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You cannot make a communist economy, a command economy, co-exist with a parliamentary democracy. Sooner or later one or the other will have to go.

- August 21, 1960

Who is the better off today than before Independence ? There is only one class that has improved its lot. That class is the class of some politicians in office, some officials and a few businessmen who work hand-in-glove with these politicians and officials. The combination of Malaviya and Serajuddin is the only vested interest in this country. It is this class which Djilas, the Yugoslav communist, has described as the New Class, which talks of socialism as in Russia and Yugoslavia and feathers its own nest. It is this New Class that is the only beneficiary of fifteen years of so-called socialism in our country.

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Why has the socialist pattern failed to create more prosperity, equality or freedom ? I venture to say that, while the objective was noble, while the objective is acceptable to all of us, the method was hopelessly wrong - the method of statism, or state capitalism, of believing that the people could do nothing, that Government must do everything for them, the carrying on of that ma-baap-sarcar mentality of the British raj which has been the bane of this country during the past fifteen years. We never gave the people the feeling of freedom, of saying "do it for yourself."

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So, one comes to the conclusion that all this talk of socialism, however well-intentioned it may have been, has been a cover for setting up State Capitalism and bureaucracy, benefiting a new class and exploiting the mass of people.

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Socialism, I take it and the House will agree with me, means moving towards a more prosperous, a more free and a more equal society, an objective with which I am a hundred per cent in agreement.

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It is not true that some of us do not believe in state enterprises. We stand for a mixed economy. We stand for a mixed economy of private and state enterprise working side by side to serve the needs of the community, but this must be on a basis of a free and equal competition, of allowing the consumer to decide whether he wants to buy these goods or those goods, and not state monopoly capitalism which is becoming increasingly the pattern of our socialist economy here.

-- August 19, 1963.

We stand for a mixed economy of free and state enterprise cooperating or competing in the service of the people. There are legitimate spheres for both. The appropriate sphere of the state is to build the infra-structure, the foundation for economic advance. That is not a minor thing. It means irrigation and water supply, it means power; it means roads, transport and communications of every form; it also means education. And finally, there is an essential minimum regulation to stop anti-social practices. All this is the legitimate role of the state as understood in civilized society. But that is where the role of the state stops.

-- December 5, 1963.

Why is this policy of deliberately grabbing - because, grab is the word - of investible resources indulged in when the budgetary situation does not even require it? My answer is that this is the doctrine of Karl Marx, the outmoded Marxist doctrine of squeezing surplus value out of the peasants and workers and the common people so that the new ruling class can build the so-called socialist, or what I call state capitalist, society. It is a policy of asking people to tighten their belts for the glory of the state, a policy that was launched on this world by that monstrous communist dictator, Stalin, whose name is execrated in his own country today. That policy lays down that agriculture and consumer goods must be kept down, the needs of the people must be denied to them, so that steel and heavy capital industries can be raised as the base on which the glory of the dictator rises. It is the policy of exploitation for the sake of a mythical future. It is a policy of "pie in the sky when you die", but never today, that the

communist dictators preach.

-- April 17, 1964.

Who are these planners ? Let me say quite frankly that they are a group of bookish intellectuals, completely divorced from economic realities, none of whom has any experience in even producing a thousand rupees of goods and services in this country.

Let me say, again quite frankly, that many of them are incapable of producing anything except words. They say they are socialists. Let me say that they are nowhere near what has quite rightly been described as 20th century socialism in West Germany or Britain.

-- March 22, 1965.

The per capita income of something like 350 million of our people in the countryside is 68 paise per day, and there are 10 million at the lowest level who get an average of 27 paise per day. This is the result of three Five Year Plans and after 15 years of the so-called socialism practised by those in authority.

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We accept the socialist aim of a "free and equal society" but we are perceptive enough to see that the methods of statism and controls is not the method that leads society to a free and equal society.

-- August 26, 1965.

This advocacy of nationalisation is completely out of date; it is obsolete; it is not socialism as the second half of the 20th Century understands it.

-- March 10, 1966.

In her 'person to person' broadcast, for instance, she (Mrs. Gandhi) said that socialism should not be "a book of words nor a bundle of high-sounding promises."

-- May 3, 1966

The correct conclusion to be drawn from the Hazari Report is not to look for scapegoats here and there but to realise that all this is inevitable as a result of so-called socialism, which is really Statism and to give it up.

-- June 5, 1967
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