

(*Interruptions*). When the actual legislation comes up, you can move an amendment. Even so far as the textile mills are concerned, various States have got these provisions by which they suspend the enforcement of certain rights.

DR. RANEN SEN : Why suspend the right of the workers for five years ?

SHRI GHANSHYAM OZA : They have to choose two things—either total unemployment or suspension of their rights for dues and start getting new remuneration and wages. We have to strike a balance between the two. These things can be better looked into and in greater detail at the time when the ordinance is discussed and when the legislation comes following this ordinance.

MR. SPEAKER : Has the hon mover of the resolution got anything to say ? He is absent.

There is only one amendment to this motion by Shri M. C. Daga—he is not here.

Now the question is :

“That in the resolution, *add* at the end—‘in case efforts fail to facilitate their running after Government of India provides necessary financial assistance to them through the respective State Governments.’” (1)

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the question is : “This House is of opinion that the Government of India should take immediate and effective steps to take over all the factories and industrial units which have been closed down during the last five years in various parts of the country and run them as public enterprises.”

The motion was negatived.

16-09 hrs

RESOLUTION RE : RISE IN
PRICES OF ESSENTIAL
COMMODITIES

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

“This House takes note with great displeasure and concern the galloping and unchecked all-round rise in prices of commodities, especially of things of daily need, and Government’s utter failure in controlling the same.”

Quoting from an economist who lives and functions in a mixed economy, it says :

Rising price causes (1) grave injustice ; (2) severe distress ; (3) encodes savings and (4) hampers future development. It ruins all but a very few.

Consumers prices have gone up within a short period of time around 30 per cent. Government keep on saying that the situation is being closely watched, that the situation has not gone out of hands and that they are trying to create consumers’ resistance. We in India are one of the lowest *per capita* income holders in the world ; vast majority of them are merged in acute poverty. The Government has shown self-imposed restraint on Government’s power for monetary restraint. Mr. Ganesh, please note. The future is very gloomy. This situation will continue to operate unless people force the Government to undo otherwise. One main reason for this is the mounting increase in the money supply.

I would like to quote a paper, a very recent one. It says :

“The capital has been witnessing an all-round rise in prices of all essential commodities for the past few weeks.

Shopkeepers agree there is an allround rise in prices of all commodities but they do not admit it is on account of fears of impending declaration of an emergency and possible war.”.....

Well, we need not take it seriously ; but then one Paper says :

“.....They merely say, “Everything is costing more now ; we are getting the commodities at higher rates ; so we are selling them at higher rates.”

I don’t want to go into more details.

What has happened is this continuous galloping with temporary slight fluctuations,

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

income reduced, rupee's purchasing power reduced, unemployment mounting. This is more so since the Czarina, Mrs. Indira Gandhi came into absolute power.

MR. SPEAKER : Please don't use such word.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Sir, what is wrong in that ?

MR. SPEAKER : It is not in good taste.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : It is quite parliamentary. I, as a political opponent, I, as a person who looks at the class character and composition of the Government in that manner.....

MR. SPEAKER : The only difficulty is, when it comes to your turn, you don't tolerate them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I beg of you, Sir, to understand the meaning of that. I can use that.

MR. SPEAKER : So long as I understand Jyotirmoy Bosu, I understand this also.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : In the G.D.R. Survey it is shown that the working man gets lower wages in terms of actual purchasing power of money when you compare it with the year 1947. The whole world is moving forward but Mrs. Indira Gandhi is reversing the process in India. She is responsible for the present situation. This proves the utter lack of the preventive measures being taken and lack of sincerity on their part. This only shows that the Government has conspired with the big money to defraud the majority of the poor people.

The whole purchasing power market is outside the reach of low and fixed income group today.

The last Budget brought great jubilation amongst profiteers and big business. It shows the class character of the Government and its alliance. Not a person in Government or ruling party is standing up against the enemies of society and working class and quick money makers. The socio-economic structure today in our country is cutting the worker on

two points. One is, when he produces he is robbed ; the second is, when he consumes, he is robbed. This is what is happening. This is the true character of the slogan 'garibi hatao' as defined by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. So long, Mrs. Gandhi's excuses were, the presence of reactionary elements in her party. Now she is one and all and this is the outcome, Sir.

There have been entries and exits from Mrs. Gandhi's party. Their class character is revealed very clearly now. Prices affect income distribution. Government have to enforce policies to bring prices down. It also means affecting adversely the level of income of certain sections. Barring the somewhat light remedial measures for those who make noise which can make Shrimati Indira Gandhi feel a little insecure, the small peasants the landless and the low income group have been left to perish.

The outcome of this *Garibi Hatao* Government had been a taxing of Rs. 220 plus 70 crores mostly indirect and payable by the poor. Since the 1971 elections, Rs. 575 crores have been put as tax. That is the character of *Garibi Hatao*. I am a spokesman of the poor working class, and therefore, I shall be entitled to quote the retail prices that I have before me.....

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (Betul) : Most enormous gumption.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : During 1969-71, the retail price counter shows an increase as follows. In dal, which is the poor man's protein because we cannot give any other protein to them in this country, the increase is between 25 and 50 per cent. In the case of sugar it is 10 per cent, gur 35 per cent, dalda 9 per cent, vegetables between 40 and 100 per cent, kerosene (which is mostly Government-controlled) 20 per cent, Soap 10 to 20 per cent, spices 10 to 20 per cent, cattle fodder 15 to 20 per cent, shaving blade (which requires so little steel) 30-40 per cent, rice (in West Bengal) 50 per cent, coal (domestic purposes) 20 per cent, steel and building materials 15 to 100 per cent, and so on. Even the prices of newspapers have gone up.

I shall now quote the consumer price index numbers for urban and rural labourers. They show a rise in 1970-71 over 1965-66. The year

1960 being taken as 100, the percentage rise for the different years has been of the order of 33.8, then 31.8 and then 30.2. This shows where the people are. The consumer price index rose in June, 1970 to 225, in July to 226, in August to 227 and to 228 in September, and in September 1971 to 238.81 I may tell you that we have to come forward and pay dearness allowance, which will cost the exchequer to the tune of Rs. 35 crores to the Central Government servants.

I was amused to read that the Prime Minister had said to the consumers 'Refrain from consuming'. What nonsense? I have never heard like that anywhere else in the 20th century. Shrimati Indira Gandhi's dummy Finance Minister with clipped wings can get away by making statements. Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan is not here. Otherwise, I would have asked him 'What about price control?'. He had promised that in Rajya Sabha on the 4th August, 1971, when the debate on the Finance Bill was going on. Shrimati Indira Gandhi knows about it. So, she had dissolved the Lok Sabha well in advance and held an early election. Otherwise, she would not have been able to face the people.

Even the State agencies like the STC and the Food Corporation and the Cotton Corporation and the steel import institution of Government take advantage of the man-made situation and serve foreign and Indian profiteers. Their purchases and sales are done through private intermediaries. They have failed to get rid of the middlemen, and they have failed to reap the benefit of bulk purchase and to give industry sufficient raw materials to keep them going in full built-in capacity. Even today, electricity generated in the public sector is sold through British monopoly in Calcutta. What a shameful condition this is.

The Reserve Bank of India and the Tariff Commission are very sincere friends of big business. They believe in merchant banking and their credit policies will speak for themselves. The nationalised banks present a wonderful story. The old owners got compensation which was about 300 per cent of the real value, which they invested elsewhere but retained control over the banks. Is it true that the custodian of a nationalised bank was arrested for malpractices and Government tried to conceal the affair and suppress the news? Who was this exception, if that is so?

Now, in regard to money supply, let me quote from the Bulletin of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, which clearly says:

"But the year has turned out to be more turbulent and has witnessed a resumption of inflationary conditions reminiscent of earlier years. In December, 1969, the general price index stood at 169.8 and it was 180.9 in December 1970, an increase of 6.5 per cent.

"Within the year the increase was fairly steady and sustained until September which saw the peak of 183.2. The decline since then has been very slight and one inference from this trend would be that the general cause of sustaining this steady price increase was growth of money supply".

It goes further :

"Within the group of food articles, increase is due to edible oils which rose by 18 per cent, sugar products by 17.1 per cent, fruits and vegetables 6.5 per cent and milk and milk products 5.5 per cent. There was considerable rise of prices of other articles like tea, meat, fish etc.

These are all the whole index figures of the RBI—very conservative figures. We do not agree with these; they are much more. They are grossly underplayed.

"Industrial raw materials as a group have shown a high increase in price, namely 16.3 per cent. Even in this group, there was no increase in sugarcane and only a small increase in jute"—

because it goes to the poor grower—

Here is another piece :

"But underlying them there remains money supply which still stands out as an important cause of the continued upward pressure of prices. As we have said earlier, the increase in money supply is taking place faster than ever before. The following table shows how it has increased."

From 4529 crores in 1966 March it came in January 15, 1971 to 6994 crores,

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

The selective credit control was totally ineffective. The position regarding foodgrains, the basic thing, which really controls the price structure of many other items is very extraordinary. In spite of a record food output, prices are going up. We have 3 million tonnes more of foodgrains in government stock over last year's figures, and a record buffer stock of 9 million tonnes. Why are Government not releasing them to reduce prices? The prices are rising and the green revolution and breakthrough has become nothing but a story.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : He has got topsy-turvy economics. If you release to depress prices, what will happen to the producer?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : The Forward Contracts Bill is nothing but an eye-wash. Food and steel prices, as I have said before, control almost every commodity price. The increase in agricultural income during this regime has gone to the rich farmer. It has not brought any benefit to the poor farmers, small farmers and agricultural labour. Actually the area under high yielding varieties of rice and wheat has increased considerably from 10.9 million hectares in 1969-70 to 13.6 million in 1970-71. As a result, when other items rose by 6.5 per cent last December, wheat price showed a slight decline. There is a serious inter-regional disparity—that is the planning they have been doing. Agricultural growth in North India, namely, Punjab showed 15 per cent while in the eastern region, in Assam, it is one per cent. Why are you not sending more foodgrains to sensitive areas and why are you not making a distribution chain for the peasants and labourers? Otherwise, why should the big stocks be maintained at the cost of the people? The wheat-rice ratio used to be 2 to 1. I wish Shri Shinde had been here to explain it. Now it is almost 1 to 1. why is it so? Why are you not releasing more foodgrains to the fair price shops. It is very low? It has come to as low as 5 million tonnes per month. Why the terrific rise of prices of pulses? Because you have allowed free movement. You believe as the Swatantraites do in free enterprise. You are not condoning the surplus areas. Why are you getting pulses procured from the Food Corporation of India. These sharks who are playing with money and life are all protected by the Central Government.

I will give some examples. Oil and oil-seeds. The price rose in spite of the fact that there was a million tonne increase in groundnut production. It says that prices have continued to rise, in spite of the million tonnes increase in groundnut production, and the index in 1970-71 being 19 per cent more than in December, 1969.

But what did the Government do? Apart from liberal credit facilities, money supply, allowing phatka and mudka to grow and prosper, the Government positively came forward for the rescue of the big money. In June, 1971, they purposely with planning, stopped the release of soyabean oil. Mr. Ganesh, I want to know why it was done. The stocks are procured in foreign exchange—

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Sir, can they be mentioned by their names like this? Can they not be mentioned by their designation?

MR. SPEAKER : You are quite correct, but it is part of the hon. Member's habit to mention like that. (*Interruption*) It is not only in respect of Mr. Ganesh. If Mr. Chavan is sitting, he would say, "Mr. Chavan." That is the habit with him. (*Interruption*)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I can sit down if you like because it is pinching you too hard. I say, Mr. Darbara Singh, you are the Deputy-Leader of the party. Why don't you coach your men to make them more knowledgeable. I am sorry. I come back to the subject.

Now, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance,—

MR. SPEAKER : That is the right manner.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : —would you kindly tell us why soyabean oil release was stopped in June, 1971? This stock of soyabean oil was procured on payment of foreign exchange with people's money. The release arrested the decline in the price of oilseeds and oil. This is a clear case where the Government conspired with big finance and allowed them to make more money and allowed a price-rise in essential commodities

for the common man. You must release at least 25,000 tonnes of soyabean oil every month, supply it to the weaker sections through fair-price shops.

About sugar, the scandal is well known and all through the Government have been the worst criminals. I want to ask, apart from collecting the fund for your party for the elections, what was the other reason for decontrolling sugar. Today's paper, *Patriot*, which is a staunch supporter of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, says :

The Government has refused to raise the statutory price of sugarcane not because it considers the existing price fair enough, but because it has not prevented the mills from paying a higher price to the growers. The statutory price, as the Minister of State for Agriculture told the Lok Sabha, was merely a 'notional' price and the mills were in fact expected to pay a higher price in view of the higher realisations from their operations. But why should these realisations be higher than estimated at the time the sugarcane price was fixed?.....the Government, reluctant to clamp physical control, is helplessly watching the situation.....Sugar, although not the "only example, is the most revealing example of the Government's bungling in the matter of prices. The Government could have easily ensured both stable production as well as prices by requisitioning all the stocks and releasing them through fair price shops. It could also make these tasks easier by nationalising the industry as it was committed to do under its economic programme."

Mr. Darbara Singh, where is your economic programme ?

"But to do it, it needed to show a greater concern for holding the price line, and also for securing industry's compliance with its own regulations than it has given evidence of."

Sir, there has been a record production of sugar in 1969-70- 4.26 million tonnes. There is a stockpile of over 2.2 million tonnes. It is precisely at the time of the year, at a point, where the producers, in order to blackmail, threatened with stoppages of production to clear the stockpile.

16.30 hrs.

[SHRI N. K. P. SALVE *in the Chair.*]

The decontrol plea was to reduce the strain on the banks. The Government conveniently forgot the past conduct of the sugar mills. There has always been a racket following the decontrol of sugar. Now the mills are trying to reduce production. Government assured us of sugar price stabilisation. An indirect hint was given that the price will even be reduced but in actual fact the reverse has taken place. In spite of the fact that Government have assured the sugar tycoons more than the required credit the prices have been shooting up.

Sugar deliveries have been reduced. In July it was 4 lakh tonnes only. It was 75,000 tonnes less than the previous month. Why are you not withdrawing the liberal credit facility to these owners of stock-piles and owners of mills? Why are you not releasing 6,50,000 tonnes per month? Why are you not reimposing full control over sugar so that the poor man can afford it?

Another commodity is the cotton textile. They are the very privileged clients of the Reserve Bank of India and the Government. They have been very generous to Mrs. Gandhi and her party during the last election and the Government has almost openly hinted to banks to keep the credit flow liberally open due to political reasons. The reason for the rise in the cotton price is that the Cotton Corporation which is a Government body purchases cotton through the middle men and not direct from the grower. The Reserve Bank's credit policy has been very liberal. The Textile Commissioner is a great friend of the trade and he will not touch the stock in the market. Government's import of cotton is given entirely to mill owners for distribution. What variety of socialism is this? The remedy is to reverse and undo this. There is no other remedy.

The stipulation that standard controlled varieties of cloth should be 40 per cent of the total production of a mill has been a standing joke. The biggest joke has come recently : Mrs. Gandhi's public warning that they must stamp the price of the cloth on every metre. They say it is a big joke. Do you know that for violation of this provision the penalty is a puny amount of seven paise per yard? The millowners are quite willing

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to violate that provision and pay that penalty and make money in other ways. Nobody should be allowed to violate this and the remedy is to provide that if somebody violates, there will be severe punishment. They should set up cost account audit for industrial products.

About the small retailers, if the Government was a little strict and strong, if the enforcement machinery instead of being in their payroll, worked for the people a little bit if they could put some two hundred big retailers behind the bars—they have put 20,000 people in jail under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act in Bengal—things would have straightened up.

Why is it that you are not setting up your consumer industries? Mrs. Gandhi had to pay the cost and sacrifice her sky high ambition. If we have to achieve certain goals, it will mean affecting adversely a small minority of the society to benefit the vast majority.

I ask Mr. Chavan and Mr. Ganesh: what about enlarging the scope of the Essential Commodities Act? When will you do it? You have given unfettered freedom to the monopolists in pre-election months for collection of funds for elections.

I suggest the taking over by the State of the wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential consumer articles as well as all industrial raw materials. Pending this, physical controls on sugar distribution and the price of essential commodities should be established as an emergency measure.

In order to end speculation, credits should not be advanced for holding stocks of foodgrains, other consumer goods and industrial raw materials except those for direct consumption.

The credit policy of the nationalised banks should be such as to provide no speculative credit to the monopolists and no credit to large farmers on the one hand, while providing for easy credit to the small and medium farmers including tenants as well as small and medium scale industries, professionals and other weaker sections of the people. The

credit to the small farmers may be in the form of in-puts and it can be recovered in kind by fixing a fair price for the produce.

In order to eliminate the influence of the monopolists from the policy-making bodies of the banking system, the present Board of Directors should be dissolved and persons not linked with monopolists should be appointed.

Representatives of trade unions should be immediately taken on the management of the nationalised banks at all levels including the Boards of Governors of the Reserve Bank at the national and regional level.

The system of big loans on so-called bonded goods and clean overdrafts to big monopoly houses should be forthwith stopped.

Secrecy of financial transactions and accounts of monopoly houses should be abolished.

All forward trading must be immediately banned. You have brought a Bill, but it is not going to work.

I say that the price rise has been due to the fact that this Government has made no sincere efforts, but has entered into a conspiracy with big business in order to serve its own purpose. That is why today the common man is facing this mounting trouble. It is a struggle for him between life and death.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah): There is panic in the capital market. There are rumours that have appeared in the *Financial Express* also. Will the Finance Minister make some statement and take the House into confidence about the position? Will he take the steps that Government took in 1965?

MR. CHAIRMAN: While replying to the debate, I suppose he would be able to say something on that.

The Resolution is now before the House. Shri Jharkhande Rai, Shri S. N. Singh, Shri M. C. Dage. They are all absent.

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद):
सभापति महोदय, मैं मानता हूँ कि कीमतेँ कुछ

जरूर बढ़ी हैं लेकिन यह जानना जरूरी है कि कीमतों का बढ़ना कब शुरू हुआ। विशेषकर श्री ज्योतिमय वसु के भाषण के बाद तो यह जानना और भी जरूरी हो गया। जिस वक्त लैफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वैस्ट बंगाल में पावर में आई और थोड़े दिनों के लिए केरल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जब पावर में आई, उस दिन से प्राइसिस बढ़ने का आयाज हुआ, तब से प्राइसिस बढ़नी शुरू हो गई। इसको मैं साबित कर सकता हूँ और वह इस तरह से कि जिस वक्त कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और लैफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पावर में आई उस वक्त से खेतों में अनाज बोना बन्द हो गया और लूटमार शुरू हो गई। उसके बाद कारखानों में इण्टर-यूनियन राइवैलरी कायम करके कई कारखानों को इन्होंने बन्द करा दिया और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहां प्रोडक्शन ठप्प हो गया था प्रोडक्शन कम हो गया। यह चीज इसके पहले के रेजोल्यूशन में आ गई है। इस सब के बावजूद जो थोड़ी बहुत पैदावार हुई थी उसको जब एक जगह से दूसरी जगह पहुंचाने के लिए वैंगज में भेजा जा रहा था तो वैंगज पर हमला किया गया और बहुत सी रेलों को डिरेल करने की कोशिश की गई। जब से इन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीज ने यह आन्दोलन शुरू किया उस वक्त से चीजों की कमी महसूस होने लग गई।

कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वाले ऐसा करते क्यों हैं, यह भी जान लेना चाहिए। इसको बताना भी जरूरी है। इसलिए करते हैं ताकि देश में बेचैनी पैदा हो और इनको थोड़ी बहुत जगह मिले और इनको पोलिटिकल कैपिटल मेक करने का मौका मिले। इस चीज को ये लोग इस वास्ते मुसलखल करते आ रहे हैं। जब डा० वी० सी० राय वैस्ट बंगाल के चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, तो वहां की इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन और पर-कैपिटल इनकम हाइएस्ट थी, लेकिन जब श्री ज्योति वसु वहां पावर में आये, तो वैस्ट बंगाल की सारी इकानोमी खत्म हो गई। इसलिए कीमतों को बढ़ाने का चार्ज माननीय सदस्य के दल पर लगाया जाना चाहिए, न कि श्रीमती गांधी पर। जब से श्रीमती गांधी पावर में आई हैं, प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाने की कोशिश की जा रही है।

जैसा कि सब को मालूम है—और श्री ज्योतिमय वसु को मालूम होना चाहिए—कि उन के एरिया में बंगला देश से लगभग एक करोड़ आदमी आये हैं। वे लोग कोई काम नहीं कर सकते हैं, लेकिन उन के खाने-पीने और रहने का इन्तजाम करना जरूरी है। कई बार इस हाउस में श्री ज्योतिमय वसु ने कहा है कि उन लोगों को जो राशन दिया जा रहा है, उसको बढ़ाना चाहिए और उन को ज्यादा सहूलियतें देनी चाहिए। जो एक करोड़ आदमी कोई काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, अगर उन को मेनटेन करने का इन्तजाम करना पड़े, तो हमारे मुल्क में इकानोमिक स्टेन होना जरूरी है। इस वजह से थोड़ी प्राइसिज बढ़ी हैं। लेकिन उसको काउन्टर-एक्ट करने के लिए सरकार की तरफ से बहुत से कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं।

हमारा दुश्मन, पाकिस्तान, हम पर हमला करने की ताक में है। हम अपने मिलिटरी पर्सनैल को भी अच्छे से अच्छा खाना और पूरी सहूलियतें दे रहे हैं। उसी की वजह से भी कीमतें बढ़ी हैं।

श्री ज्योतिमय वसु को मालूम होनी चाहिए कि हमारे देश में कई बड़े बड़े लोगों के पास बहुत ब्लैक मनी है। श्री पीलू मोदी के एरिया, गुजरात में भी बहुत ब्लैक मनी होगी।

श्री पीलू मोदी (गोधरा) : मेरे पास कोई ब्लैक मनी नहीं है।

श्री एम० राक्षगोपाल रेड्डी : उनके पास नहीं है, लेकिन उन की पार्टी वालों और सपोर्टर्स के पास है। मुल्क में जितना ब्लैक मनी है, उस का तीन चौथाई गुजरात में है। यह ब्लैक मनी बाहर से दिखाई नहीं देता है। एक आइसबर्ग की तरह उसका 9/10 हिस्सा पान रहता है और थोड़ा सा हिस्सा बाहर दिखाई देता है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की हुकूमत उग ब्लैक मनी को बाहर निकालने की कोशिश कर रही है। श्री ज्योतिमय वसु को इस मौके पर हुकूमत को सपोर्ट करना चाहिए और इस मुश्किल के समय

[श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी]

में जो कीमतें बढ़ी हैं उन का मुकाबला करना चाहिए। उन्होंने कर्मचारियों को ज्यादा महंगाई भत्ता देने की बात कही है। वह सिर्फ देने की ही बात करते हैं। उनको पैसा वसूल करने की बात भी करनी चाहिए।

उन्होंने शूगर की बात कही है। मेरा उस इन्डस्ट्री से ताल्लुक है। मैं को-ऑपरेटिव सैक्टर का आदमी हूँ। कंट्रोल लिफ्ट करने के बाद शूगर की कीमत बढ़ी है। लेकिन मैं उनको वताना चाहता हूँ कि मिलों के पास जितना पैसा बच रहा है, वह हम पूरे का पूरा केन ग्राउजर्ज को ट्रांसफर करने वाले हैं। मैंने आन्ध्र प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर से कहा है कि चूँकि गवर्नमेंट ने अपनी पार्टी पर फिनांशल इन्स्टीट्यूशन से हमें पैसा दिलाया है, इसलिए हमें केन ग्राउजर्ज को वह पैसा देने की इजाजत दी जाये, जो हमारे पास बचा हुआ है।

मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट देश में प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा कर कीमतों को कम करने की कोशिश कर रही है। हालांकि हमारे मुल्क में इमर्जेन्सी डिक्लेअर नहीं हुई है, लेकिन इमर्जेन्सी की कन्डीशन है। इस लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य इस तरह की बातें पार्लियामेंट में कर के दुनिया को यह वताने की कोशिश न करें कि हिन्दुस्तान में प्राइसिज बहुत बढ़ रही हैं। यहां पर जो प्राइसिज बढ़ी हैं, वे दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों, और खसूसन चाइना, के मुकाबले में बहुत कम हैं।

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat): Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. I need not tell the House how the prices are rising every day. The prices of commodities are rising, for the last few years. During the current year the prices are shooting up very high. It would not be doing justice to the real fact to say that the prices are rising after the hapless creatures from Bangia Desh started coming to India. This is an attempt to pit the public against those one crore of people who have come.

The prices are rising because of many other reasons. The main reason is the failure of the Government of India to control the prices, the failure of the Government of India to go to the root of the problem to see what are the reasons for the rise in prices. There is wide-spread collusion between Government and financial institutions on the one hand and big monopolists on the other. It is not the retail traders or the small shopkeepers who are responsible for the rise in prices. It is the big business, the monopolists who are rulling the country who are responsible for this in collusion with certain institutions and organisations and the departments of the Government of India.

The policy of the Reserve Bank and the fourteen nationalised banks has so far been to cater to the needs of big business. Most of the custodians of these 14 nationalised banks belong to the camp of Birlas, Tatas, Mahindras or Goenkas. It was revealed in the Rajya Sabha some time back how a nominee of the Birlas, Shri R. P. Shah, who was connected with the UCO Bank manipulated foreign currency during the de-valuation period in such a way that we were deprived of several crores of rupees. Yet, these sharks are still ruling the roost. The activities of those who indulge in forward markets is also well-known. Even now a major share of the credit of the nationalised banks goes to big business and only a trickle goes to the middle class and the poorer sections. Even though there has been much discussion in this House and outside on this question, Government have not done anything in the matter.

Last but not the least, there is deficit financing. Government say that the deficit by financing is to the extent of Rs. 370 crores. I claim that it will reach the figure of Rs. 1,000 crores before next January. The whole economy of the country is being blown up thanks to the ineffectiveness of the policies of the Government of India. At the same time, there is the mounting taxation on consumer goods and indirect taxation of many other articles. These are the reasons for the rise in prices.

What is the remedy suggested by the Government? The Finance Minister talks of consumer resistance.

Now the consumers are prepared to resist.

But what about the Government? Is the Government prepared to take physical control of all the stocks and prepared to take distribution of all consumer goods? There are people who organise consumer's resistance movement and the police is round the corner and they pounce upon the people and put them into jail. Is the hon. Minister serious about it? I say, he is not serious at all. Therefore, I would say that the Government has not suggested any remedy.

The organised working class all over India are demanding that the Government should take adequate measures to check rise in prices, and to bring down the prices, to peg down the prices. Demonstrations have been held before the Reserve Bank and other nationalised banks to force them to change their policy. Demonstrations are held before Mr. Chavan's house in order to impress upon him the necessity to make a change in the policy. But the change is yet to come.

I say, the Government's wishful thinking of controlling the prices will remain on paper because the Government does not control the stocks. The Government is not in physical control of the stocks. The main thing needed is physical control of stocks and their distribution. Is the Government prepared to take this bold step?

What about the Food Corporation? Why does not the Food Corporation or any other agency control the whole procurement and distribution of all essential commodities? What is the fear? What is the difficulty? Even in the capitalist countries, there are instances where wheat trade is totally controlled by the Government. Wheat is procured by the Government, and distributed by the Government, as in Australia. In Canada and in France which are classical capitalist countries, they are trying to control some of the things. And our Government is sitting tight over it and making absurd proposals of consumers' resistance.

Then, I would say, this whole credit policy has to be reversed. As I said, by the beginning of the next year, there will be total collapse of our economy. Nobody can prevent it unless within a fortnight or so a radical change in the policies of the Government in the credit policies of the Reserve Bank and other banks, is brought about. Otherwise, we are facing the ruin of our economy.

Let me warn the Government. Let not the Government be satisfied with the idea that there is deficit financing of only Rs. 370 crores, It is much more than that.

Has the Government levied any amount of tax on the profits? I can tell this House that there are foreign companies that today exist in India which are minting millions of rupees. The Finance Minister should know it. I think, he knows it. A small company, the Colgate and Palmolive, a tooth-paste company, has a total investment of about Rs. 1 lakh, or a little more than Rs. 1 lakh, and its annual profit is Rs. 1 crore. You just imagine. Our economy is being ruined like this.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Don't use tooth-paste.

DR. RANEN SEN : The Government would say, don't use tooth-paste or soap...

SHRI PILOO MODY : That is consumers' resistance.

DR. RANEN SEN : That is not consumers' resistance. I ask Mr. Piloo Mody to be a little less frivolous. There are much more serious things than he can comprehend.

Therefore, I say, such companies are never taxed properly. What is difficulty? Why don't you properly tax these big foreign companies? I may tell you with all sense of responsibility that you take for instance such small companies, like, Johnson & Johnson Co. What is their capital? You come from Maharashtra and you should know it. This Johnson & Johnson Co., producing all sorts of Baby Johnson powder, etc. with Rs. 2-3 lakhs capital in India are minting Rs. 1.50 crores profit every year.

Therefore, what is happening in our country—I fail to understand. What is the Government doing? What is the ruling party doing? Our friend, Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munsii, has started a consumer resistance movement before the shops in Calcutta. But how are the poor shop-keepers responsible? For a Horlicks bottle the shop-keeper may be charging 25 paise or 50 paise extra than what they should charge. But the manufactures are making a clean profit of

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

Rs. 4 out of Rs. 6.50. It is a well-known fact. Therefore, I say we have reached a critical situation. The burst up is going to take place sooner or later.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram almost every day assures us that our frontiers will be protected, that our Jawans are ready, that aggression will be repulsed and if a war is imposed on us, we will fight on the soil of Pakistan. It is all good. The frontiers will be protected. But what about the rear? What takes place in the rear is also important. Can an army fight without properly organizing and re-organizing the rear? If this price-rise goes on, it is advantageous to the profiteers and in any worse situation they will try to fleece the people more. Then the whole rear will collapse to the advantage of Pakistan, to be advantage of the imperialists.

The last point I want to make is that as I have said earlier, the All India Trade Union Congress has taken up a programme. Yesterday, the AITUC has passed a resolution giving their full support to the Government in case of a war. That they have said. The workers are prepared to make sacrifices. But what about the Government? Is the Government prepared to see that the workers are protected from these big monopolists, that no retrenchment takes place, that the workers will be consulted at the shop-floor level and that fair price shops will be established all over India, in the villages as well as in the towns, as was done during the Second World War.

With these words, I conclude by saying, let the Government wake up to the real situation and take radical measures with boldness in both the hands,

With these words, I support the resolution.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubneshwar): I was a little disappointed when the mover of the resolution, the hon. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu for whom I have a high regard, started posing the problem in a way and in a manner and from the way and from the manner he presented it, I was thinking to myself that perhaps he was more obsessed with our Prime Minister rather than with the evil of rising prices. I hope this is not the time and place and forum to start a tirade against

the Prime Minister when the situation is so grave in the country. At this critical juncture one cannot afford to have this kind of tirade. The whole country knows and you know well and the whole Parliament knows that it is only under her able guidance that the country is passing through such difficult situation as today's with confidence...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I would like to put some very salient questions before the House and I hope to-day this discussion will be very fruitful if we really know something about the concrete measures that the Government propose to take to tackle this problem...*(Interruptions)* Shri Pilloo Mody is so inflated that I cannot be a match to him.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ignore him and address the Chair.

17.00 hrs.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: We are passing through a war-time economy with peace-time thoughts.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: May I know from my learned friend, since when are you passing through this kind of an economy which you mention? You are a knowledgeable man.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: You know that what war means...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You say war-time economy and so I want to know what you mean by that.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: The people of the country knows what it is. I can explain to you what is war and what is peace...

AN HON. MEMBER: In the lobby.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the hon. Member address the Chair.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I bow to your ruling. I am prepared to give him a lesson on war and peace. I was just telling that we are passing through a war-time economy with peace-time thoughts. The

paradox of the situation lies here. We shall have to overcome this paradoxical situation. You will be surprised to know that the whole effort of the Government had been to increase the industrial production by 7 per cent. That is the crux of the problem now. If you had increased the industrial production by 7 per cent the concomitant phenomena of price rise may not have been there. But what has happened? Industrial production is not even 1 per cent. So, there is 6 per cent fall in the industrial production of the country. There was a survey which was undertaken which has pointed out that almost 39 per cent of the industrial units in the country are under-utilised. Even those plants which are utilised somewhat and are under production are not fully utilised to their full rated capacity because of shortage of raw materials and various other reasons. That is the position.

The second point is the question of having the necessary financial discipline. The overdrafts position of the State Governments has been of the order of Rs. 371 crores in June, 1971. I hope it has gone up by now. There was a strict directive from the Reserve Bank that there should be a strict financial discipline so far as overdrafts are concerned. We would like to know from the hon. Minister whether such strict financial discipline is being observed by them.

The difficulty is this. This is an economy when we are faced with the spiralling of arrears. Today in the morning there was a question on income-tax arrears. But I regret to say, no answer came from the Government. Today the arrears of Income-tax stands at least at Rs. 500 crores or so. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you were in the Taxation (Amendment) Bill Select Committee and you know the position. Taking together the Centre and the States, the arrears which are due to the States and to the Centre would easily come to about Rs. 1,000 crores. Can the Government throw some light on this, this spiralling of arrears to the turn of about Rs. 1,000 crores.

At present we are trying to mobilise or to raise certain additional resources by ordinances to the extent of about Rs. 70 and maybe, we are going to raise it further.

Are not the people of the country entitled to ask why the arrears are spiralling like this in an economy like ours? Can the Government afford to allow arrears to mount up and

yet go on imposing fresh levies? Will it help in checking the price rise? That is the point which Government should seriously think of.

The Reserve Bank in their latest annual report which is very conservative and very cautious report have said that the present price-rise situation is today the foremost problem in the country and they have suggested various measures. I hope the hon. Minister would enlighten the House as to what further steps are being taken to implement all those measures.

The Governor of the Reserve Bank has himself said that there is a lack of investment and that is a worrying feature of the industrial growth. So, we would like to know from Government from which quarter there has been a lack of investment. When the money supply to the public is increasing and when the credit from the banks to the private sector and to industry is increasing, why is it that the investment climate is not improving? Why was it that the Governor of the Reserve Bank was constrained to say that there was a lack of investment which was worrying very much the economic condition of the country? So, these things need to be clarified a little.

As you know very well, that for the entire Fourth Plan period, the deficit financing envisaged was only Rs. 850 crores. I do not know whether Government will or will not agree with me when I say this, but anyhow it is a matter to be worried about—that last year the deficit financing was planned to be only to the extent of Rs. 225 crores, but in 1970-71 it has gone up to Rs. 480 crores. During this year, in the six months' period that has elapsed, it has gone up to Rs. 380 crores, although it was envisaged to be only Rs. 220 crores for the whole year.

SHRI PILOO MODY : It will go up to Rs. 1,500 crores by March, 1971.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : I can say that it would reach about Rs. 700 crores by the end of the financial year. I am not going to that extent as Shri Piloo Mody does...

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is the estimate the *Economic Times* that he is quoting. The *Economic Times* has given that estimate.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I had not expected him to have read it. Therefore, I mentioned it.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : I know that he reads the same source as I do, but I may tell him that my figure may come out to be correct after all the analysis is made...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Chintamani Panigrahi's estimate are cautious estimates.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : These are the very salient and worrying features and the basic maladies which we are facing only in our present condition. We would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps are being taken to meet the price rise situation which is posing a serious problem before us. Something concrete should be done so that there could be effective control taking into consideration all the factors that are coming before us, so that the consumers and all sectors of economy may not suffer and the price rise may not go against all the plants that we are having today. And there is again the grave border situation which we are facing today.

Today, there is another feature that we are facing. That is, that some of the capital market shares are falling. Just before the Indo-Soviet treaty was signed, another attempt was made in the market to show that something was coming, and so immediately the prices went up, but again they slumped down. Today also, the capital market shares are falling, and a kind of panic is there. I hope that Government will come forward to see that this unnecessary panic is not there. It may be a calculated measure by the capital market also to safeguard again more stringent measures being brought forward by Government. The Forward Contract Bill is shortly coming into effect, and, therefore, this might perhaps be an attempt to sabotage the whole thing. Therefore, Government should be very careful. During the coming two or three months, the situation is going to be a grave one and this has to be faced boldly. Previously also, many much difficult situations have been faced boldly when the country perhaps thought that we were going to fall. I am not one of those pessimists who always sees darkness all around. So far as I am concerned, I see a new sun rising in the East, and Bangla Desh

is coming. The face of this entire Indian sub-continent is going to change and this new sun which is rising in the east will be to the advantage of the people of India and to the socialists all over the world and we will win new victories by the end of this year.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : Will it go to the north also ?

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Brave words do not produce any results. Prices have been rising in this country now for the last twenty years and the causes and reasons why they have been rising have been explained not only to the Government, not only to the ruling party, but to the public at large as to why prices rose.

What is responsible for rising prices ? Apparently, those who have the destinies of this nation in their hands do not accept the lessons that have been taught, learnt nothing from past lessons and continue with the same policies that are responsible for rising prices. My contention, and if I may be somewhat harsher, my charge, is that they are not really interested in doing anything about prices at all. They talk about prices all the time. They say that it is part of their manifesto. It is part of their intention. It is part of their socialism to bring prices down. But who is interested ? Look at the attendance here. We are the Parliament of India discussing ..

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat) : Look at your own benches.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I counted and found that my percentage attendance here is larger than his. He should have counted himself before making the accusation.

For this entire year, since the last election, we have heard about nothing but this massive mandate, about the people having given them that mandate. You can see how deceived the people have been because they thought they were entrusting their destinies in safe hands instead of which they found they have entrusted their destinies to a very uninterested, unconcerned lot of people who are not even interested in something that is so vital.

Did you hear the debate on the other side ? My communist friends here and the ruling party there--what were they talking about ?

They were not talking about how prices can be brought down, not how prices can be stabilised, but how you can grab more here and more there. This was supposed to be the panacea. They have been grabbing for twenty years. Prices have not come down. They say 'close this down, stop credit'. They do not study. Look at the production figures in this country.

Why is it that prices keep going up ? There are three reasons, physical, monetary and psychological. On all the three fronts, they have failed. They cannot do anything physically. Look at the amount of deficit financing. Year after year notes are printed at the Nasik Press. Previously they all used to be serially numbered. Now you find duplicate notes appearing all over the place. I have in my possession duplicate notes, notes printed by the Government, certified by the treasury with the same number and the same markings.

SHRI A.K.M. ISHAQUE : You are now on record.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Yes, I have in my possession these notes. How did they come into the general stream of currency ? I had a worker from the Nasik Press write to me. He said that the trade union here is so intimidating the management that they have the run of the place.**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) : It is not correct. He has referred to a very sensitive thing in a very sensitive situation. There is no report as far as the Government is concerned, of the workers having intimidated the management. We have no problem there.

DR. RANEN SEN : He is maligning the workers.

MR CHAIRMAN : I have not the slightest intention to put any restraint on the hon. member. The restraint has to come from within. It is a sensitive field.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I will solve the problem in this way—that I will have my say, and then, I will permit you to delete whatever

part you think may be prejudicial to the issue. Because I certainly do not want to contribute to the lowering of the morale of that Government has been contributing to all these years. I would certainly like to do everything possible, particularly at this critical juncture, to see that nothing is done to shake the confidence of the people in this Government such as it is. But I did receive this letter. There is no point in the Minister contradicting it.**

The contributing factors are taxes ; the Government thinks that it needs resources. One does not blame the Government, but unfortunately it does not know how to raise resources. If they were only to consult some of us we can tell them how to raise resources. You want a thousand crores, two thousand crores, I will show you how to raise them, but unfortunately they do not know how to raise resources, but you cannot raise them by squeezing the poor or abusing the rich. You do not squeeze the rich ; you only squeeze the poor. You cannot afford to abuse the poor, but you can only squeeze them. This is no policy for a Government to follow. A box of matches cost 10 paise ; six paise goes into their unholy pockets, into the Government's pocket ; and it is misspent. (*Interruption*) Mr. Reddy will never know. But some day, if he is willing, I am prepared to take him to the whole host of non-productive expenditure that takes place in this country and which can be utilised towards production.

Sir, thousands and thousands of licences are pending. Today, the procedure has become so very cumbersome that you have to approach 11 Ministries independently ; I have never found two Ministers of this Government to agree. Now, they want 11 of them to agree before one miserable licence is issued. They control a commodity even though they do not delicense its manufacture. What sort of logic is this ? You control a commodity because it is scarce, but if you do not delicense its manufacture how are you going to make up for the shortfall ? But this goes on merrily from day to day. Ministers come ; ministers go ; they huddle in chambers and discuss their political future. But who cares a damn about the country ?

So, this business of mouthing platitudes year after year, day after day, is no good.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair-- vide Col. 302-- 03.

[Shri Pillo Mody]

You may fool the people once ; you may fool them again ; you may fool them 10 times, but it will not bring the prices down.

The same thing about employment. These two things are very closely tied together and they are both tied in with production. You have to produce. There is no other solution for you. You can worship at the altar of socialism as long as you like, and you can take your instructions from Moscow as long as you like. But till you learn to produce, there is nothing you are going to be able to do. And the one thing that they do not know is how to produce, except if it is children.

***SHRI C. CHITTIBABU (Chingleput) :**
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am duty-bound to support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, regarding rise in prices of essential commodities. It should not be treated that this Resolution has been moved by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu who belongs to the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has only high-lighted the explosive situation to which the people of the country have been dragged by the steep rise in prices of essential commodities and this Resolution reflects the anger and the agony of the entire people of this country.

Sir, our hon. Minister of Finance Shri Y. B. Chavan, appealed to the people of the country that they should start immediately a strong consumers' resistance movement throughout the country to check the rise in prices. I welcome this appeal of the hon. Finance Minister who through this has created in the minds of the people a fighting tendency against the ever-increasing evil of price rise. I make bold to say that the people are prepared to start a strong resistance movement and if necessary even to wage a war against this evil. But, the hon. Finance Minister has not clarified as to how the people should wage this struggle and what methods they should adopt to fight this social malady. When a responsible Minister of the Central Government, which has got all the powers in its hands to do anything it likes, speaks on the public platforms and also inside this House about the necessity for creating a consumers' price resistance movement, it is expected of him to give some

guidelines regarding this movement. Are the consumers expected to go and loot the shops ? Are they to set fire to the establishments which indulge in these unfair practices ? Are they to burgle the shops and stores selling their daily necessities ? Or, are they to stage a non-violent satyagraha before such shops ? What is going to be the consequence of either non-violent methods or violent methods adopted by the people to arrest the rising prices ? I request the hon. Minister of Finance to suggest some framework within which this Consumers' Resistance Movement could be started successfully. I request the Government to realise that the people have been driven to the precipice of a violent revolution and if this situation continues the country may soon be enveloped by a social upheaval.

It is not that the prices have started rising of late. As the speakers who preceded me pointed out, I am not in a position to agree with the excuse that the influx of Bangla Desh refugees has contributed greatly to the rise in prices. During the past 24 years, this Parliament has been giving its approval to the annual Budgets of the Government and none can dispute the fact that during all these years the successive Finance Ministers of the country have been imposing all kinds of taxes on the people of the country. Has there been a single year in which no tax has been levied on the people ? I would like to know in which year the Government have given sufficient incentives for increasing agricultural production in the country ? The people of the country have realised fully well that this country's economy can reach a commanding height only through agricultural development and the country will be able to gain international respect only when self-sufficiency in foodgrains is achieved. As the Five-Year Plans which have not given due place to agricultural development have failed miserably, if the Government have think that by establishing prestige projects and big industries they will be able to remove the poverty and the distress of the people, then they will find themselves in the quicksand of failure.

Here, I would like to point out that solely guided by the welfare of the teeming millions of our country, our Chief Minister, Dr. Kalaingar Karunanidhi constituted the Rajamannar Committee to examine the question of Centre-State relations and he has forwarded a copy

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

of the Committee's Report to the Centre for their consideration. All the powers are now concentrated in the hands of the Centre which talk about curbing the monopoly growth in the country. Whether it is the establishment of big industries or it is about essential commodities, the powers of establishing such industries and giving directives regarding essential commodities are all in the hands of the Centre. In one word, the Centre is the sole arbiter of the destiny of the country. The Chief Ministers of all the States in the country have appreciated the necessity for the Centre to shed some of their powers and share them with the States. If the economy of the country is to develop on an even keel, then it is time to decentralise the powers now concentrated in the hands of the Centre.

Arignar Anna frequently used to say that by printing currency notes the Government will not be able to eradicate poverty. I would like to know the total value of currency notes printed after independence. It is a concomitant factor that the industrial production will go down which in turn will lead to rise in prices, if the Government take frequent recourse to printing notes.

It is not only the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam but all the Opposition Parties in this House supported the Government's action in nationalising 14 major commercial banks, with the admirable objective of using the funds for the upliftment of our down-trodden society. But, today who are the Custodians of these Bank? What kind of people they are? How much money has been given to the poor agriculturists as loans by these Custodians? In a parrot-like fashion, the Ministers repeat what is given as brief by the Officers. Do they know that these Custodians give them a superfluous picture of financial assistance given to the agriculturists, but in fact they have been giving lakhs and lakhs of rupees to rich people to feather their nests? If an agriculturist imbued with the spirit of modernising agriculture happens to be a Custodian, then he will render the necessary assistance to the agriculturists. But that is not to be.

I would refer to another important factor before I conclude. At the moment the power of issuing industrial licences in the hands of the Centre. But, in fact, it is an acknowledged fact that the State Governments are more intimately connected with the industrial needs of

the States, as compared to the Centre sitting in a corner. For example, the Rajasthan State Government knows what kind of industries will suit the State. Similarly, the Tamil Nadu Government knows the type of industries that can be developed successfully in Tamil Nadu. That is why I urge upon the Centre that the power to issue industrial licences should be given to the States. The Centre may retain the power to set up priority industries and other basic industries. But so far as small industries are concerned, the States should have the power to issue licences. It is also that all the consumer industries, whether it is soap manufacturing or tooth-paste manufacturing, are in the private sector and the monopolists are holding the consumers to ransom. For example, the clothes I am wearing are mill-made clothes manufactured by a textile mill of a rich man. Many such commodities which are in daily use of common people are being manufactured by a handful of monopolists in the country who sell their goods at fancy prices. They are also aware of the fact that once in five years elections will be held and the ruling party will then have to seek their favour. But I would say that the Government will have to bear in mind the fact that they have also to seek the votes of common people during elections. Then, the people are bound to ask what the Government have done to bring down the prices of essential commodities. I would, therefore, suggest that the production of consumer industries should be taken over by the Centre and they should establish units in the public sector for producing them. Then, only the Government will be able to bring down the soaring prices. Only when such constructive steps are taken by the Government, they will be able to establish the much-talked about socialism in the country, the socialism which Shrimati India Gandhi wants to establish in the country.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has done a single service by pointing out to the Government the dangerous situation prevailing in the country and if the Government in not pay heed to that, then naturally do not a very distant future the administration will be derailed and the entire responsibility for that will be on the present Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN: At the request of the hon. Member Shri Piloo Mody excepting the first sentence in which he mentioned that he has received a letter from an employee of

[Mr. Chairman]

the Nasik Mint that the management is scared of the labour, whatever else he has stated about the Mint has to be expunged. It is at the request of the Member himself.

There is very little time. I should like Shri Daga and Shri Naik to be accommodated. Three minutes each.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : This is a very serious issue. It should continue on the next non-official day. This is not a thing which can be settled in two hours. It is very serious.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I do understand that it is a very serious matter. I do want not only an adequate debate but really a serious debate of the matter, but that is something which is beyond me. It is the Business Advisory Committee which has decided, and I am completely bound as you know by the instructions which were given to me by the Presiding Officer who sat before me.

श्री मूलचन्द्र डागा (पाली) : सभापति महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि तीन मिनट में मेरे भावों में जो उछल कूद हो रही है, उनको मैं व्यक्त नहीं कर पाऊँगा और साथ ही साथ उनको व्यक्त किये बिना मैं रह भी नहीं पाऊँगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार भावों को नीचे लाने में बिल्कुल भी सीरियस नहीं है। 1964 से लेकर आज तक भाव बराबर बढ़ते ही गये हैं। कीमतें निरन्तर बढ़ती ही गई हैं और बढ़ती जा रही हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इस बात पर कोई ध्यान ही नहीं दे रही है। सरकार जनता पर केवल करों का बोझ ही लादती जा रही है। एक ही बात वह कहती है कि कीमतों की बढ़ोतरी को रोकने के लिए कंज्यूमर को संगठित रूप से लड़ना चाहिए। कभी बंगला देश का नाम लेकर टैक्स बढ़ा दिये जाते हैं। लेकिन सरकार अपनी ओर से दामों को रोकने के लिए कोई साहसपूर्ण कदम नहीं उठाती है और न उसने आज तक उठाया है। हिन्दुस्तान पर कर्जों का भारी बोझ लदता जा रहा है। नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर भी बढ़ता जा रहा है और वह भी करोड़ों में जाता है। इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है।

दूतावासों पर जो विदेशों में हैं भारी खर्च किया जाता है। साथ ही जो पब्लिक सैक्टर है वह भी भारी घाटे में चल रहा है। सरकार मालूम होता है कि इस सब के बारे में बिल्कुल भी सजग नहीं है और न कोई नीति बना कर चल रही है। जो बड़े बड़े लोग हैं उन पर मंहगाई का कोई असर नहीं होता है। लेकिन इस मंहगाई की वजह से जो गरीब लोग हैं, जो मध्यम श्रेणी के लोग हैं वे पिसते जा रहे हैं, वे घिसते जा रहे हैं और नीचे की ओर जा रहे हैं। इस चीज को मुक्तभोगी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। कभी बंगला देश का सवाल खड़ा किया जाता है और कभी यह कहा जाता है कि कंज्यूमर्स संगठित होकर इसका मुकाबला करें। यू० एस० ए० में भाव बढ़ने के बाद थोड़े से ही समय में सौ कानून बना दिये गये थे। लेकिन आप कोई कदम नहीं उठाते हैं, कोई प्रयत्न नहीं करते हैं। काला धन देश में चल रहा है, उसको बाहर निकालने की कोशिश नहीं की जाती है। कुछ को छोड़कर बाकी सरकारी कर्मचारियों के बारे में मैं कह सकता हूँ कि तनखाह के अलावा उनके और भी आमदनी के साधन बने हुए हैं। उनके पास पैसा कहां से आता है, इसकी भी आप जांच नहीं करते हैं, इसको भी आप नहीं देखते हैं। उनका खर्चा कहां से चलता है और कैसे वे इतना खर्चा करते हैं इसको कोई देखता नहीं है। ये कुछ मोटी मोटी बातें हैं जो मैंने आपके सामने रखी हैं। और भी बातें हैं जिन की तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिए। पब्लिक सैक्टर घाटे में क्यों चलते हैं, इसको आप देखें। नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर आप रोकें। यह बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। आप कोई सीरियस कदम उठाना नहीं चाहते हैं। आप बिल्कुल भी इस मामले में सीरियस नहीं हैं। साहसपूर्ण कदम भी आप उठाना नहीं चाहते हैं। हम लोग पांच साल के लिए आते हैं और आप भी पांच साल के लिए आते हैं। लेकिन सरकारी कर्मचारी हमेशा चलते रहते हैं। आपको कोई नीति बना कर काम करना चाहिए। भाव बढ़ते हैं तो आप उनके बढ़ने का कोई न कोई बहाना कर देते हैं। कभी आप बंगला देश का बहाना लेते हैं और कभी कोई और। लोग अब समझते हैं। आपने कितने

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

आस्टैरिटी मैशर्ज लिए हैं ? कितनी सादगी आप ने अपनाई है ? यह सवाल आज देश आप से पूछता है । सरकार मिक्सड इकोनोमी में विश्वास करती है और उसको लेकर चल रही है । यह जो मिक्सड इकोनोमी है यह समझ में नहीं आती है । आप क्या करना चाहते हैं समझ में नहीं आता है । क्या आपने इन्सैटिव लोगों को दिया है ताकि वे ज्यादा पैदा कर सकें । जो मजदूर फैक्ट्री में या किसी उद्योग में काम करता है और वह अधिक काम करता है, अधिक उत्पादन करता है तो क्या आपका कानून यह कहता है कि उसको ज्यादा तनखाह दे दो । कानून आपका यह कहता है कि वहां मिनिमम वेजिज एक्ट लागू हो जाए । कोई किसी को इन्सैटिव ज्यादा काम करने का नहीं दिया जाता है । काम करने का यह तरीका नहीं है । लोग जो जुल्म सह रहे हैं क्या इसका दोष हम पर नहीं है ? क्या यह हमारा कर्त्तव्य नहीं है कि हम देखें कि लोगों को ज्यादा कीमतें अदा न करनी पड़ें ? आप केवल मात्र यह कह कर संतोष कर लेते हैं कि कंज्यूमर्ज आन्दोलन शुरू करें । अब वे गरीब रोटी कमायें या आन्दोलन करें ? वे अपना भरण पोषण करें या आन्दोलन करें ? मैं कहूंगा कि यह हमारी खुद की गलती है जो भाव बढ़ते हैं । आप खुद का यह कसूर है कि आप काले धन को पकड़ते नहीं हैं । चोरों को पकड़ा नहीं जाता है । सख्त कदम उठा नहीं सकते हैं । आप गरीबों का दर्द नहीं जानते हैं क्योंकि आपकी अपनी हालत ठीक है । वही उनका दर्द जान सकता है जिसको खुद दर्द होता है ।

जब कभी मंहगाई बढ़ने का सवाल उठाया जाता है तो यहाँ आकर एक स्टेटमेंट निकाल दिया जाता है और कारण बता दिये जाते हैं । बंगला देश का बहाना बना दिया जाता है । लेकिन आप कितनी आस्टैरिटी बरतते हैं, इसको तो आप बतायें । कितना नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर कम करते हैं, इसको तो आप बतायें । आज भी कितने ज्यादा मिनिस्टर धने हुए हैं, इसको देखा नहीं जाता है । कितना उन पर साल में खर्च होता

है इसको देखा नहीं जाता है । जिस काम को वे करते हैं उस में वे कम्पीटेंट हैं या नहीं, इसको देखा नहीं जाता है । अपने सबजैक्ट को समझते हैं या नहीं इसको देखा नहीं जाता है । सरकारी कर्मचारी जो लिखकर दे देते हैं या जो आंकड़ा बता देते हैं, उसको वे हमारे सामने रख देते हैं । कितना विदेशी ढूतावासों पर खर्च होता है, कितना नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर होता है, उसको देखा नहीं जाता है । सरकार बिल्कुल ढिलमिल नीति पर चल रही है । कोई कदम वह नहीं उठाती है । जवाब देने के लिए केवल जवाब दे देती है । 1964 के बाद से आज तक मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस चीज के भाव कम हुए हैं ? क्या कभी भाव घटे हैं ? मैं तो कहूंगा कि आने वाले तीन चार साल में भी ये भाव नीचे नहीं आयेंगे । आप ने जो गेहूँ इकट्ठा किया है वह सड़ रहा है । गोदाम आपके पास नहीं हैं । वह बाहर पड़ा हुआ है । सात अरब का धान आपने इकट्ठा किया है, उसकी क्या हालत होगी, क्या आपने कभी सोचा है ? सरकार को उसकी कोई चिन्ता नहीं है । सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तनखाहें आप हर साल बढ़ा देते हैं । मंहगाई जब बढ़ती है तो कुछ न कुछ उनकी तनखाहें आप बढ़ा देते हैं । उससे गवर्नमेंट का खर्चा बढ़ जाता है । सभी स्टेट्स में घाटे के बजट पेश किए जाते हैं । स्टेट्स ओवर ड्राफ्ट लेती है । वहां कोई विकास का काम नहीं होता है । कम्युनिटी डिवलेपमेंट में कोई विकास का काम नहीं हो रहा है । करोड़ों रुपया सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर खर्च कर दिया जाता है । उनकी तनखाहें बढ़ती जाती हैं । क्या कभी आपने साधारण आदमी की इनकम बढ़े, इसके लिए कदम उठाया है । उसकी तो बढ़ती नहीं है लेकिन जो सरकारी कर्मचारी थोड़ा बहुत पढ़ा लिखा है उसकी बढ़ जाती है चाहे उसका काम कुछ भी हो । सरकार साहसपूर्ण कदम नहीं उठाती है । जिन सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तनखाहें हजार-पंद्रह सौ है अगर उनको मार्किट में भेजा जाए तो वे साढ़े चार सौ या पांच सौ से ज्यादा नहीं कमा सकते हैं । कीमतें कम हों, इस पर आप विचार करें और साहसपूर्ण कदम उठायें, यही भेरी आप से प्रार्थना है ।

SHRI B.V. NAIK (Kanara) : Mr. Chairman I heard the very informative speech of Professor Ranen Sen. One of the points which he made out was typical of our friends on the other side, who look at the entire Indian economy as though it is lived in urban areas. While he predicted the collapse of the Indian economy, the reason which he gave was the high profits that are being made by some of the concerns like Johnson and Johnson the manufacturers of prickly heat powder, the Palmolive shaving stick manufacturers and another concern making tooth-pastes. I think it would be a very sad day if the Indian economy were to collapse simply for the reason that we do not have adequate tooth-paste or shaving cream or prickly heat powder for that matter, I do not think that the innate strength of the Indian economy rests either in big cities or on urban products and that the Indian economy will collapse simply because we do not have these fancy goods in our market meant for the people who seem to constitute a microscopic minority.

But I do see the point that the effect of the price rise is going to affect both rural and urban areas. The effect of the price rise has been particularly on the weaker sections of the society, and the weaker sections of the society stay principally in the villages. They may constitute as much as one-third of the total Indian population. It is this unorganised sector, which is not represented either by our friends on the right, or the friends in the middle who spoke with such vehemence, and it is this unorganised sector for which we the new Congress are morally responsible for whom we have taken the responsibility and for whom we feel a greater amount of compassion, than the urbanised leftists groups in our country, or the highly organised rightist groups like the hon. Member, Shri Piloo Mody, who asked us to produce and produce more, would care to admit.

The principal area where our economy and particularly, the price rise hurts is in respect of the foodgrains. In that too, unfortunately, some slight figurative mistake that the price of wheat has remained stable while the price of rice has gone up has crept in. About the wheat-rice price ratio, formerly it was 1 : 1 and now it is 1 : 2. But by mistake, he said 2 : 1. It has jumped from 1 : 1 to 1 : 2.

We can understand, in spite of the hon.

Member, Dr. Ranen Sen's contention to the contra, that we can hold East Bengal problem or the Bangla Desh refugees numbering 1 crore as principally responsible for the rise in price of foodgrains. We can see that there is a direct correlation between the rise in price of foodgrains, particularly, the staple food of our friends who have come from outside, namely, rice, while in respect of wheat, there has not been such an appreciable rise or, in some pockets, there has been actually a decline in respect of price of wheat. There has been a justifiable reason why the usual recourse, that is the imposition of food controls, is not to be thought of. The re-imposition of food controls in the wake of East Bengal refugees would have to be given a considerable amount of fore thought.

Under the circumstances, I would say that the rise in price particularly in respect of foodgrains, namely, rice, is directly attributable to our national policy or to our policy in regard to refugees who have come into this country.....(*Interruption*) I agree that it would be to harsh to make East Bengal refugees as scape-goat, but it is not harsh to call a spade a spade.

I would like to make a point in respect of this consumers' resistance movement and would urge upon the Government to accept either one of the two alternatives before us. As soon as possible, particularly, in areas of deficit food production, and particularly where staple food is rice, there will have to be a considerable amount of rushing in of foodgrains and opening of fair price shops and even subsidising the distribution of foodgrains. If we are today in a position to take care of about 10 million refugees who have come from East Bengal, why is it not possible for us, simultaneously, to subsidise the foodgrains particularly their staple food for the weaker sections of our population in the interim period, that is, before a decision is taken for the re-imposition of foodgrains control when the situation goes out of hand? For that decision, we have been waiting for the last 8-9 months. But for the sake of this rise which is definitely severe, it is not necessary to rush in. Let us not rush in like the people who rush in where angels fear to tread. (*Interruption*) I would like to tell the hon. Member that at least one-third of population in our villages are not even fortunate enough to eat sugar. They eat jaggery whenever it is available to

them. That shows that there is inadequate appreciation of the difficulties of economic conditions of the rural people by our friends on that side of the House.

I would, therefore, urge upon the hon. Minister that there should be certain steps taken for expediting the relief, particularly, in those areas along the west coast and such other pockets of dire poverty in our country where the weaker sections of the population are at a stage of quasi-starvation.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA (Bhavnagar) : Sir, before you call the Minister to speak, I want to make one suggestion.

This is a very vital issue and it concerns very much the whole of the nation. Therefore, I would request you to kindly carry this debate to the next day.

MR. CHAIRMAN : As I have said already, I myself consider this issue extremely important. There should be adequate debate and a serious debate. There is no indication here as to when this debate commenced. I think we commenced the debate at 4.10. So, it cannot be over today, It will have to be taken over next time.

I will call the Minister now. He will take as much time as he wants. But we will adjourn at six.

.....(*Interruptions*) You want to speak on the next day ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : He is not prepared.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I expected a very good performance from you, but after hearing you, I feel really disappointed. I am really prepared to reply.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA : Sir, this is a very worrying problem for the whole nation. The prices have gone so high that the life of the common man has become very difficult. Everything has gone high—cereals, cloth, medicine, sugar, oils, match box and everything has gone up and the poor people and the people of low income really find it difficult how to pass the days.

Now, the reasons are obvious. It is a complete failure of this Government that the

prices have gone so high. They have failed to hold the price line and the economic situation is really alarming. You see the growth rate. The growth rate has not gone up according to the expectation. Same is the case with regard to investment. Then there is deficit financing. When the Budget was presented in this House, the Finance Minister had assured the House that the deficit will not increase. But what has happened ? I think the deficit has gone up much higher than the estimated deficit. And it will go still higher. The Finance Minister in this House once said that there is a parallel currency to the official currency—black money. He said once in this house that there is the parallel currency of the black money.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (SHRI GHANSHYAM OZA) : Currency is only one. It is not parallel..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. M. MEHTA : I think this is what the Finance Minister has stated in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is an economy of black money.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA : There is a parallel economy of black money...(*Interruptions*) So you have given abnormal purchasing capacity to those who have that black money and that has created this cost of living going high. They are helpless.

They have gone to the people with the slogan '*Garibi Hatao*'. But, thereafter, they have turned their back to the people.....

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : No.

MR. P. M. MEHTA : Mr. Piloo Mody rightly pointed out and asked now many Members are here present in the House in discussing this very vital issue which concerns the whole nation ? They turn their back to the people ; they have become power-arrogant and power-drunk. Excuse me for saying these harsh words. They are responsible for this position ; they have created this position. This Bangla Desh problem is also one of their own creation. Had the Government acted in time in March 26 or so or even in middle of April and recognised Bangla Desh, this

[Shri P. M. Mehta]

position would not have arisen. They have failed there also. Now they are saying, because of Bangla Desh this situation has arisen. This is, I think one-fourth true.....

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : Not even half ?

SHRI P. M. MEHTA : Not even half ; it is only one-fourth true. What is the consumer resistance ? The purchasing capacity of the consumer is very low. They are not even able to purchase their essential commodities for their daily lives. How are you going to ensure consumer resistance ? Have you got any scheme which you can try ? Can you go to the people and tell them, this is the way you can resist higher prices ? Is there any such scheme ? Or, is it merely a suggestion for gheraos and picketing of shops ? If it is so, you should come out openly.

Regarding employment, when the growth rate is low, when the investment is low, naturally, there will not be the scope for more employment. Employment will also be at a lower rate. You have not created more jobs for the educated youths and uneducated youths, for our technicians and engineers seeking jobs. Today, we read in the papers that the graduates are being asked to go for the bus conductors' jobs. This is the position which has been created.....

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : That only shows the dignity of labour.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA : I have no objection if we all really believe in this dignity of labour. But you know, this is the compulsion of circumstance because of which we ask our graduates and young people to go for the bus conductor's job. It is because you know you cannot provide them with any other job. Therefore, you are asking them to go to the bus-conductor's job. It is not fair. We should not satisfy ourselves that this is dignity of labour. Charity should begin at home.

SHRI A.K.M. ISHAQUE : This is only bureaucratic mentality, to say that one should not go for the bus conductor's job.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA : I do not mean that way. I myself worked in the factory for

8 hours a day as a weaver, as a fitter, as a jobber. I know the dignity of labour. Don't teach me.

The circumstances are such that our engineers and technicians and our educated people do not know how to enter into employment, because there are no avenues. There is inflation ; there is black money ; there is low rate of production and investment and mounting unemployment. This is the position today. I would appeal to the Government to come out with positive measures to meet this alarming situation. Thank you.

श्री आर० वी० बड़े (खारगोन) : माननीय सभापति महोदय, यह जो प्रस्ताव सी० पी० एम० के माननीय सदस्य द्वारा लाया गया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। उसका कारण यह है कि यह प्रस्ताव अच्छा है और उसमें जनसंघ की ओर से भी कुछ न कुछ आहुति जानी चाहिए। इसलिए मैं उसे सपोर्ट करता हूँ। दरअसल शासन ने भी इस पर विचार किया था और सभापति महोदय, इसमें आप का भी एक वक्तव्य है :

“On 16th October, the Finance Minister Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan is understood to have agreed to examine the suggestion of Mr. N. K. P. Salve that the Government should award cost to those.....”

Sir, you have also taken part in this.

और यही इसमें लिखा हुआ है :

“The Government determination of limiting deficit financing and holding the price-line is necessary for enlarging the scope of the Essential Commodities Act, as was expressed by Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan. Winding up the second-day discussion at the parliamentary consultative committee for the Finance Ministry, when criticism was made of the lack of effective measures to arrest price rise, he said the Government was seriously concerned over it.”

आप भी इसमें शामिल थे कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में और आप ने कहा है कि गवर्नमेंट ने कोई एफेक्टिव स्टेप्स नहीं लिए। जो मिडिल मैन है

उसने फायदा उठाया है और काश्तकार को कोई फायदा नहीं मिला है। अभी जो बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ उसके बाद प्राइसेज एकदम कैसे राइज हो गई उस के बारे में बताया है :

“According to the survey, the prices per k.g. of masoor pulse has increased from Rs. 1.28 to Rs. 2.”

In the case of *udud* gram, it has increased from Rs. 1.15 to Rs. 1.90, in the case of *gur* from Rs. 1.20 to Rs. 1.75, in the case of *besan* from Rs. 1.22 to Rs. 1.28, in the case of mustard oil from Rs. 4.40 to Rs. 5.40, in the case of Kerosene from Rs. 9.75 to Rs. 11.11 for 18 litres. Even the prices of baby foods have gone up. In the case of Ostermilk, the price has gone up to Rs. 6.80, and the difference is between 55 and 60 per tin. The same thing is true for Glaxo and other baby foods. The price per k.g. of potatoes has gone from Rs. 0.60 to Re. 1, that of onions has gone up from 0.30 the Re. 1.

यह बंगला देश की समस्या है या शासन की समस्या है? मंहगाई क्यों होती है इसके बारे में भी बताया है कि यह जो पैसे की मीटिंग होती है, नोट्स निकलते हैं, उसकी वजह से मंहगाई होती है। उसका मैं उदाहरण बताता हूँ—

“Money supply in India has followed a disconcertingly rising trend; during the past two years; money supply with the public has gone up from Rs. 2868.61 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 6353.65 crores in 1969-70.”

यानी मनी सप्लाई ज्यादा बढ़ी है, उससे यह मंहगाई बढ़ी है, यह इसी उद्धरण में दिया हुआ है। आज आप बाजार में जायेंगे तो देखेंगे सारी चीजों के दाम बढ़े हैं। बंगला देश के कारण टैक्सिस तो बढ़े हैं और सभी लोग बंगला देश के लिए त्याग करने को तैयार हैं; लेकिन कीमतों को रोकने के बारे में आपने क्या कदम उठाए हैं इसके बारे में सवाल उठाया गया था। इस के उत्तर में चव्हाण साहब ने कहा था कि सभी कंज्यूमर गुड्ज के दाम बढ़े हैं। उसके लिए कंज्यूमर गुड्ज को आपरेटिव सोसाइटीज होनी चाहिए, यह उन्होंने कहा था। मेरा कहना यह है कि गवर्नमेंट को इनिशिएटिव लेना चाहिए इस मामले में। पहले भी जब लड़ाइयां हुईं और जब जब लड़ाई चलती है तो कंट्रोल शाप्स खोली जाती हैं और कंट्रोल प्राइस रहती है जिस की वजह से कीमतें नहीं बढ़ती हैं। लेकिन शासन ने कोई ऐसा कदम नहीं उठाया है। काटन का भाव इस साल ढाई सौ रुपये है जबकि पिछले साल में वह साढ़े तीन या चार सौ रुपये था। उसका कारण यह है कि काश्तकार को भूखा मारा गया—

सभापति महोदय : आप अपना भाषण अगली बार जारी रखें।

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock of Monday, November 29, 1971|Agrahayana 8, 1893 (Saka)