wholesale trade of foodgrains and other essential commodities must be taken into consideration. Even the Government is divided today; they claim to be Government that works. I read from the newspapers that Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Minister of Commerce is credited with a statement to the effect that if the sugar mills industry did not behave, Government will take over sugar industry. The next day Rao Birendra Singh goes to Nagpur and says that the Government does not propose to take recourse to such a step . . . (*Interruptions*). Therefore, unless the Government makes up its mind, it is not going to bring about results

In conclusion I should request you to consider the following proposals: nationalisation of wholesale foodgrains trade and certain other essential commodities to be distributed through a public distribution system, physical control of stocks by massive procurement programmes of essential commodities, efficient public distribution system covering wide areas and a variety of items and remunerative price for agricultural produce and reversal of the existing monetary and fiscal policies so that prices can be brought down.

*SHRI S. R. A. S. APPALANAIIDU (Anakapullj): Mr. Chairman, Sir. Let me at the outset thank you for giving me an opportunity to participate in this debate.

The return to power of our party with a massive majority has renewed the expectations of the poor and down-trodden who are mainly responsible for this great victory.

They have many hopes on this Government. Steps have already been initiated to control the ever increasing prices and to ensure equitable distribution of essential commodities at reasonable prices to these innocent and poorest of poor people. For the distribution of essential commodities to the weaker sections and in the deficit areas necessary and effective measures are being taken up. But I have got a doubt "How far the traders will cooperate with the Government in this effort? To enrich themselves they are exploiting the poor in all proportions ignoring the consumers completely.

For effective distribution of essential commodities, the shortage of food grains is the main obstacle. This scarcity is an artificial one. This shortage is created by a very few individuals and play with the lives of the many people. In the wake of the formation of the new Government in the Centre the Chief of FICCI lauded our victory and said that they would extend their hearty cooperation in gearing up of the economy. The entire merchant community echoed in unison the sentiments of their chambers. But what is actually happening? They continue to create artificial scarcities in the essential commodities. Unfortunately, they are still indulging in hoarding and black marketing. They are still exploiting the poor.

The big industrialists are not seriously thinking of increasing their outputs. They are declaring lock-outs on a plea of impending strikes and are creating labour problems in collusion with unscrupulous labour leaders. They dispose of their illegal stocks at exorbitant prices. They are

*The original speech was delivered in Telugu.

[Shri S. R. A. S. Appalanaidu] earning huge profit by lock-outs. This is a wonderful game for them. This is evident in all important industries. Shri K. N. Modi, president-elect of FICCI has even demanded to allot coal mines to private sectors. Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the prevailing world wide energy crisis we can realise his real motives. Therefore, I appeal to the Government not to allow the private sector to have monopoly on sectors which are essential for the survival of the society. Of course, our Prime Minister is aware of the seriousness of the situation. She is already seized of the problem and she is doing all that she can.

The business community has utterly failed in its onerous responsibility to discipline itself. Therefore discipline should now be imposed from above. The industrialists have made a mockery of the call of the father of the nation to consider themselves as trustees of the nation's wealth. They have lost touch with the pulse of the people. Their decisions reached in the air conditioned board rooms with luxurious dinners and beautiful and voluptuous secretaries on hand are far removed from reality and their one and only aim seems to be to legitimise the exploitation of the society as a matter of course. Sir, poverty and hunger knows no boundaries. It is not concerned with the political hues, isms or ideologies. It does not distinguish between religions, castes, creeds or communities. Sir, there is not much time left to discuss this issue in depth. Hence I suggest the following steps for the consideration of the Government. My suggestions:—

1. Establishing a separate public distribution department with a costing cell for all essential industries, watching the efforts of the State Government, observing the often changing price fluctuations, identifying the vulnerable areas and taking prompt and necessary measures.

2. I feel that welfare measures are more beneficial than frequent wage

rise. The organised sector should be prevailed upon to accept the rise in the cost of living index in kind. If cash payments are made the money circulation will be more and consequently there will be rise in the prices and effect very badly the poor and unorganised sector.

3. Commercial Intelligence Department should be established as an annexe to the Intelligence Bureau. Mr. Chairman, Sir, finally I close quoting our great Andhra poet, revolutionary and reformer Gurajada Apparao:

How the country will be prosperous if the people are weak and dispirited?

Increase production in national goods.

Forego self benefit to some extent and let others have the same.

The country is not mere earth of mud and dust.

It is composed of men with flesh & blood.

*SHRI R. K. MHALGI (Thane): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the motion which is being discussed in the House is closely related to the aspirations of the people. The situation which is created because of the price rise is not only disappointing but shocking. A common man has been distressed due to price rise. The promises which were given by the then ruling party sound totally empty. Indians have experienced Diwali of 1977 and 1979 when there were no queues, no ration cards. The essential commodities of standard quality were available in plenty. The prices of sugar, kerosene, edible oil were not only kept under check but they had reduced. Sugar was sold at Rs. 2/- a Kg., edible oil at Rs. 7.50 a Kg., But during the present rule the prices have increased to such an extent that they are touching the skies. The price of sugar has increased from

*The original speech was delivered

in Marathi

Rs. 2/- to Rs. 7/-, edible oil from Rs. 7.50 to Rs. 11.50 per Kg. During the period of two months and a half, the pockets of the poor have been picked by the rising prices. The people in rural as well as urban areas are angry. Sir, I would like to point out that this Government is seated on a bundle of dry grass. I want them to understand what will happen if a spark of fire falls upon it. It is argued that State Governments do not cooperate. On 18th February 9 State Governments have been dissolved. But tell us what change has been brought about in the situation. No change is there at all. The situation has worsened. There have been Satyagrahas and Dharanas in Bombay. The police officers of the present Government have not effectively controlled the situation. I would like to make some suggestions. There is no scheme to increase the production. It is not enough to say that distribution system is proper. Firm steps should be taken to control rising prices of essential commodities. Concrete steps should be taken by the Government. The measures proposed should be reflected in the Budget proposals which will be presented in June. As long as the situation does not improve, certain commodities should be imported. The Government should be efficient. It is not enough to say we are doing the things but it should be actually done. The import of certain commodities should be stopped. Sugar is being sold at high price. There should also be proper distribution system. It is no good simply charging Janata Party and blaming that previous Government did not do the things. It would be act of bravery if you say what you would propose to do. Though the distribution system is proper, many times there is no proper transportation system. Required wagons are not available. Wagons are blocked and railway officers and merchants are jointly doing it and they try to exploit the common man.

Railway officers are responsible for it, along with the merchants. The next point which I would like to stress is not new one. Reserve Bank which enjoys powers should also curb the bank credit facilities. Regarding the report of Wanchoo Committee, so much is spoken. But the said report is still kept in the cupboard. It should be made available and firm steps should be taken to check black money as per the recommendations made.

The last point is very simple. You have means to take actions. There is Essential Commodities Act of 1955. In 1980 another Act was passed by this House. It all depends as to how effectively you implement the laws. For example, gas is very essential in some families. Many times gas is not available for two months. They are not entitled to get kerosene on the ration cards. How should the families manage to cook in the absence of gas and kerosene? Those who have gas should also get kerosene.

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN (Jalgaon): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the price explosion which began immediately after the Janata Government submitted its Budget proposals last year, has continued unabated. The percentage rise in the index of the wholesale prices has reached the shocking figure of 21.6 per cent during March 1978 to December, 1979. Retail prices of some essential commodities have registered an increase of 100 or 200 per cent. Black markets have begun to flourish and the consumer is gasping for relief. Edible oils, kerosene, cooking gas, sugar, diesel, bread, tea, soap and detergents all cost much more than they did last year. As has been said by a reporter, the cup that cheers gives the most acute depression, should you stop to think of the cost of tea. Besides, I will like to add, the size of the cup has become so small that you can only taste its contents and not have the satisfaction of drinking tea. This is

[Shri Y. S. Mahajan]

the legacy of the Janata Lok Dal Governments, the consequences of which we have to face. The neglect of the public sector, resulting in the near collapse of the infrastructure, wrong industrial policy, mismanagement of the economy and finances of the State are responsible for the present galloping inflation.

Especially responsible for this malaise is their fiscal policy. Last year they decided to resort to deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,382 crores in the budget, but the revised budget estimates have recorded a deficit of Rs. 2,700 crores. One should not be surprised if it reaches the stupendous figure of Rs. 3,000 crores. This is more than the deficit financing we had taken credit for in the whole of the second, Third or Fifth Five Year Plan. In the first three years of the Fifth Plan it amounted to only Rs. 754 crores. This has created a tremendous inflationary potential.

Only yesterday the Minister of Finance has informed us that there was an increase in money supply of the order of Rs. 1,147 crores during the last six months i.e. between August, 1979 and February, 1980. The total increase in the supply of money during the corresponding period of the previous year was Rs. 2,064 crores. As against this tremendous increase in the amount of money, the supply of goods and services has diminished. The gross national product is likely to record a decline of 1 to 2 per cent. The downfall in agricultural production is expected to be about 6 per cent and in industrial production there will be a marginal fall as compared to last year. So, it is this imbalance between the increasing money supply and the diminishing production which is mainly responsible for the inflationary spiral which we have to face today

Added to that is the constantly increasing rise in the price of crude,

which was operated as an inflationary factor in our economy during the last 7 or 8 years. We have been importing inflation in this way on a large scale and unless some remedy is found out, like a substantial increase in home production, or a substitute for petroleum in the near future, or a fall in our imports, we may have to face a very big deficit in our balance of payments.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We have to export inflation.

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN: We are now importing inflation. The economy is in shambles and we have to face a galloping inflation, the handiwork of the Janata-Lok Dal Government.

I will be brief in giving suggestions to face the problem. The package of measures will have to be comprehensive in character, both short-term as well as long-term. Government must act firmly and utilise the powers under the Essential Commodities Act to deter the hoarders and black-marketeers so that they can break the expectation of rising prices. It is this expectation which is responsible for continued acceleration of prices of different commodities. Unless this is done, nothing can be done in the short run.

There is need to control money supply and credit. Some hon. Members have referred to the restrictive credit policy of the Reserve Bank. We shall have to continue the restrictive credit policy. The amount of credit given to the commercial sector in the current year is the same as in last year. This is a wrong policy, because though this year the national product has gone down, you will be creating the same amount of money which you created in the corresponding period last year. So, the present policy does not amount to a restrictive policy. The Reserve Bank should adopt a more carefully planned policy in this matter.

So far as deficit financing is concerned, it should be reduced to as small a proportion as possible. The draconic measures which we took in 1974, enabled us to achieve a surplus budget in 1975-76, and this was mainly responsible for reducing the level of prices in 1975-76. For last year the deficit financing will amount to Rs. 3,000 crores. I hope this year the deficit will be reduced by various measures. It should also be supplemented by an efficient public distribution system.

Finally, I would say that inflation is a regressive form of taxation, which makes the poor poorer and rich richer. It makes economic calculations impossible and it also makes rational planning extremely difficult. In the beginning people may feel happy with a creeping inflation because everybody has more money in their pockets. But, ultimately, with galloping inflation the economy breaks down, and this has serious political consequences. It was the run away inflation which was responsible for the fall of the Weimer Republic in Germany and the growth of Nazism.

It was the rapid increase in prices in 1974 which gave an opportunity to the Opposition parties to build up a movement which resulted in the coming up of the Janata Party. At the time of elections, it was the tax evaders, blackmarketeers and hoarders, who had suffered as a result of our policy and who financed the Janata Party and helped them to defeat the Congress. This is my interpretation of the situation. So, we have to be very careful about inflation and take both short-term and long-term measures to see that this evil of rising prices is contained.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND STEEL AND MINES AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Mr. Chairman, I have listened to the speeches of the hon. Members and I am grateful to them for the various suggestions which the hon. Members have made. I agree

with the suggestion of Prof. Madhu Dandavate that this is an issue on which we should have discussion irrespective of party considerations, because it affects everyone of us, and we should try to evolve a policy through which we are in a position to overcome the crisis.

So far as the price trend is concerned, nobody in the Government has said, either on the floor of the House or outside, that it is within our control. We have ourselves admitted that the situation is disturbing. The problem is how to tackle the situation and what can we do both in the short-term and in the long-term.

So far as the short-term arrangement is concerned, we have discussed it in greater detail, either in the form of questions or in the form of various other motions the steps that are already being taken. But if we look at the trend over the period of 4-5 years, we will find that it is fluctuating, depending upon certain policies and decisions taken by the Government.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu was quoting certain figures, and I agree with him that during the first two years of Janata rule in 1977 and 1978 there was some price stability. But what happened after the introduction of the budget by Shri Charan Singh, where there was a huge unbridged deficit of the order of Rs. 1,381 crores and he imposed excise duty on almost all items? It is interesting to note how the prices behaved. I will quote some figures, which will indicate that this particular fiscal decision contributed to the price rise, which was otherwise stable even during the first two years of the Janata Rule in 1977-78.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Why "even".

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I am coming to that. Do not be impatient. In February 1979 the index was 184.7. In March, immediately after the introduction of the budget, it went up to 189.1; in April it went

[Shri Pranab Mukherjee]

up to 195.5, in May 198.5, in June 202.4, in July 211.7 and in August 218.5. During these five months after the introduction of the budget, steadily every month the price went high, and there is no doubt the budget formulation and the fiscal policy which they introduced through the budget was one of the important factors contributing to the price rise. My hon. friend, Professor Dandavate, has also made his little contribution by enhancing the railway freight from 5 per cent to 10 per cent. This is the situation we are confronted with today. I do not claim that during the regime of the Congress it was possible for us to contain the price situation, to control it. I agree with Mr. Bosu when he says that in September, 1974, we had a record rate of inflation of 34 per cent, but while quoting figures, clever as he is, he forgot conveniently to mention that in 1975 it was possible for us to reduce it, and in 1976 to bring it to a negative rate. From 1976-77 there was again a price rise. Mr. Bosu is well aware that one of the major factors was the huge procurement which the earlier Government had to undertake between 1976 and 1977, when a buffer stock of the order of nearly 20 million tonnes was created. As Mr. Dandavate pointed out very correctly, when the national income is 4.1 to 4.2 per cent and money supply is 17.5 to 17.7 per cent, it is obvious that there will be an effect on prices.

As some hon. Members have also mentioned, there was an element of external influence also, imported inflation so far as the crude and petroleum products were concerned. In 1973 alone, senior Members like Mr. Dandavate and Mr. Bosu will agree, we had not only to face the situation but import inflation also, because in that year 80 per cent of our foreign exchange was spent on importing three F's, food, fuel and fertiliser, though we did not import foodgrains. Petroleum alone constituted 50 per cent of our total import bill; two-thirds of our foreign exchange had to be spent on their

import. It is not possible for any Government to insulate its system in such a way that there is no influence of the external situation.

I am trying to give reasons why we are landed in the present situation. I will come later on to the steps to be taken. We have to see what we can do immediately and in the long run. So far as the short-term policy is concerned, somebody asked why we were repeatedly emphasizing the public distribution system. It is because that is the only answer to meet a situation like this. Mr. Bosu quoted from the Budget speech of the West Bengal Finance Minister. There also there is the same emphasis, though there may be some difference in the items here and there. So, we have to improve the public distribution system and see that the essential commodities are made available to the larger sections of the community through organised retail outlets and at reasonable prices.

There too comes the question of management of supply and distribution.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: And subsidy.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: It is not that we are not giving subsidy. On certain items we are giving, for instance cement. Mr. Bosu knows what the landed cost of cement is and at what price we are giving it to the consumer.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Who are getting it?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Take sugar. It was to be distributed by the Food Corporation. Certain State Governments have their own arrangements. But mainly these are the States where the sugar mills are there and which produce sugar. They have their own arrangements. But for the non-sugar-producing areas, the entire distribution arrangement was left to the Food Corporation of India. When the dual pricing system

of sugar was given up, naturally they disbanded their operational machinery and it took sometime, when it was reintroduced from 17th or 18th of December, 1979 to build it up. I can tell the hon. members through you, as to how it has improved. Actually in the whole month of January and February, we were not in a position to despatch whatever was allocated to the States and we used to receive this complaint from almost every Minister of Civil Supplies of the concerned affected States. But from March onwards, the position has improved a little bit, I am not saying that it has improved much, but it has improved to some extent and I have checked up with the Ministers in-charge of Civil Supplies of the various State Governments that the supply position is slightly improving. Everyday, six to seven thousand tonnes of sugar is being transported to various consuming States. So far as edible oil is concerned, everyday about a thousand tonnes of edible oil is being imported. When a situation like this is created, it takes sometime to build up the infrastructure. For instance, I can cite one example. When we imported edible oil, particularly, palm oil, rapeseed oil and RDD oil, the State Governments had to make certain efforts to see that the consumers are used to these particular items and naturally it took some time. Take the case of West Bengal. They made elaborate arrangements for convincing people about the utility of these types of edible oils and when the people are convinced and when the off-take started, we are in a position to supply them. It takes some time. In the period in between, when the substitute is not readily accepted by the people, there remains a gap, because it is a question of demand and supply; whatever is needed and whatever is available, we are trying to bridge the gap between the two by importing.

It has been suggested and we have made it quite clear particularly on one item. So far as sugar is concern-

ed, I am mentioning specifically, because one hon. member has mentioned it again, that there is no scheme for exporting sugar so far as the current year is concerned. It is known to the hon. members that India is a sugar exporting country and it has certain commitments as a contracting party of the international sugar organisation and we are trying to see to what extent we can meet our commitments and whether there is a way out. But so far as the physical export is concerned, we have to export a very little quantum to meet our commitment.

AN HON. MEMBER: How much?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: 25,000 tonnes. We have to meet that commitment so far as EEC is concerned. But what we normally export, six to eight thousand tonnes, that type of export has not taken place, the STC has not come to the market. I do not know why this type of news is coming and creating a panic among the people that sugar is going to be exported.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Not only sugar, onion, meat and every item. Your 'export or perish' policy, this dangerous formula sold to you by the rich nations is destroying us. It should be stopped forthwith.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: So far as the formula of 'export or perish' is concerned, I want to say that today we are in a situation when we are not to adhere it strictly. At one particular time, we were, we had to export our raw materials and our foodgrains, only to earn some foreign exchange to meet certain essential import items. Take the case of onion. It is true that at the time of elections, the price of onion went high and before elections also. That was the issue.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (Dum Dum): The prices of cereals are also mounting up.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I am giving a typical case. Everyday, I used to receive representations from the onion producing districts of Nasik, Pune and certain other areas of Maharashtra and then I tried to contact the Civil Supplies Corporation of the various states to find out whether they are in a position to purchase onion so that the growers are not forced to sell at throw-away prices. They do not have the mechanism, there is no adequate storage facility or transport facility available and if you do not permit a limited quantum to be exported, the real victim would be the growers.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Only the surplus should be exported.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I can inform the hon. members that initially I was against the export and I requested them, let us watch the market situation and whatever we have permitted in the initial stage, 25,000 tonnes ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Why is it that there is no transport facility available?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Because, wagons are not available.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: There is no transport facility, there is no cereal, there is no power, there is nothing...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: There is something. I do not agree with the hon. Member that there is not anything. Between what we require and what we have, there is a gap. It should be our endeavour to bridge that gap. That is the long-term policy, where the question comes and the only answer to this problem is to augment our production and to improve the quantum of availability. Unless we have more to meet our demand, we are to confront with a situation like this that a country which is having a little surplus does not find the market for that little surplus. The entire economy

is a marginal economy. If you have a little surplus, you find the problem of market and, if you have a little deficit, immediately, the price goes up. If you ask, why it happens and how we are going to solve it, that radical solution does not lie with me and I cannot say that overnight this would be improved.

I do not say that the situation is under control. But what I can say is that there are some satisfactory trends even when we make a comparison between the last two weeks. I am not saying that there is anything to be encouraged about it. There has been a trend, a little declining trend, in certain items. For instance, whatever the 3 per cent rise in the wholesale price which Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has quoted in the last two months; out of 2 per cent rise in the past two months, 90 per cent goes to four items, sugar, khandsari, gur and edible oil. These four items contributed 90 per cent of the 2 per cent rise. Therefore, one point is there that in respect of other items, there has been a reasonable stability. Otherwise, it would have been much more than 3 per cent. If 90 per cent of 3 per cent rise in wholesale price goes to these four items, then in respect of the prices of other items at least there is not an upward trend. If Mr. Dinen Bhattacharya has any objection to the word "stability", I can say that there at least no upward trend.

So far as the distribution is concerned, I have already mentioned on the floor of this House and in the other House also that we would like to have a permanent distribution system. It is not merely an *ad hoc* arrangement to meet the requirement whenever there is a shortage. There should be a permanent distribution system. Wherever there is the public distribution system, say, for instance, in 4 or 5 States, like, West Bengal, Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu—they have a fairly well-developed public distribution system—our

job becomes easier. If we can make the goods available to them, it is possible for them to distribute the goods. But where you do not have it, it is even if you want to cover 2000 to million people, through retail outlets. Even if you want to cover 2000 to 4000 people through one retail outlet, in whatever manner it may be, we have asked the State Governments to make use of whatever agency is available, panchayats, cooperative societies, other registered organisations, fair price shops, public distribution shops, whatever the nomenclature they may like to give, let them give it. But let there be a certain retail outlet through which we can at least distribute in a limited way a part of the requirement of the consumers. That arrangement is being made. We are doing that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: The question is: Where is the supply?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: So far as the supply is concerned, as I have already said, we had a discussion with the State Ministers of Civil Supplies and Cooperation and we identified certain items. These items are known to the hon. Members. If they want, I can repeat them. They are: edible oil, sugar, standard cloth, paper for exercise books, match boxes; some States have included toilet soap also.....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about pulses and cereals?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: "Cereals" is always there. As regards pulses some State Governments have included it, not all the State Governments. For instance, West Bengal has included "pulses" and they have made their own arrangement. They are not bothering us about it. They have made their own arrangements. Certain other States have also included certain other items.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA: Why are you excluding cement? Cement is not a luxury item.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Cement is already included.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Cement is already there. Cement, diesel and kerosene are already there and every agency is identified..

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur): You say...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Halder, please!

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: He says the West Bengal Government is distributing pulses through their own arrangements. Mr. Mukherjee should say, the West Bengal Government is doing a commendable job in this regard.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Halder, no please. It will be unending. Let me remind this House that we are going to take up the second Resolution at 5 O'clock exactly and if you want answers to all the points which were raised in the House, please allow him to speak in his own fashion. If you interrupt and ask questions, it will be difficult. And probably you would like a reply in a few sentences.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: So far as essential commodities are concerned, it is known to the Hon. Members that various agencies are there but, actually, there was a gap between the allocation and the physical availability. That point, I am myself admitting..

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: It is a huge gap.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Whatever it is; you may call it a 'huge gap' and I may call it a 'gop'....

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Mr. Mukherjee, you have stated that four or five States have their own distribution agencies and those are working satisfactorily, but other States are not taking the initiative. Will you

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

take the initiative and invite the State Governments to take to a permanent distribution system?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I have taken up with the State Government—that point, I have already mentioned—that they should try to open as many retail outlets as they can and, for opening the retail outlets, they can take the assistance of Panchayats, Cooperatives and other registered organisations; that whatever agencies they would like to have, they may try to establish and try to cover as many areas as possible. But it takes certain time. Each agency has been identified to tackle a particular commodity. For instance, the Indian Oil Corporation is taking care of kerosene and diesel; the FCI is taking care of the supply of food-grains and sugar while the STC is trying to supply edible oil. We have not received any complaints so far as edible oil is concerned. The only complaint is that whatever allocation was made has not been made available to the State Government. We have improved the situation now. The railway wagons are moving and the goods are made available to the consuming points.

So far as match-boxes and other items are concerned, the Khadi and Village Industries Corporation are taking care of them. But there is one problem. With the toilet soap manufacturers' association certain arrangements were made by the State Governments, which did not work well. We are trying to improve it. We are talking to them to see that the goods are made available to the State Civil Supplies Corporation. It has taken certain time, but it has started improving. Still I would not say it is satisfactory.

So far as cement is concerned, the Cement Controllers under the Industrial Development Ministry themselves take care of it. They are

also streamlining it but, regarding the movement, as is known to the Members, there are severe constraints...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Why? It is because we have no national transport policy formulated in 32½ years! You are not worth your salt.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Mr. Bosu is repeating about the policy in 32½ years, but what can we do? They were also trying in the last 32½ years, to capture power, but till now they have not been able to! Somewhere they have been successful. We are working in a system in which Mr. Bosu is being sent here but the Congress Party is being voted to power, though Mr. Bosu's Party was voted to power in three or four States. I wish him luck for the future.

But let us not talk about the system as I have myself admitted that in a system like this, in which we are working, there are shortcomings. Who does not know it? He was suggesting there is manipulation by certain sugar mill owners: who does not know they are manipulating? We are trying to rectify it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Be good enough and take the House into confidence: what is the true first cost ex-factory for the production of a kilogramme of sugar, less duties?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I will pass on that information to you. But I agree with you that in the system in which we are working, we find that the industries become sick but industrialists do not ever become sick. (Interruptions). Therefore this is the situation.

Now, Mr. Dandavate was talking about black money. I agree that black money creates havoc in a situation of scarcity. But at the same time Prof. Madhu Dandavate should also keep in mind the fact that they got the chance, and one thing they did was this. They might have grievances against us and against those who

put them to difficulties and other things. But, at the same time, it is equally true that, during the last three years of the Janata rule, not a single tax raid took place...

AN HON. MEMBER: 30 months.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: In their 30 months, rule, not a single tax raid took place, as if all tax-evaders and tax-dodgers had become honest and were complying with the tax laws. All the smugglers were released. I can understand if you released immediately, forthright, all the political detenus. I am even prepared to accept that all those people who were detained under COFEPOSA—All of them—may not be smugglers: there may be one or two mistakes; but it is equally true that quite a big number of them were smugglers, and forthright you released them! That had nothing to do with the Emergency. That Act was passed long before the Emergency. You released the smugglers, you stopped the tax-raids, you did not even take strong, enforcement measures against tax-dodgers and tax-evaders; but now you speak against black money. I do not know how these two things can be reconciled. I do not say that, by merely resorting to enforcement measures, you can control black money. Side by side, fiscal measures are to be taken; side by side, economic measures are to be taken. But whatever little bit...

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA: What you could not do in 30 years, how could you expect that they would be successful in that in just two years? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I am not saying that they should have done it within 30 months. My limited point is this. Whatever little bit we had initiated, that too was given a go-bye. Except that, I have nothing to add. I have tried to cover some of the points which the hon. Members had raised. But, once again, I would like to reiterate that

I agree with Prof. Madhu Dandavate that this is a matter on which we must have a national consensus, and any suggestions from the hon. Members to improve the situation, to improve the public distribution—from Prof. Madhu Dandavate, from Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, from every one—will be welcome and will be considered by the Government.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: The hon. Minister was good enough to refer to the fact that, even upto the quota that is allotted to the States, supplies are not being made. That is one very serious thing. The other thing is that quotas are being reduced also, quotas of different commodities like kerosene, cement, etc., and even the reduced quantities are not being supplied. Therefore, the essential thing is to see that at least the reduced quantities are supplied to the States.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not a question. It is a suggestion which the Minister will take note of.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: This is a very important thing...

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is a suggestion which you have made, and it has been noted by the hon. Minister.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: If he gives an assurance here, that will have an impact on the people, in the country. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let me bring to the notice of this House that we are going to discuss a Resolution brought before this House by the better half of the society or humanity. Let us try to do better justice to that Resolution also. Prof. Madhu Dandavate

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, when I initiated the discussion on the motion that I have placed before the House, consciously and deliberately I saw to it that I did not inject any politics into it, nor did I try to inject any partisan attitude

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

into the discussion, in the hope that there would be reciprocation of the same attitude. No doubt, in a number of speeches there was a reciprocation of that attitude. But some people have an allergy for the Janata Party and the Janata Government and they did try to drag in the Janata Party and the Janata Government. Old habits die hard.

17 hrs.

I would not take much cognisance. I will only say this much. As a Member of this House, I have tabled a number of questions on national income, price stability, agricultural production etc. in the years 1977-78, 1978-79 and from the Treasury Benches there have been written replies which actually confirm what we have been saying about the progress achieved in the field of price stability, in the field of production of foodgrains, in the field of build up of foreign exchange reserves, etc. All these things have been confirmed. Therefore, I need not give a separate reply to that because that has come from the Treasury Benches itself. But I would like to raise a certain issue.

As far as the public sector is concerned, in my initial remarks I did not touch upon that point. Briefly I would like to mention that I want the public sector to occupy the commanding heights of our economy. It should become more efficient. I would like the Government to find out whether we can introduce an element of competition into the field of public sector. But remember, I do not want competition between the public sector and the private sector but I want an element of competition to be introduced in the public sector itself so that with that competitive spirit it may be possible for us to augment the efficiency of the public sector and if the public sector is able to generate more surpluses, those surpluses can be ploughed back for

the expansion of the same public sector. Actually those surpluses can be utilised for social welfare activities and other developmental activities. That is a concrete proposal I would like to make.

Sir, there was a lot of discussion about sugar industry. Our friend, Mr. Reddy said a lot about sugar industry...

AN HON. MEMBER: Sugar Reddy
—Shri Ram Gopal Reddy.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am referring to the sweet Reddy, Sir. Even before the Bhargava Commission was appointed, there was an old Gundu Rao Committee and even on the basis of the findings of the Gundu Rao Committee—Sir, I went through the old records and my speeches in the Fifth Lok Sabha and even at that time I had pointed out this thing to the House—out of 215 sugar factories working in 1969-70, 113—please note, out of 215 factories, 113 sugar mills had an age between 32 and 67 years. So you can very well imagine that when some of the mills are so old, they are bound to be sick. You have anticipated their sickness. Therefore, as a result of that, if sugar production has gone down, you cannot blame the workers. There are other reasons. No.1—there has been bad management. The machinery were very much outmoded.

Disputes are pending between the cane-growers and the sugar factory-owners. At the same time, there has been a failure to re-allocate the sugar factories according to the agro-climatic conditions. Lastly I will again repeat it—I have made a reference to that. What is going to be the fate of the nationalisation of the sugar industry? If you do not want to nationalise, tell us frankly and tell the sugar factory-owners frankly so that they may know where their interests lie. But if we go in for nationalisation, do it without any delay so that it does not happen that the sugar

industry becomes a no-man's property—neither in the public sector nor in the private sector.

There is another aspect. There are some friends who have referred to state trading in foodgrains. I fully agree that unless you are able to have a proper nationalisation or state trading in foodgrains, particularly, the wholesale trade and build up the buffer stock and if we are able to give adequate quantity of foodgrains to the public distribution machinery, then only we will be able to supply foodgrains and other commodities. Therefore we have to remove one particular lacuna which exists in this machinery.

There is an essential distinction between the marketable surpluses and the marketed surpluses. To-day they are taking advantage of that lacuna. What is important is marketable surplus. The marketable surplus is not coming in the procurement. What is coming is only marketed surplus. Therefore, this particular lacuna also has to be plugged. But, that will mean displeasing certain kulak lobbies. Unless you are prepared to do that, I don't think we will be able to succeed.

Sir, the non-productive expenditure is going up. That also will have to be reduced. As regards Preventive Detention Act, I want to go on record that if we had opposed it, it was not that we had any love for the smugglers. I would like to tell you that we had no love for the smugglers. Our experience in the past, in the Fifth Lok Sabha, was that in this very House I had secured an assurance from the Home Minister and the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi that MISA would not be misused for the political workers but when the Emergency was declared, right from Jaya Prakash Ji down to the ordinary workers like myself were victims of MISA. If we had opposed that, we opposed it because of this.

My contention is that if there is the Essential Commodities Act, in

that case, let us try to plug all the lacunae. You will have our full co-operation. And if we are able to plug all the loopholes, then the Essential Commodities Act can be effectively utilised and the problem can be solved.

Sir, Prof. Mahajan made a very valuable and important suggestion. He said that we had also imported the inflation. I fully agree with that. I will conclude with this point. If the imported inflation is to be exported, in that case, I have concrete suggestions. I will repeat them—I had cursorily made them in the beginning that in this very House the Minister of Petroleum had already confirmed that whereas last year the crude oil that was imported was at a cost of Rs. 4,000 crores, in 1980-81, this bill is likely to go upto Rs. 5,000 crores. I am giving the figures he has mentioned. If this is going to happen, I want to insist that you must tell the industry that some of their products must be exported and that they must maximise the export of certain industrial products. We must be able to accumulate some foreign exchange thereby we shall be able to off-set the imported inflation that is coming in. I am sure this point is being examined already. I think the Minister for Petroleum had indirectly hinted that they are already working on this particular point. I am sure that if this precaution is taken, in that case, this particular lacuna can be completely removed. I want to conclude with this note. The Resolution or Motion which I have moved does not cast asperation on anyone. All that the Motion says is:

“That this House expresses its deep concern at the steep rise in prices of essential commodities and recommends that urgent steps be taken to bring down the prices”.

I don't think any section of this House is against recommending to the Government the adoption of concrete measures that will bring down the prices. Therefore, this may be one

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

Resolution or Motion which can be a consensus motion on which there will be no difference of opinion at all.

Therefore, I commend to this House that this Motion be adopted unanimously.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I want half a minute only. I had made it clear. I want the Minister to tell us whether the multi-millionaires, the salt and coal racketeers, in Bihar—in reply to a Calling Attention the Minister had categorically said that actions are being taken—had been arrested. If so, how many officers were arrested and whether those officers and businessmen who were arrested were released or not. Nothing more than this.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: That information has to be collected.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, what is going to be the position?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, I move that the Motion be passed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Motion moved by Prof. Dandavate to the vote of the House.

The Question is: . . .

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Before you put the Motion to vote, I would like to know from the hon. Minister one thing. Is there anything in the motion which is not acceptable to anyone? If not, let him accept it.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: You have already made your suggestion and I have requested you to withdraw the motion because we are considering your recommendation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put the motion to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That this House expresses its deep concern at the steep rise in prices of essential commodities and recommends that urgent steps be taken to bring down the prices."

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, would like also to press your motion.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Yes, I press my motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion moved by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That this House notes with deep concern and anguish the unprecedented price rise and widespread blackmarketing of many items and recommends that a net work of public distribution system be created within three months from date."

The motion was negatived.

17.13 hrs.

MOTION RE: INCREASE IN INCIDENCE OF RAPE ON WOMEN

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the House will take up the next motion by Shri-mati Geeta Mukherjee.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura): Mr. Chairman, Sir, with heavy heart but with some hope I rise to move my motion which is as follows:

"That this House expresses its grave concern at the alarming incidence of rape on women, particularly by anti-social elements engaged by the vested interests and on occasions even by the police in different parts of the country and urges upon the Government to take effective steps to prevent their recurrence."

Sir, I earnestly appeal to all the hon'ble Members of the House to support it. I believe they will do so and act as the conscience of the nation is crying a halt to this heinous crime against the women, against the entire society and against the humanity. The peculiarity of rape as a crime is that here social stigma is attached more to the victim than to the perpetrator of the crime and consequently very few cases actually come to light. Thanks to