

उनके खिलाफ कोई कदम उठाना अभी तक उपयुक्त क्यों नहीं समझा और एक चीज को लम्बा लटकने दे कर क्या इस तरह की जो अनुशासनहीनता है उसको बढ़ावा नहीं दिया?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I agree with the hon. Member that it is a common-sense thing because it is not necessary to have it written somewhere in the rules that a man who comes should sign first and then start his work. It is a very obvious thing. Therefore, I agree that there is obviously something wrong about it, and I think the Bank will take into consideration this matter.

#### THE UTTAR PRADESH STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL, 1973

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Sir, on behalf of Shri K. C. Pant, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Uttar Pradesh to make laws.

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

SHRI OM MEHTA : Sir, I introduce the Bill.

#### MOTION RE. APPROACH TO FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN, 1974-79

—contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now the Minister will reply to the debate.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI D. P. DHAR) : Sir, it has been my privilege to listen to the speeches from both sides of the House on the Motion which I moved on Tuesday.

I had hoped that the discussion would conclude on Thursday but it had spilled over to Monday.

Throughout this debate, a highly instructive debate, I listened with fascination to the whole range of interest which was evinced by the hon. Members in the fundamental postulates of the Approach Paper and also in our hopes and dreams—I am prepared to avoid the use of the word 'dream' and say 'vision' if that satisfies Mr. Chandra Shekhar. And I felt that every moment of this discussion, every word of it is worthwhile.

Speaking for myself, Sir, this discussion was very educative. For one thing, the spotlight was turned on some of the fundamental issues which are connected with our economy. Of course, there were voices of discord and those voices are not new. They have been raised against planning, against the very concept of planning from the very day the planning process was started in this country. Those voices have been raised continuously all these years and those voices are being raised about the future of planning in our economy. But I treat them as the mute echoes of the late lamented Forum of Free Enterprise. And, therefore, I would not waste the time of this hon. House by going into details of notions which have no place in history, at any rate in the history of modern resurgent India.

I listened to the speech of Bhai Mahavir, for whom, if I may presume, a person who does not even belong to his party can have regard and affection; I have affection for him. But it is with great regret that I may say that his marathon and highly provocative contribution to the debate was a masterpiece in ornate irrelevance. I waited anxiously with the utmost interest, with the utmost respect to hear one word about the Approach Document, of

[Shri D. P. Dhar.]

course, in condemnation of it. But, alas, I waited in vain? I also had the privilege. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): By any means, did you keep awake while I was speaking?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Even the passersby, Mr. Deputy-Chairman, outside this House, could not help but keep awake because the voice could be heard but the contents of the voice could not be understood.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, is that a compliment he is trying to pay to himself that he could not understand what I was saying? If he wants I can narrate half a dozen inconsistencies from the same Approach Documents, inconsistent because the aims of production of various goods for common people were not consistent with change in the incomes proposed. At least that you could have considered as one word.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): The honourable Minister was overwhelmed by affection for his friend. Therefore, he did not understand anything.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I never disputed the fact of history that even the non-believers can quote scriptures. But nevertheless. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: It does not make one word about the Approach Document there. The Document has become a scripture for. . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR: For those who believe in it.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: . . . materialist believers.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Of course, for me it is a scripture; it has a scriptural value, it has a scriptural sanctity. Of course, it is so. Well, I shall blame not the superfluity of my honourable

friend's capacity to make others understand his point of view, but I shall blame my own lack of understanding, to have failed, to have missed, to discover the subtleties of his argument regarding the Approach Paper. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: That is the only answer you could give to the points raised, obviously. Obviously you do not have an answer.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I say this in all humility because there will be other occasions when we shall discuss this Document, its successor Document, and, perhaps, if my friend, Dr. Mahavir, could very kindly accept my humble advice, he could on that occasion pay a little more attention to the subject that would be under discussion. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Mr. Dhar, please excuse me, I do not want to be interrupting you persistently, but at least I would have expected that you would recognise that I did criticise or I did refer to some of the basic failures of your Approach Document. If you start by saying that I did not talk a word about the Approach Document, then there is no argument about what they are talking and what we are talking. It is meaningless to argue or offer any criticism.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Sir, I shall do my best during the course of my submission to find some meeting ground, some common agreement, between myself and Dr. Bhai Mahavir. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You started by saying that I did not say a word about the Approach Document.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I shall try to discover, to impute, something. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I do not deserve that. So kind of you. . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR: That is all I can do.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I do not deserve that kindness that you may impute some wording or put something into my mouth.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Dr. Mahavir, did you speak in Hindi?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Yes, I spoke in Hindi.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Say that. That is why he could not understand anything.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I did not think that I was addressing an Englishman here.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : This is the only occasion, Lokanathji, when I confess that I am a pundit.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Pundit by accident.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Sir, I have listened to the speech of Prof. Ruthnaswamy with great attention and I did take note of the fact that he was rather concerned about my colleague, the lion, having been tamed, and I was hoping that out of his erudition he would go and complete the fable and talk of the mouse which came to the rescue of the lion. But unfortunately the fable was not completed. And therefore, I could not enjoy the completion of that particular argument. Sir, it is obvious, as I said that the basic issues which were raised regarding the Plan Document spilt over a longer consideration, to a deeper consideration of the state of health of our economy today.

It is only natural, it is only legitimate that the discussion should have proceeded in that manner. And as Comrade Sardesai said these are urgent matters which have got to be discussed here and now and I agree fully with him that the present environment, and the present climate of our economy have got to be seriously analysed and

seriously considered so that when we launch our Fifth Five Year Plan we do so with the full awareness of the difficulties and of the impediments that we may have to face during the course of the Plan period.

But about the basic issues I am very happy and indeed grateful that there was a consensus about some of the objectives which the Plan document has tried to portray and has tried to place before the country. This support for these objectives gives us courage to proceed ahead with the formulation of the draft Plan and in that we shall have the privilege of fully reflecting the views and opinions of this August House. But in this one of two matters are of importance and need some reiteration.

The House is very anxious—and naturally so—about the high degree of inflation which persists today in our country, in our economy and its repercussions on the Plan. I have nothing more to add to what I have said in the prefatory remarks when I presented this document and I did hope that my knowledge would be somewhat improved by some more positive suggestions being made in relation to the steps which the Government intends to take in regard to containing the inflation. There have been some suggestions, of course, and some suggestions of value which came from Shri Chandra Sekhar and Shri Sardesai and those suggestions we shall, with gratitude, try to implement. Shri Chandra Sekhar was very critical—and right so—of the lack of discrimination in preventing the import of inessential goods into our country and he was severely critical of gentlemen of India origin who bring into this country foreign wives and along with them foreign cars. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Can you allow me. . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR : You have the choice for both. . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): This open allurements should not be allowed in this House to win over an Opposition member.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, you would agree that in building up domestic inventory, it would be more desirable to have one or the other of the foreign elements rather than to have both. I was not at any rate aware of this practice that merely by marrying a foreign lady one qualifies to import a foreign car. I have made enquiries and if the facts as they have been mentioned are substantiated, we shall certainly put a curb on it. But this was mentioned by Shri Chandra Sekhar as an illustration.

His overall point of view is that in a developing economy we cannot afford the luxury of importing goods and materials which do not have relevance to the development of our economy, to the growth of our own economy and severe disciplines are needed in this respect. But, at the same time, I must confess that we find some limits in imposing these disciplines fully and properly. This has happened and there is no use hiding these facts and I am placing them before the House, confessing before the House very frankly that this has happened particularly in the sphere of consumer industries; Imports were permitted for the manufacture of goods which were meant for so few and to that extent, I am afraid, our draws on the foreign exchange were not judiciously made.

As I said on the question of inflation, I would submit once again before this honourable House that we are fully aware of the harmful, of the almost disastrous consequences of the continuing spiral of an inflationary character and the steps that we have already outlined and which I had the privilege of placing before the House and which I need not repeat now and the many other steps which may be necessary in this regard will be taken

and energetically pursued. I would like to seek the co-operation of this House, of all those who are interested in bringing back our economy on to the right keel, and I would like to say that in this process there should be no divisions of parties and we should cut across these barriers, these divisions and here, Sir, I heard the sage-like voice of Shri Jairamdas Daulatram and I was reminded of the great days when such voices were heard and heeded and the nation marched forward and it is my hope that the relevance of that voice, of that advice, will be realised and will be accepted by all of us in the country as a whole. And, Sir, where dissent becomes constructive it should be made and where criticism proceeds on the lines and the basis of a cure it is most welcome and I think here is the possibility of finding a common ground between myself and Dr. Bhai Mahavir and here perhaps, with his party's influence in certain segments of our society. . .

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): Which segments?

SHRI D. P. DHAR: . . . some evils of the present state of the economy could be cured, could be somewhat cured.

Sir, while we were talking of deficit financing quite a number of arguments were arranged against our policies and it is no use my going over the old ground. Not that that ground is not relevant, not that that ground is not justifiable, not that that ground is not based on facts of history, whether it is the influx of refugees from Bangla Desh or it is the war that was forced on us by Pakistan or it is the cruel nature that inflicted on us an unprecedented drought, the failure of crop production, of power, etc.—I am not going to cover those familiar grounds. . . although those grounds are real, those grounds are familiar grounds. Those grounds are part of history. Therefore,

while we do not wish to hide some of our deficiencies behind our achievements, we would be dishonest ourselves if we were not repeatedly to draw the attention of this august House and the country as a whole to the causes which were responsible for this imbalance. It is not merely a failure of the Government. Of course, to secure a debating point it can be said, and it has always been said, when things were going on so nicely, that the Government has done nothing; the monsoons were good. And now when things are bad, things are not in good shape, it is said that the Government is responsible for all the failures, including the failure of the monsoon. I do not wish to secure a debating point. It is not that.

Sir, I recall to the eminent hon. Members of this House those unfortunate conditions which are not very far removed from contemporary history; they do not belong to a long, dead past history, and, therefore, have got to be taken into account in determining their share of responsibility, their share of contribution, to the malady of our economy of today. Nevertheless, I would submit that certain things could have been prevented by better planning, perhaps. Certain deficiencies could have been avoided. Certain seriousness of the situation could have been somewhat mitigated. I do not say that that could not have been done. I do not claim all excellence for the Government, for ourselves. Nevertheless, I, at the same time, in all humility would like to say that under very difficult circumstances the record of the Government is not so dismal as it is made out to be. And I think I can claim this privilege from hon. Members of this House that to this extent, and to this extent alone, perhaps it would be conceded that something was done to meet this extraordinary situation.

In this connection, Sir, I would now try to deal with some of the points raised here in connection with the approach document.

Dr. Bhai Mahavir talked of the wholesale take-over of foodgrains, particularly in wheat. Now, one thing that has been mentioned in the approach document is our commitment to the maintenance of a public distribution system for weaker and vulnerable sections of our people—a distribution system which makes available their bare necessities to them at prices which are reasonable, which do not eat into their wages, into their real incomes. This is a commitment which we have recommended to the Government, should be made and should become part of the fifth Plan strategy.

Now, last year we had to feed the public distribution system, a colossal system, which catered to the needs for smaller or larger quantities to nearly 180 million people of his country; it is not a small number. . .

SHRI BANARSI DAS (Uttar Pradesh): But what percentage of it? 100 per cent, 50 per cent or 25 per cent? To what percentage did you honour your commitment? . . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I said 'small or large quantities'. I did not say that we were able to give at rates which would be satisfactory. I did not say that we were able to give 12 kilos or 12 kilos or 10 kilos. Somewhere we gave 8 kilos, somewhere 6 kilos, 5 kilos or 4 kilos. But we made this distribution system function. We had unloaded into this distribution system, at the peak of it, nearly 1100,000 tonnes of foodgrains.

Sir, I would submit with all humility that this is a task unprecedented for any Government in the world. I do not seek to claim perfection for this system. I do not say that we did not fail. I do not say that some of those

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for whom copious tears are being shed today and some section for whom I see a lot of exhibition of mandlin sentimentality from representatives of some parties, did not try to defeat the operation of this system. I do not say that they did not try to defeat the measures that the Government took to feed these people. They did all that and they partially succeeded not because of us, but because of the patronage they got from certain quarters.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Did your partymen surrender their wheat stocks?

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I have no respect for those partymen who did not surrender their stocks and I have no respect for those gentlemen from other parties who have respect for these people in my party.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Who says that we have respect for them?

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Obviously you have. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to submit in all humility that I call them meagre efforts. I call them efforts which we could make under the circumstances. Nevertheless, these efforts were made on a scale and in a manner which deserve the approbation of this hon. House. We have to feed this distribution system as we have suggested in the Approach Document. It is quite different that this hon. House may reject this suggestion. It is quite possible that Dr. Bhai Mahavir and my respected friend Mr. Banarsi Das may say : No, let these vulnerable sections be exposed to the benign generosity of the market forces and those who control the market.

SHRI BANARSI DAS : This is a distortion, Mr. Dhar. What I want to say is that you are supplying them two kilos in most of the States and they have to make up the remaining part

from the market and you have created conditions in which black-marketeers and hoarders are flourishing everyday.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I will come to that. It is very relevant. But due to whose policies this phenomenon is being witnessed today? I shall have the pleasure to come to that also.

Now, Sir, this distribution system is to be fed. Wherefrom do we get the foodgrains? That is the question. It is not necessary for us to secure—I will not use the word 'procure' because it has become somewhat offensive to certain gentlemen—every available grain to feed these vulnerable sections of our people, whether in the rural areas or in the urban areas? If that is so, may I know from Shri Banarsi Das with all his wisdom and with all his experience both in handling matters of political organisations and handling matters of administration, which is the method by which we can secure this?

SHRI BANARSI DAS : You offer them the price that you are paying to the Americans, say about Rs. 100 per quintal. You have to take into consideration the cost of production also. The peasants will willingly bring out all the foodgrains and you will be successful.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Thank you very much for holding out that hope to me. I hope Dr. Bhai Mahavir is also in agreement with you. Therefore, procurement is the first *sine qua non*. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Provided you have an efficient and honest infrastructure.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am not one of those who believe that the people of India are congenitally dishonest and corrupt. There are some black sheep somewhere. But I do not blame the whole herd.

How will this country go forward if we suspect that each one of us is corrupt, each one of us is inefficient, each

one of us is useless? Certainly, let you and I join and go all out against corruption. That is why I have objected to the words "some honesty" used the other day by Comrade Bhupesh Gupta. Why "some honesty"? I say: All are honest but do not condemn this nation to the reputation of being dishonest, inefficient, absolutely useless, almost to the extent of being diseased.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): You are really very brave.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: I was very sad when Mr. Menon... (*Interruptions*). Let me first refer to Mr. Menon. When you are talking of the brave, the other day you said that when you read the first paragraph of the Approach Document your heart sank. As you know, my heart is not in good repair either but it welled up with some sympathy and concern about the condition of the heart of my friend, Mr. Menon, that I thought I would advise him that whenever he reads the Approach Document he may start with the second paragraph and not the first. I must say, Comrade Menon, in having to run such a vast system of procurement and distribution these bold experiments are not for the faint-hearted. It is only the bold who can dare. It is only the bold who can fail. It is not those who sit cosily on the side paths of the struggle and then see the others fail. Let us see how the things will work.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, now the question is: How do we procure? One question that has been raised is about prices. I was very grateful to Shri Ajit Babu's very learned suggestions which he made on the question of agricultural development and increasing agricultural production. I am one with him that the prices of agricultural products, agricultural commodity must be computed not by the whim and caprice of a couple of gentlemen who may be economists, statisticians or administra-

tors or whatever they are, but by the hard facts revealed by the cost of production, all the inputs and we cannot count the price of inputs from the published figures. It is true that there are certain things which are sold in the blackmarket. I cannot dispute the statement from my distinguished and respected colleague, Shri Ajit Babu; how can I? So, one of the first elements in determining these prices is to take all the inputs which grow into the produce of a particular commodity and then compute them in terms of price. I agree this should be done but I do not agree with the rhetorical sentimentality which was expressed the other day that "you are going to pay the American farmer so much, why don't you pay the Indian farmer?" It is not merely the rich Indian farmer who constitutes the society. He construes a very small percentage of society of the Indian people. What about the consumer? There must be a balance between what you are going to pay the farmer. It must be a remunerative price. The package must have inbuilt incentives. It must not be expropriatory prices. It must be genuinely proper price which should be paid but it must not be a price which should tantamount to bribery; and for whom and at whose cost? Therefore when we talk of prices we shall take all these factors into account. As a matter of fact; Mr. Deputy Chairman, this hon. House may be aware that the Government has recently declared some price ranges for the procurement of coarse grains, rice etc. They are only support prices. There is nothing unchangeable or unalterable about things; prices will be looked at on the basis of the norms which were so clearly and in such a fine manner delineated by Ajit Babu the other day and by some other speakers. Having settled the question of price, having settled the question of procurement, may I ask Bhai Mahavir and Shri Banarsi Das, what is his quarrel with us?

SHRI BANARSI DAS : My quarrel is . . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Your quarrel is eternal I agree.

SHRI BANARSI DAS : . . . you have not taken into account the cost of production. You have not assured them inputs at reasonable prices nor the goods of consumption which the peasants need. You pay him Rs. 78 but your cost of procurement is too high. It is Rs. 30 per quintal; that can be easily reduced to Rs. 20 if you have control on your machinery and you are vigilant. That is my point. If you pay him a fair price, we stand for statutory control not for free economy. Everybody will agree with it. If the peasants are satisfied they will not grudge to contribute their share of sacrifice for the development of the nation but they should not be made to sacrifice for the sake of other people.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I am very grateful to Shri Banarsi Das for the suggestion which he has made that we should take our procurement agencies more efficient and less costly. I am one with him there of course and we shall do so. And I am extremely happy that at long last that those gentlemen who were unfairly considered to be the advocates of the free enterprise in foodgrains trade have now veered round to the view that procurement by the State is necessary at reasonably remunerative proper prices. This is not only a victory for the new principles which have been adopted by Bhai Mahavir and the Party of Mr. Banarsi Das. . .

SHRI BANARSI DAS : No, no; we have not taken up any new line. We have been constantly of this view that peasants should be paid at the rate of Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 per quintal and we offered our co-operation; our Resolution is on record. We stand for this policy. This is not a new thing.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Apart from this welcome metamorphosis in their attitude here is the first victory of the voice of the people.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : If you are referring to me also and if you are imagining some sort of a metamorphosis, I would like to say that we are yet to be convinced of the wisdom of the Government undertaking the stupendous job of feeding all the people and manning the whole foodgrains trade. It is one thing to say that the Government must be in a position to cater to the needs and attend to the difficulties of the vulnerable sections of people and people with low fixed incomes but it is another thing to say that the Government is capable of doing everything and therefore it should be capable of managing the wholesale trade in foodgrains. You took the decision without proper preparation, without knowing what you can do. We are not opposed to it in principle; if necessary the Government may take over but you have not made out a case. You have not done any preparation and you blindfold take a leap into a place which you do not know.

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SHRI D. P. DHAR : We shall atone for our past mistakes and I shall assume your support for the future.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : By taking over rice also.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, let me state the alternative very clearly. The alternative is this and the Government could have easily adopted it. They could have blamed the weather. They could have blamed the blackmarketeers. They could have blamed the hoarder. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : As you have been doing.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : We could have said that we are not responsible for feeding the people. They should be

fed as they used to be fed and they could have washed their hands of this responsibility and sat quiet and sat pretty.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : No. They could have done one thing more. They could have enforced the ceiling on prices so that beyond that if anybody charged, he should have been prosecuted.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Tyagiji is an old revolutionary and, therefore, out of step with his party. It was fascinating to listen to Tyagiji's advice. I wish we always accepted his advice. I accept his advice heartily that we should go hammer and tongs against blackmarketeers and hoarders to whichever party they belong, wherever they are, but I wish his own party heeded a part of this advice. That is my lament and that is my wail.

SHRI BANARSI DAS : In the distribution system you have introduced discriminatory politics simply to give employment to your partymen. They are indulging in blackmarketing.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Banarsi Dasji, you and I can do with a little less of food for the good of our health. Therefore, the only alternative is to leave these highly important commodities to the tender mercies of private trade. I can assure this hon. House that if that had been done there would have been starvation on a mass scale, which would have made the Bengal famine a memory of a far smaller event than what we would have faced. I do not think we have failed. Comrade Sardesai said that we have failed in procurement. I say we have partially succeeded. We have not failed. We have procured 4.5 million tonnes of wheat.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra) : It has been sabotaged. That is what I said.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I agree it has been sabotaged. Let us name them. Let us go against them. Let Dr. Bhai Mahavir join me. I am prepared to go with him from street to street in Delhi, if he has the courage, and find out who are the blackmarketeers.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Your partymen are smuggling and bringing things without permits, but with your permission.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I shall first go and deal with my own partymen, but let us have the courage to join together on this issue.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : You better start with it and then ask us.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I wish that you and I signed an appeal. . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : You will be charged with hobnobbing.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : It is a remarkable intervention, but I must inform Tyagiji that we will not tolerate hobnobbing for wrong purposes with each other, but for such purposes we will not only hobnob but collaborate. Let us go ahead, but he will not. He is committed to a philosophy. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I will, but you have not the honesty. Your party is fed by these blackmarketeers.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : He is committed to a philosophy of free market. He is committed to a philosophy which thinks that the hoarder and blackmarketeer is a part of our society and a respectable part of it.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Our philosophy does not think of that. You are making the Government a blackmarketing agent, and your Food Corporation is a big participant in that. Your party is the gainer out of all this.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : We can trade in invectives. It is easy to trade in invectives.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Why do you say that my party believes in a system in which the blackmarketeer will benefit ?

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Have I the right to answer it ? (*Interruptions*). May I take the liberty of giving him an answer ? There is not one statement which I have had the good fortune to read for going into common action against the blackmarketeers, hoarders and profiteers from his party, not one.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh) : And what are you doing ?

SHRI D. P. DHAR : If I am doing nothing, I should be condemned. I wish Dr. Bhai Mahavir. . .

(*Interruptions*)

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Your party is fed by blackmarketeers.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Sir, Dr. Bhai Mahavir wanted an answer. I know that he has no answer to my answer except invectives. He is most welcome to throw as many invectives as he likes. (*Interruptions*) I will again wait for such a statement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The way the affection between the two is growing, it may soon develop into love. That is my fear.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Why should Mr. Bhupesh Gupta think that he has the monopoly of love ? After all, the Government is against monopolies. Let us share Mr. Dhar's love if nothing else.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is afraid.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Nearly 4½ million tonnes of wheat and 2½ million tonnes of rice we secured. It is not a mean achievement, in an atmosphere of shortages, to have procured nearly 7 million tonnes of foodgrains. If we had not had this stock available with us, I

shudder to think what would have happened to our country. I shudder to think of that prospect. We could have done more and we could have done better, as Mr. Sardesai said. But you must have realised now why we could not do better, and you have got the evidence of that now. I feel that the future is somewhat more important. The parties which are committed to feeding our people or committed to looking after the needs of the vulnerable sections of our people, particularly in this basic, primary need of the hour, namely, food, will not look upon the question from a political angle, from a party angle, but from a national angle—it is this objective which we have to secure, it is this objective which is important not merely, as I said, for the sake of saving our people from hunger but also—of saving the dignity and the independence of this country, because let it not be said that we had food in our country but we were forced to go with out-stretched hands to foreign lands for food. That will be a very, very sad day for India, for all the people of India, to whatever party they belong to. And here I must say that I have no faith—you will forgive me, Sir, if I may say so—in the trader and his virtues. It is possible that some of my friends—I would not name him again because he gets annoyed with me and his annoyance I cannot bear; he may find. . .

AN HON. MEMBER : Too much of affection.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : . . . virtue in the trader. I find none, I am sorry to say. Therefore, what we should do is to trust the people rather than this small class of speculators who have thrived on the hunger of the people.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : 'By people' you mean what ?

AN HON. MEMBER : You know what he means.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : By people I mean the people. I hope that is understood, that is common ground.

DR.\* BHAI MAHAVIR : People means something else in the communist countries. Is it that ?

SHRI D. P. DHAR : People are people everywhere. It is another question that you may not choose to believe them.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : People's democracy is not democracy everywhere. It is dictatorship and certain other things.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I am sorry, I have taken a good deal of the time of the House already. Let me now turn briefly to some of the aspects that have been raised in connection with the Approach Document. I am grateful, as I said, to some of the views which have been expressed by hon'ble Members generally in welcoming the direction of social and economic development contained in the Approach Document. If I may remind this honourable House, this Approach Document is not the product of some cloistered thinking of a few people in the Yojna Bhawan. This document reflects that sentiment which epitomises the great struggle which our leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, launched for the poor against the vested interests in 1969. It is what we said then in terms of removal of poverty that is being quantified in this Approach Document...

SHRI BANARSI DAS : Do you mean to say that the struggle began for the first time in 1969 ? Nehru did not begin the struggle nor did Gandhiji.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Yes, of course. It is only when we strayed away from the path of Nehru and Gandhi that a new struggle had to be waged to weed out this element from the body politic who opposed change, opposed ideals of

Nehru and Gandhiji. That is why, Banarsi Dasji, I said that 1969, whether we like it or not, history will record it and has recorded it already, marks the turning point of a new dimension which was introduced into our economic and political thinking. This Approach Document does no more and no less. It does not lay claims to anything magical, anything miraculous. It only lays one humble claim that it is the first endeavour that has been made, I agree, somewhat inadequately because of the inadequacy of the framers. This is the first endeavour, I, submit, to translate in quantitative digits the cure for the poverty of this country.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Do you agree that the cure lies in giving first priority to agriculture and involving the agriculturists, the villagers in the entire Plan. Do you agree with that ?

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : I think you should now come to that.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I will come to that. I was waiting for you to come. Therefore, I will not go into the controversies about the Plan holiday and who was responsible for it because the holiday came and went ; it has gone. It has left an unfortunate effect on our economy which we are reaping today. But, as I said, the basic theme of this Approach Document—I would again repeat—is the 30 per cent. removal of the poverty line, that their condition will be improved, that they will be helped to rise above this line and enjoy the fruits of living, not good living but living. This is the modest endeavour that is being made, and it is for this nameless, deprived segment of our society that this Approach Document is dedicated. It is for this part of humanity that our endeavours are directed. That is the quintessence of this document which I will commend to the kind attention of this House. We have, therefore, laid a good deal of stress on the core sector. And as Mr. T. N. Singh

[Shri D. P. Dhar.]

is here and as Tyagiji is very keen about agriculture, to know what emphasis we are going to place on agriculture, I would submit that the core sector itself is going to serve agriculture. Without the core sector, the agricultural sector is bound to suffer. It was said, both by Ajit Babu and Mr. T. N. Singh, that the allocations made for the agricultural sector, the outlays made for the agricultural sector, were rather inadequate. I would submit that, in judging these outlays, we have looked only on one segment of investment, not the whole gamut of investment in agriculture. As you know, the growth that has been postulated is 4.7 per cent and I do not think, and no one in the Planning Commission thinks, that the physical and technological possibilities exist for aiming at a higher rate of growth.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I question that.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I will come to it, Sir. I would invite you to join the Planning Commission and not give us the advice, which I never expected from Mr. T. N. Singh, that the Plan should be scrapped. This was the most hurtful statement that I have ever heard from a person whom I hold in high esteem. I never expected one of the father figures of planning in this country to say suddenly, "Scrap the Plan." Perhaps it was in anger, perhaps it was because of proximity of the company he keeps, God knows what, but for him to get up and say, "Scrap the Plan"...

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I said this Plan.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : ... was the most agonising statement that I have ever heard personally ; I hate to say so because I hold him in such high esteem. Now, why do I say that we cannot aim

higher than 4.7 per cent ? It is because so far, the trend of rate of growth has been around 3 per cent per annum, and to step it up from 3 per cent to 4.5 per cent itself needs a colossal effort, as anyone who is familiar with the rates of growth of agricultural production in the world will recognise. Another point to remember is that 4.7 per cent is the aggregate rate of growth in agriculture. Perhaps this has escaped Mr. Singh's notice. While foodgrains are expected to grow at the rate of 4 per cent, other field crops are expected to grow at the rate of something like 5 per cent, animal husbandry by 5.84 per cent and forestry by 6.42 per cent. The basic ingredient for increasing agricultural production is not so much the scale, as I said, of financial investment as institutional and organisational changes. But apart from this, the total direct investment in agriculture in the Fifth Plan is going to be Rs. 8,500 crores because there is going to be private investment amounting to Rs. 2,900 crores. So it is not Rs. 7,000 crores only.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : May I interrupt you ?

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I will just finish this. There is going to be indirect investment also, I would draw, through you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the special attention of Ajit Babu to the fact that investment in electric pumps for irrigation will be something like Rs. 800 crores. Investment in fertilisers is going to be approximately Rs. 1,500 crores. Then there are rural roads amounting to Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 crores. All these investments will have immediate impact on agricultural production. If we want to go beyond these figures, we cannot do so without simultaneously increasing investment in industries which provide inputs for agriculture.

This is our approach to the question of agriculture.

**SHRI T. N. SINGH :** My point was that our population is growing at the rate of growth. Therefore, it is essential growth rate of only 4 per cent for agriculture. And I have seen what actually happens ; when you plan for 4 per cent you will end up at 2 per cent rate of growth. Therefore, it is essential to set your sights higher than what you have done so far. And, therefore, I said that this Plan needs to be altered or scrapped.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I do agree that there is merit in setting one's sight higher. But then, as Mr. Chandra Shekhar said, it would be dreaming, and what is worse, it would be day-dreaming because we have seen in the past and experience has shown us that whenever we aim very high, the targets rather become unrealistic and we fall far short of the targets. And, therefore, our thinking is, and this is our recommendation to the Government—for ought we know that Parliament may change it, our recommendation is not unalterable—our recommendation to the Government, and humbly to the Government would be that in the Fifth Five Year Plan, we should set realistic norms, realistic targets so that we make an all-out effort, an all-out endeavour to reach them, if possible, over-reach them.

**SHRI T. N. SINGH :** Don't you see that this is not consistent with the policy of redistribution of income which you propose in the Approach Document itself? If there is only 4 per cent of growth in agriculture, then the improvement of the lot of the lower sections of society does not seem possible.

**SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI :** May I also point out and remind that the rate of growth in Israel, as far as agriculture is concerned, was more than 10 per cent .? It was a desert land.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR :** We should not talk of Israel because we did not recognise Israel.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** As far as that question is concerned, I may assure the hon. Member that in order to reach this rate of growth, if the financial outlays are not found adequate and have to be increased, they will certainly be increased, because what will be respected and very strictly respected is the target and not the allocation that is made to reach the target. The financial investments will have to keep the targets in view and not that the targets will be affected in any way by paucity in investments in that particular field.

**SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH** (Gujarat) : I would like to interrupt the hon. Minister for a minute. May I only submit, Sir, that it has been practically the unanimous view of the House, and I thought the Planning Minister was sympathetic with it, that some more provision for irrigation and agriculture, if possible, in the Fifth Plan is called for in view of the past experience as well as the current needs?

**SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI :** You are right.

**SHRI D. P. DHAR :** I thought I was even more modest when I said that in order to reach this target, finances will not be a constraint on physical targets. Finances will not be a constraint. We shall again go over this matter and we shall have many occasions to consult each other, to confer with each other. And I shall be in a position to bring another study of this particular matter to the kind attention of Mr. T. N. Singh, Mr. Jain...

**SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI :** I think it is a good idea.

**SHRI A. P. JAIN** (Uttar Pradesh) : May I remind the honourable Minister that I never touched the point of investment. What I suggested was structural improvements in agriculture. Either he does not drag my name now or answers the points which I raised. I raised some very basic points about structural weaknesses in agriculture...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He was answering other Members.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I thought I should give precedence to the opinions of others and then to my own leader of my party...

SHRI A. P. JAIN : No, you referred to me three times. I was hearing that. I had to get up and tell you that I had said not a word, not a single word, about investments.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : On the whole I was talking about it because there were questions which were asked. Sir, I must submit that we have taken a fuller account of the weaknesses, structural weaknesses, etc. in the whole agricultural economy in the light of the suggestions which were made by Ajitbabu the other day, not only the other day, but also as chairman of the Irrigation Commission, and some of those recommendations are going to be incorporated in the area development plans that we have in view. As a matter of fact, that would need a fuller treatment, that is, a longish discussion, and I would not like to take his time or the time of the House now. I can assure him that some of the valuable recommendations which have been made in the Irrigation Commission have been taken fully into account. As a matter of fact, a good part of the strategy of the agricultural plan in the Fifth Plan is going to be based on those recommendations...

Dr. Bhai Mahavir that his basic arithmetic clarification...

SHRI D. P. DHAR : I wanted to avoid questions because they will again bring me or force me to perform the unfortunate task of reminding Dr. Bhai Mahavir that his basic arithmetic is wrong, and I do not know wherefrom he gets these multiplication tables. Now, Dr. Mahavir mentioned that the consumption demand for the

Fifth Plan period in respect of certain items like foodgrains, edible oils, sugar, textile and kerosene, has been seriously underestimated. He made a similar contention, if this honourable House will recall, when there was a discussion on prices on the last day of the last session in this House. I must say that I had hoped that in this interregnum he would have again redone his figures ; but unfortunately for me he has come again to the same conclusions which are again wrong. How are they wrong ? Dr. Bhai Mahavir arrived at the fantastic figure of consumption demand in respect of articles under reference without taking any account of the facts of consumption. Even if we do not go into the niceties of calculation regarding elasticity of demand, etc., the fact that his calculation grossly overstates the demand can be illustrated by taking the simple example of foodgrains which my colleague, Mr. Mohan Dharia, the other day placed before this House. During the decade 1961-71 the net availability of foodgrains increased from 75.6 millions to 94.5 million tons or about 25 per cent. As was well known, there was no shortage of foodgrains in 1971. Even after allowance is made for the postulated larger increase in the consumption of the poorer sections of the community in the Fifth Plan period, it is difficult to understand how the demand for foodgrains could go up by as much as 63 per cent during the five-year period as suggested by my honourable friend as against 25 per cent in the decade 1961-71. I do not think, therefore, the increase of 22 per cent in foodgrains production envisaged in the Approach Document along the Fifth Plan period is on the low side. I would however, welcome, in spite of this, because Dr. Bhai Mahavir submitted his figures persistently, a separate discussion with Dr. Bhai Mahavir whenever it is convenient to him so that we can go over these figures again.

But if I elaborate this in technical terminology and jargon with which I am not very familiar, nevertheless, if I do make an endeavour to indulge in that pastime, I think I will have to take more time of the House. So, I only wanted to give one example as a food for thought for Dr. Bhai Mahavir as a preliminary detail to our fuller and more detailed discussions on this aspect of the matter, which can be, as I said, on any day convenient to him.

I was talking of the core sector and I mentioned briefly about agriculture and I would now submit that the core sector has been given a place of prominence and due importance in the approach document. This is for obvious reasons. I have stated this over and over again. But some doubts were still raised with regard to this matter and I think I would like to submit for the consideration of this august House that unless and until we are able to produce more steel, more fertiliser, more oil, more coal, more power and more non-ferrous metals, our economy will be constantly plagued by shortages and will never cease to be a highly dependent economy. Our production base is so restricted and small as yet that as against 7 million tonnes of production of steel in India, Japan has reached 100 million tonnes. I am only giving one example.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: And they have no iron-ore.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: This is one of the great achievements.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: We, therefore, believe as we have said in this Plan that the core sector has to grow at a pace much faster than the other sectors and industries. This is one of the inescapable directions which our economy has to take. Otherwise the choices are clear. What is the other choice? Either make investment in this sector or commit the same mistake which we committed earlier by making investment

in these sectors of industry which produced goods for a very small section, namely, the affluent section. That imbalance is being cured in the Fifth Plan.

We were given very welcome and sound advice by Shri T. N. Singh and some other friends that the capacities which are already in existence should be fully utilised. I do feel and all of us agree that this is a very sound principle. Many measures have been taken already to satisfy this urge, namely, the fullest utilisation of the capacities that are already in existence and you would be glad to know that we have done well. Dr. Bhai Mahavir, after the last fling at me, has now left the House. Otherwise, it would have displeased him to know that we have rather done well in this respect inasmuch as our steel production in 1973-74 is likely to reach 78 per cent and I think as far as fertilizers are concerned, the production similarly is going to reach about 77-78 per cent. We have already touched those figures though we are slightly below. But we are reaching them for 1973-74 and we should have reached them but for the shortage of power. And, Sir, I have no doubt to be optimistic and I have no reason to be pessimistic and I think that it is necessary for us to bring ourselves, to lift ourselves, out of this atmosphere of gloom in which we seem to wallow and we must try to see some ray of hope somewhere. But, Sir, it would be incorrect, in my humble opinion, if we just restrict ourselves to the fuller utilisation of the capacities and do not at the same time go ahead at a fairly faster pace in developing new capacities, because we have to remember that we had this little holiday in the Plan that cost us dearly and I do not think that we can afford to let up any more on this. That is why there is this emphasis in the Approach Document on the core sector.

[Shri D. P. Dhar]

Now, Sir, I would like to take a few minutes more of your time, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, and of this august House in dealing with one or two questions which are of fundamental importance. Comrades on the other side, Sir, while discussing the various elements of this Approach paper, were very kind to appreciate the reference by the Planning Commission to the role of the working class. I would submit, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that we believe—and the Approach document is replete with these suggestions, with what you call these imperatives—that the transformation, the social and economic transformation, of this country cannot be brought about merely by a bureaucracy, by an administrative machinery or by wayward political parties. The fundamental transformation of the social fabric of our country will have to be brought about by an absolute mobilisation of the will of the working class, of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia and of the other sectors of our society which are interested in a healthy change. It is a sad thing for me to bear from my comrades questions like what the Government is doing about this and about that and why the Government is not doing this or that about this or that thing. That is not the revolutionary concept of implementing a plan, because, Sir, I am so conscious of the failures of implementation. My friend, Shri Chandra Shekhar, mentioned a number of things and with a number of them I am in agreement and, again, Mr. Sardesai, Sir, mentioned a large number of them and I am in agreement with them. But where I would like to invite the kind attention of this House through you, Sir, is to a fundamental fact, namely, this: Has the time come for us to pause and review whether the instrumentality, the processes, the methods, the modalities, that we have employed so far to bring this transformation are adequate, whether

they are political or administrative or otherwise. Or has it not become necessary for us to think afresh whether certain changes, fundamental changes, have not to be brought about in our whole process of building, in our whole method of implementation, so that the development, concept of development, the concept of an orderly transformation of society proceed together. At the present moment, this is not so. It is best that we recognize this today and do not give way to illusions about what can be done in a short period of 5 years to lift the poor out of their poverty. But it is necessary to recognize as to how we can take a measured and well conceived step towards that direction. And in this sense, let us face these fundamental questions, because, I am afraid, that when we think of the people who have given a magnificent consent to a policy of change, to objectives of change, and yet in bringing about that change there is some hesitation somewhere, something goes wrong somewhere and there is a hiatus between the wish and the performance. And this hiatus, I feel, can be bridged only by an endeavour of the people of this country for certain well defined goals and certain well defined purposes.

I, Sir, in the end submit that the Fifth Five Year Plan has to make a decisive break with the prevalent social values. It will have to generate a new ethic, an ethic of discipline, of equality, of dedication . . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Just a word, if you don't mind . . .

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Yes.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Prosperity cannot be showered over the poor classes. It can always come when it is evolved amongst themselves. Therefore, what I want to stress is that you should see to it that your Plan just takes them round and involves them also. The poor class, the peasants and others have only to become a party in your plan. Then alone prosperity will come.

SHRI D. P. DHAR : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I wholly agree with Tyagiji. The people as a whole will have to be mobilized for the enormous task of production. Their involvement in the plan implementation will be a crowning effort of large-scale mobilization, as I said, of the peasantry, of the industrial worker and of the intelligensia, and, in fact, of all production classes. Our claims will have to wait.

I, again, stress, Mr. Deputy Chairman, as I did when I had the privilege of presenting the paper before this House, that the problem which the country is facing today is not a problem of 'A' or 'B' party, but is a problem of the country as a whole. I have no doubt that by functioning unitedly, we can generate the will to change this situation. The focus, in my humble opinion, has been provided by the objectives of the plan. And if we pursue those objectives, after incorporating all the valuable suggestions which have been made in this House, we shall succeed.

With these words, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank you for your patience, and the House for its kind indulgence, and express my gratitude for the valuable suggestions which have made on the floor of this House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.45 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at forty-five minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at forty-five minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE  
DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION  
(AMENDMENT) BILL, 1973

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN  
THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

(SHRI ANNASAHEB SHINDE) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That the bill to amend the National Co-operative Development Corporation Act, 1962, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, you may be knowing that the National Co-operative Development Corporation Act was passed by Parliament in 1962. When the law was passed, Entry 33 of the Concurrent List, Seventh Schedule of the Constitution and Entry 43 of the Union List did not apply to Jammu and Kashmir and, therefore, at that time, the Jammu and Kashmir State was specifically excluded from the operation of this Act. Now, as you know very well, Jammu and Kashmir is a very important area for the development of horticulture and a number of other similar crops. The National Co-operative Development Corporation is one of the important Government undertakings which helps the State Governments in promoting the co-operative movement, particularly in the field of marketing, processing, storage, etc. Since this Act was not applicable to Jammu and Kashmir, the State was not getting the benefit of funds which we were advancing through this organisation to the other States. Therefore, the simple proposition in this Bill is that the law is being amended to include Jammu and Kashmir. I hope that no side of the House will have any objection to this Bill, nor is there any controversy as far as this Bill is concerned. There are two small clauses which are consequential and which are being incorporated in the Bill. Therefore, I only submit that all sides of the House will support this Bill unanimously and pass it with a unanimous vote. Thank you very much, Sir.

*The question was proposed.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This Bill has only 1½ hours' time allotted by