

"That clause 7 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 7 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 8 to 34 were added to the Bill.

Clause J, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : Sir, I move : "That the Bill be passed." *The question was proposed.*

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Sir, I want ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : No, no. You have spoken in the first reading.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Just one or two points which are vital for the issue before us.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : I do not feel the necessity. The question is.

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

MOTION BE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN MID TERM APPRAISAL

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER-IN-CHARGE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM) : Sir, I move:

"That the Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 22nd December, 1971, be taken into consideration."

Sir, we had placed the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan before this House at the conclusion of its last session in December, 1971. The document is coming up for discussion in the beginning of the current financial Year by which time the Annual Plan for 1972-73 has also been got ready. While the Appraisal identifies the progress and shortfalls in various sectors of development, the Annual Plan outlines the

provisions made for taking some of the major problems brought to light in the mid-term review. This discussion will, therefore, enable the House to consider the Appraisal and the Annual Plan in a connected manner. Furthermore, the debate is being held at a juncture when we are initiating work on the strategy and contents of the Fifth Plan. I, therefore, greatly look forward to this opportunity to have the valuable and timely views of the hon. Members on the Plan and on the planning process.

In this Session the House has already completed the debate on the President's Address and the general debate on the Budget proposal for 1972-73. The provisions in the Budget which relate to our many-sided developmental efforts have been more or less fully discussed and dealt with. I shall not therefore go into the detailed contents of the Annual Plan or undertake a sectorwise discussion of the Mid-term Appraisal. Equally, what I would be most grateful to hon. Members for would be guidance on the basic issues that have a pervasive importance for the planning process as a whole rather than on points of detail or of regional importance.

The three paramount imperatives that we face at this juncture of the development of our economy are the need for increased employment, the need for larger provisions to meet the basic minimum needs of the people, and the need for increased self-reliance. Employment and social justice are the twin aspects of the 'Garibi Hatao' programme and self-reliance is the content of 'Arthik Swaraj' or economic independence.

In formulating our approach to 'Garibi Hatao' we have to be clear about the meaning and the causes of poverty. In a relative sense, most of the people of the people of India are poor, compared to even the moderately affluent countries of the world. While this is so, there is an absolute standard of poverty which consists in incomes below a minimum consumption level. If we define such a consumption level as the intake of 2,250 calories *per capita* per day in respect of food, we find that about 40% of our rural population and perhaps a some-

[Shri C. Subramanian^ what higher proportion of our urban population are below the minimum level of nourishment. The standard of living of the people at this basic or absolute level of poverty is well below that of the middle-classes. The poorest two-fifths is not however the most vociferous, or even an organised section of the population. More than half the rural poor are small farmers and the balance consists of landless labour. Urban poverty is largely a spill-over of rural unemployment. The causes of poverty are not difficult to discern. They are unemployment, under-employment, very low incomes and a very poor resource base for the self-employed. The attack on poverty will therefore have to consist in creating more direct employment through wage incomes, in providing the means of production, particularly land and credit, to the self-employed, and in the provision of basic amenities, without which even higher incomes cannot result in an improvement to the quality of life of the people.

Land reforms are high on our agenda from the point of view of providing the means of production to small farmers and landless labour. We have a long history of land reforms legislation in our States but, with the exception of Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and Kerala, neither legislation nor the processes of implementation have been conspicuously successful. There has been inadequate progress in conferring security of tenure on tenants and in helping them acquire ownership rights. Ceilings are still too high in many States ; exemptions and loopholes are far too many, implementation has been halting and avoidance of legal provisions has taken place on a large scale. It is therefore not surprising that the land that has become available for redistribution has been insignificant. Against this background , the Central Committee on Land Reforms has recommended in August, 1971, that ceilings should be made applicable to the family as a whole and fixed within a range of 10 to 18 acres in terms of irrigated land. They have also recommended the withdrawal of major exemptions.

The conditions necessary for giving a big push to this essential reform have been created with the political homogeneity that exists between the Governments in the Centre and in the States. This has to be reflected in a new drive and determination in the imple-

mentation of land reforms, which can be brought about only if the need and the urgency for the land reforms is appreciated throughout the country. In this process of widespread political education, Members of Parliament have a crucial role to play.

In the matter of employment, our strategy has to be threefold, and this is the one that has been outlined in the Annual Plan document. Firstly, we need a better implementation of existing schemes in the Plan which specifically generate employment and incomes in rural areas, such as the programmes for agricultural development, minor irrigation, development of newly irrigated areas, animal husbandry, dairying, sheep-breeding, poultry development, soil conservation, fisheries, housing, rural roads and the like.

Secondly, we have to correct the poor progress on the new schemes for small farmers, marginal farmers, rural artisans agricultural labour and for rural employment. Greater momentum has to be given to these schemes and at the same time they have to be co-ordinated and supplemented with an area development approach, so that the maximum impact results from these efforts. In the Chapter on "Integrated Rural Employment and Development," the Annual Plan outlines our present thinking in this regard. Thirdly, the schemes for rural employment have to be dovetailed with provisions for relieving unemployment among the educated. The provisions for this purpose has been substantially stepped up from Rs. 25 crores last year to Rs. 60 crores in 1972-73. The schemes for the educated unemployed have been described in detail in the Annual Plan. I shall, therefore, not go into them here. In addition to these schemes, we are working on a Plan to absorb large numbers of qualified scientists and engineers in various natural resource surveys and in the different programmes in the field of science and technology.

Six, even vastly larger employment and income opportunities cannot by themselves improve the quality of life of our common people. That can happen only if a much larger programme for social consumption goes hand in hand with our efforts to increase purchasing power among the poorest. The essential items of social consumption are elementary education, drinking water;

•supply, health facilities, nutrition of pregnant mothers and very young children, minimum standards of housing and other amenities for slum and payement dwellers, and home-sites for the landless poor in rural areas. In any view, these constitute basic minimum needs ; one could perhaps add to this list roads and extension of electricity in rural areas and mass transport facilities in urban areas.

What we aim at is a time-bound programme for providing these essential items of public consumption. We want to be able to tell the people, in fulfilment of our commitment to them, that over the next five to ten years the specified list of minimum needs will be fully met in each and every part of the country. In order to carry out such a National programme, adequate resources have to be allocated to States on the basis of needs. Wide regional disparities that currently exist in the social infra-structure can be removed only if additional resources are made available in a need-based manner. Otherwise, in trying to correct shortfalls in one segment of development in the backward States, we will be setting back their progress in other areas of development. This programme therefore calls for a consensus and an understanding at the National level that the provision of the basic minimum needs will in some sense be a prior charge on overall national resources.

Sir, as citizens of India, we must accept it as a governing fact of our life that there must be sufficiency for all before there is superfluity for some. A strong and stable Central Government has today become the focus of the political loyalties of all Indians. This needs to be further cemented by a sense of belonging to the nation which arises from a common concern among the educated and the illiterate, among the employed for the unemployed and underemployed, and among those sound in mind and body for the maimed and the sick. It is only by each of us becoming his brother's keeper that we can hope to survive as a strong and united nation.

It has been the experience in the last three years, of the plan that we have, faced a yteibns- . eircte.of.Ln&deq.ual.-iesour-ces and poor administrative performance in

these vital sectors of elementary education, drinking water supply, health, family planning and nutrition facilities and slum clearance. Adequate resources are not allocated because it is felt that the capacity for implementation has got to be improved first. Administrative capabilities are not mustered to the required extent because resources are spread too thinly. In the Annual plan, we have made an attempt to break this vicious circle by substantially increasing the provisions for the major schemes which are linked with these basic needs. These allocations will be passed on to the States on the basis of need and as a 100 per cent Central grant. There will be flexibility to reappropriate funds within the lump sum provision of Rs. 125 crores that has been made for the purpose between different schemes and between different States. It will also be possible to add new schemes of a similar nature. For instance, we welcome the initiative that Kerala has taken for providing housing and home-sites to landless labour. We shall also entertain similar schemes from other States.

in these two vital areas of vastly larger employment opportunities and a national approach to meet the basic minimum needs of the people, we are at a crucial juncture in our planning process, the massive mandate which this Government received in 1971 and which has been reaffirmed in the elections last month was based on a commitment to attack poverty directly, at its roots and in all its manifestations. We cannot wait for the Fifth Plan or some long-term perspective far ahead in the future to make a beginning. We have to make an adequate and realistic beginning here and now. This is what the Annual Plan seeks to do. Our first task is to use to their fullest the provisions made for the new schemes, since that alone will provide us with a strong empirical basis for further increasing the outlays in these sectors in the last year of the Fourth Plan as well as for formulating the Fifth Plan. The significance of the Annual Plan this lies in the fact that it represents the beginning of a process which will have to develop into a full-fledged approach for 'Giribi Hatao' that will form the dominant theme and the centre piece of the Fifth Plan.

There are many other aspects of planning which are of vital importance. **The**

President has called for 'Arthik Svaraj' and the Prime Minister has spoken on the subject on more than one occasion in this House. Science and Technology has a major role to play in eliminating the need for external resources to meet the import gap. The National Committee, constituted for this purpose, has initiated a wide variety of tasks in the research and development area with a view to increasing productivity, reducing imports and improving our short-term, and long-term technological capabilities. We have included specific provision for increasing production in cotton, jute, oil seeds, sugar and fertilisers in the Annual plan, giving shape and content to our desire for increased import substitution. Equally, we have to pursue our efforts at export promotion. A basic aspect of reducing dependence on aid is increasing the mobilisation of our own domestic resources. We have undertaken an unprecedented resource mobilisation effort of Rs. 650 crores in 1971-72 and 1972-73. We have persuaded the States to come up with the maximum effort for increasing resources and to observe fiscal discipline on the expenditure front. The Fourth Plan calls for a reduction of net aid by the end of the Plan to half the level reached at the close of the Third Plan. I have every confidence that this target will be reached if not exceeded. In formulating the Fifth Plan, we will have to take this process one step further and work out a time-bound programme for terminating not concessional aid for general development in the same manner as we have carried out the pledge to terminate concessional food aid by 1971.

We conventionally frame our Plans for five year periods, appraise them at the midpoint of the period, correct our course in the Annual Plans and take advance action for preparation of the next Five Year Plan. While these processes have to be viewed through the grid of various time-periods for reasons of Parliamentary, administrative and budgetary convenience, there is also a more basic process of political change, consolidation and creativity which is very clearly taking shape before our eyes. The tasks ahead are many and complex. All of them call for hard work, clear thinking, national unity and a firm resolve to move forward and to move together. My appeal today to hon. Members is to give us all help, both inside and outside Parliament, in this task which all of us will have to share and complete. [

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAUGE) : There are 74 amendments. Mr. Balachandra Menon

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I move :

1. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes with profound indignation that there is a thinly veiled attempt in the Mid-term Appraisal to rationalise the basic failures of the Fourth Five year Plan and the ideas and policies behind it."

2. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is aghast at the complacency exhibited in the Mid-term Appraisal."

3. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House cannot but take note of the fact that the Planning Commission and the Government have failed even to draw the correct lessons from the pre-formance of the Fourth Plan and the failures of the preceding one."

4. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House deems it necessary to put on record that the massive mandate of the general elections of 1971 and 1972 find hardly an echo in the posture of the Fourth Five Year plan or in the way its performance has been appraised."

5. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House notes with concern that the slogans like "garibi Hatao" "arthik svaraj", "growth with social justice" stand blatantly ignored in the Fourth Five Year Plan."

6. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House cannot but view with grave anxiety the calculated divorcement between the pledges given to the people by the leaders of the Government on the one hand and the approach and performance of the Planning on the other."

7. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Mid-term Appraisal only exposes the bankruptcy of the present-day planning by the planning Commission."

8. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

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"and having considered the same, this House notes that the hopes aroused at the time of the Second Five Year Plan have been shattered by the way the matters relating to the planning have been handled since then."

9. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the social objectives are all but forgotten when it comes to drawing up the Plan not to speak of its implementation."

10. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the failure of the Plan arises from the basic fact that the planning in our country today is wedded to the capitalist path of development and to serving, first and foremost, the narrow interest of the exploiting classes."

11. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes with deep regret that even I

after 20 years of planning the economy has not been put on the rails of around rapid balanced economic development."

12. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House expresses its concern at the slow rate of growth particularly in the industrial sector, so much so that at the present rate it will not be possible even to maintain the existing level of living when the annual rise in population is more than 2%."

13. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House cannot accept the complacent view of the Planning Commission in regard to the rate of growth in agricultural sector when every body knows that it is largely due to good weather, and does not cover the vast areas of the land under plough."

14. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same this House notes that while there has been a welcome improvement in food production, the yield of certain other vital agricultural commodities is not at all looking up."

15. That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same this House cannot but take note of the fact that despite the rise in food production the prices of foodgrains continue to rule high."

16. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is disturbed to note that the benefits flowing from the rise in production of food and generally in the agricultural sector are being garnered by handful of rich and that the Government has no policy to stop this."

[Shri Balachandra Menon]

17. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House wants to emphatically point out that the problems of Indian agriculture is one of radical reorganisation with radical land reforms as the centre piece."

18. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is surprised to note that the Midterm appraisal does not even show due concern at the failure to properly implement even the existing ceiling laws, not to speak of further amending them, in the interest of the agricultural labourers and other sections of the toiling peasantry."

19. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not even worried that the toiling peasantry is not even assured of remunerative prices for their produce although about 45% of the total national income is generated in the countryside."

20. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the planning is a myth in our country unless it boldly sets about reorganising India's agriculture, distributing land to the tillers of the soil and by wiping out of feudal and semi-feudal servivals and landlord exploitation."

21. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes with great concern the failures in industrial sector for which 'he responsibility must be fixed on monopoly capital on the one hand and certain policies of the government which go on

pampering these monopolists on the other."

22. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that even the modest target of industrial growth at the rate of 9% has not been maintained and that there is a disturbing stagnation on this score."

23. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of the the opinion that the lag in industrial production is often deliberately brought about by the monopolists and their likes who indulge in lock-outs, closures and similar other arbitrary methods in utter disregard of the interest of national economy."

24. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Planning Commission and the Government have failed to even check the concentration of wealth in the hands of 75 monopoly houses whose industrial assets have gone up by more than Rs. 2500 crores since the report of the Monopoly Enquiry Commission."

25. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House fails to unders'and as to why instead of taking measures to curb the monopolies, the Government should go on offering more concessions to them and that the Planning Commission should be a willing tool in the hands of the exploiting classes."

26. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same" this House notes that the Mid-term Appraisal does not have anything to say on the latest ways of monopoly capital

in the country including its export of capital to carry on exploitation in certain j Afro-Asian countries."

27. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that when vigorous steps j should be taken to put an end to mono- ; poly capital and its depredation, ihe Prime Minister and other leaders of the j Government have now begun to talk about the so-called joint sector."

28. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is yet to realise that there cannot be any real planned economic development in our country in the interest of the vast millions of our people by adjusting Plans and economy to the unsatiable greed and plunder of mono-polycapital."

29. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission does not even recognise that the resources problem for planning cannot be solved without nationalising concerns under the 75 monopoly houses and thereby placing at the disposal of the nation a public sector yielding resources."

30. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not even worried at the fact that the budgetary and other measures of the Government are not aimed at mobilising in full measures the resources from the monopoly houses and from the private corporate sector."

31. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"Mid having considered the same, '

this House fails to understand why the Planning Commission should not have at least the courage as a body of experts to tell the nation that the appeasement and concessions to monopoly houses are a stumbling block to economic planning and progress."

32. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not interested even in stopping the drain on our national wealth as a result of exploitation by foreign capital, foreign private business investments having gone up from Rs. 256 crores in 1948 to nearly Rs. 1300 crores."

33. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House regrets to note that the Planning Commission has not recommended to the Government that this drain of nearly Rs. 100 crores every year must be stopped and that the funds should be utilised within the country for developmental activities on the basis of priorities."

34. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the sloga of "arthik swaraj" or economic independence cannot be realised without putting an end to exploitation by foreign capital and without freeing our country from the tentacles grip of the world capitalist economy."

35. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that there is no indication in the Mid-term Appraisal that the Planning Commission and the Government are going to adequately tap the capital accumulation in industry and agriculture for improving Plan requirements,"

36. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission and the Government are not at all serious about mobilising by taxes and other measures the additional income which is being generated in the countryside and which is being grabbed by landlords and other sections of the rural rich."

37. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not worried about the heavy accumulation of India's foreign debts or on the continued dependence of this country on the so-called aid from the U. S. A. and other western countries."

38. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Appraisal does not show any anxiety whatsoever to review the 3,000 odd collaboration agreements which have been signed with the western countries notwithstanding the fact that many of these agreements have helped not only to distort our economic development, harm indigenous industries but also facilitated the neo-colonialist exploitation"

39. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House finds that the Mid-term Appraisal is not even aware of the fact that the forces of neo-colonialism are at work in our national economy."

40. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

• and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission does not even recommend the nationalisation of foreign oil companies not to speak of other foreign industrial and, business concerns."

41. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has not made proper assessment of the monetary and economic crises in U. S. A. or of Britain's entry into the European Common Market not to speak of formulating our Plan in the light of these developments."

42. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

•and having considered the same, this House notes a disturbing trend on the part of the ruling circles in favour of seeking more and more assistance from Japan and Britain in view of the fact that U. S. A. is openly letting down India."

43. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House deprecates the latest policy of the Government to import entire plants from Britain to this country in the name of self-reliance,"

44. That at the end of Motion, the following be added name ly:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Appraisal does not indicate sufficient awareness on the part of the Planning Commission and the Government that India's foreign trade must be reorganised and diversified with a view to developing our State relations in full measures with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as with newly freed friendly Afro-Asian nations."

45. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not aware that there are certain interests in business circles and in bureaucracy bent on sabotaging the development of India's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

46. That at the end of the Motion, the • following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not even aware of ihe growing possibilities for exploiting new vistas of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union which have now opened as a result of the signing of the historic Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation of August 1971."

47. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that that Planning Commission still hesitates to fight back the tactics of pressures and black mail which are being resorted to against our country by the U. S. A."

48. That at the end of the Motion, *the* following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is firmly of the view that India's policy in regard to the West in the economic field must undergo a radical change."

49. That at the end of the Motion, the followng be added, nernely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has failed to correctly assess the dangerous impact of black money in our economy not to speak of proposing measures like demonetisation to meet the situation."

50. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission helplessly look as the prices go on rising instead of proposing policies and measures which would hold the price line and bring the prices down.

51. That at the end of the Motion, the following *be* added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House cannot but come to *the* conclusion

that the Planning Commission has reconciled to the rising prices as a means for fleecing the masses to finance the capitalist development in our country."

52. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House warns the Planning Commission and the Government that unless the price line is held there cannot be any planning for the well being of the people."

53. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has meekly submitted to the policies of the Govrnment aimed at taxing the common man to find resources for the Plan while offering tax holidays and tax exemptions to the big busineys and other sections of the wealthy people.

54 That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that *the* Planning Commission has really no effective solution to offer to tackle the problem of unemployment which is snowballing year after year."

55. That at the end the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission does not take note of the growth of the educated unemployed persons including engineers and technicians, which is resulting in a terrific loss of national talent."

56, That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of the view that the problem of unemployment has got to be tackled on a war footing and vigorous measures taken *in* all direction including creation of

adequate employment opportunities both in the industrial and the agricultural sectors of our national economy."

57. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the social welfare activities in the Plan are being deliberately played down."

58. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Harijans and other backward communities are not promised of fair deal under planning."

59. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission is not conscious of the need for a democratic industrial relations and labour policy."

60. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Mid-term Appraisal is not fully conscious that the present tempo of economic development and economic activity cannot at all ensure around rapid progress."

61. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House records its strongest condemnation of the capitalist path of development which offers no solution to the problems of hunger, poverty, unemployment and backwardness."

62. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Planning Commission has ignored the demand of the need based minimum wage."

63. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the Planning Commission failing mainly because of precapitalist policies of the Government."

64. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Plan has failed to create labour enthusiasm in the country."

65. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the failure of the Plan and of the Planning Commission are largely due to the fact that the Government refuses to provide the correct guide lines for the Planning Commission by radically changing the Government's economic policies."

66. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House notes that the Government is not even formulating these policies according to the Directive Principles of the Constitution, nor is it calling upon the planning Commission to produce the Five Year Plan for the implementation of the Directive Principles not to speak of other declared social and economic objectives."

67. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House is firmly of the opinion that it is time that the Planning Commission was aimed at bringing about structural changes in our economy without which planning would seem a misnomer."

68. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House wishes to tell the Planning

Commission and the Government that they must make up their minds here and now as to which class the Five Year Plans should serve."

69. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House emphatically demands nationalisation of all concerns belonging to 75 monopoly Houses."

70. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Planning in the country must be for the well-being of the masses, for their constant material and cultural advancement."

71. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House recommends that the present Fourth Five Year Plan be totally scrapped and replaced by an altogether new Plan to bring about radical socioeconomic transformations."

72. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House recommends to the Government and the Planning Commission that they hold consultations with representatives of progressive and competent opinion in the country, to evolve a new approach to planning."

73. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Members of the Planning Commission, some of whom are not doubt eminent economists should have been kept in the Yojna Bhavan as prisoners of the discredited policies of the Government promoting capitalist development."

74. That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

"and having considered the same, this House maintains that the Five Plans have so far failed to become an instrument of socio-economic charges and that this realisation must be a starting point in any honest appraisal of the plan, mid-term or otherwise."

[Amendments 1 & 74 also stood in the names of sarvashm hupest Gupra Sanat Kumur kaha and Kalyan Roy,

The questions were proposed-

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I am glad that I have had the opportunity to intervene in this discussion soon after the Minister's speech. Before I enter into any specific points or events, I would like the House to share with me certain perspectives of planning in the past ; I am not asking you to consider the perspectives of the future, but how we started planning, what have been our experience and what we should now do as a result of the experiences.

Sir, actually speaking, I may be very frank that the First plan was not at all a Plan in the real sense of the term. Normally what goes behind planning in a planned economy was not there. It was just a conglomeration of various projects and programmes which were in the air in those days, in 1950 or there about, and we collected them, made them a kind of connected whole and called it a plan; that is all. The real attempt was certainly made in the Second Plan when a plan strategy was really worked out. It was in the Second Plan that the second Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 was passed as a guideline for industrial progress. As against the common belief that India being a primarily agricultural economy, we shall have to concentrate on agriculture, it was deliberately decided in the Second Plan that we should emphasise to a greater extent the role of industry in our economy. And it was more of an industry-oriented plan than an agriculture-oriented plan. That trend continued in the Third Plan also. After that, we had a kind of Plan holiday. And I shall come to the Fourth Plan subsequently. Now, for some reason or the other, we had decided to give a greater emphasis on industrial progress in the Second Plan, I was a Member of Parliament in those days and subsequently, I also became a Member

of the Planning Commission and I can say, Sir, that the attitude then taken in the context of things obtaining then, was quite justified. The country was industrially backward and just as we are talking to-day of self-reliance, similarly in those days also the idea of self-reliance was there, and it was felt that the country could not become self-reliant unless it developed industrially. Even for agricultural development we need fertilizers, we need pesticides, we need power. All these things are very necessary and these can be had only by a very good industrial programme and planning. So we did that. We can, of course, later on criticise and be critics of all kinds of things. But I feel that industrialisation in those days was a first-class priority. We should have given still greater importance to agriculture. I do not contend with that. And to-day also it needs a very high priority. I do not contend with that also. I only want the House and everyone here to understand that there is no use trying to be critical and to find faults with whatever has been done in the past. But there are certain aspects which now have to be emphasised in the light of our experience, the failures or mistakes that we have made during this time.

Now, take, for instances, the question of foreign aid. I do not have a very good memory for figures. But I think in the First Plan, we did not rely on foreign aid at all. In the Second Plan we had about Rs. 800 crores of foreign assistance. In the Third Plan we went in a big way and we had in all about Rs. 26,00 crores, Rs. 19,00 crores of net current outlays from foreign aid and Rs. 700 crores for repayment of previous loans, etc. That is all we had. Then again we find another Rs. 25,00 crores or Rs. 26,00 crores in the Fourth Plan now, in the document before us. Whereas the Third Plan was conceived as a Plan which would end foreign aid, experience shows that the thing continues even now. This is the Fifth Plan period. This is not the Fourth Plan period actually. We had a kind of an interregnum between and there was an unplanned period of four years. So the thing continues in the same old way according to the Annual Plans and we have been subsisting to a very great extent in all those years on foreign assistance. Now, today, we say we shall be self-reliant. I make bold to say that foreign assistance is a kind of drug habit. Once we start

taking it, it persists. You simply cannot get out of it. I wish all well for the Planning Minister. I do not envy his job. I have my good wishes for him. But I feel that all this talk of a self-reliant economy, end of foreign aid, is an empty talk unless we have got a real strategy for self-reliance, of a self-reliant economy. Take this question of heavy industries and other things which are very necessary for a self-reliant economy. Whether it is private sector industry or public sector industry, once it is tied to a foreign concern or a foreign industrial house or foreign aid, it is very difficult to get out of it. Take, for instance, the Ranchi Heavy Engineering Plant. I am sorry for that. That is a first class Plant, probably a rare plant in the whole of Asia. There is no such complex in Asia as the one that exists in Ranchi and hardly will there be one or two or three in the whole world. It is a first class thing. But today we cannot continue production in that and though no more than ten years have elapsed, we cannot produce the various items which it is capable of producing and which we need here in the country for steel plants. And without Russian guidance we cannot proceed any further. This is the position. I am speaking very bluntly and frankly. Mr. Vice-Chairman, please show me a little indulgence. This happens to be my subject. So please do not keep an eye on the watch. I remember when the Third Plan was under preparation, I was then a member of the Planning Commission, and I was summoned to a meeting of the Cabinet to discuss the size and the broad outline of the Plan, I had the temerity then to suggest—I was a member in charge of industry—that I would accept 10 million tons as our target for the Third Plan only if—for the 9 million tons we had foreign collaboration—the tenth million will be made out of the products and machinery made at Ranchi. Ranchi was designed to manufacture every year one million tonnes of steel plant equipment. So, I took the Ministry at its word and said that if they do it, let us have 10 millions; otherwise I would suggest 9 millions, because of foreign aid commitment. Panditji in his own nice way just said ! "I will not have one ounce less than ten million tonnes". He was very annoyed with me. Ultimately the Cabinet as a whole and the Planning Commission voted for ten million target and the whole Plan has to be built round the steel target, because that is the central thing. But what happened ?

Even today after 9 or 10 years, we are not able to produce one million tonnes of steel plant completely from Ranchi Heavy Engineering Plant. Is this not a thing for which we should feel sorry ? Is this not a thing which should make us sit up and reexamine the whole Plan and ask ourselves why this has happened. The government, the Ministry and the Planning Commission should think over this.

I must disclose one thing more. The Minister is here now and I take it he will probably convey this to the concerned people. In 1964 and early 1965 there occurred a number of fires in Ranchi. He will remember this. Ranchi was a plant of great envy by all foreign powers even in those days. And it was suspected that foreign powers were interested in sabotaging this plant. Then I was the Minister of Heavy Engineering. We organised a Special Police in those days. I appointed some police officers then. A man was caught setting fire to the plant and more arrests were made. Confessions were made by two or three of the apprehended persons that they had received money from Pakistan to set fire to this plant. Those confessions are there in the Ministry unless the papers were thrown out. Shastriji died and things changed. Heavy Engineering was taken over by some other Minister. I reminded him about it. But now after seven years the case has been completely hushed. There may be private sector agents or there may be agents of foreign concerns. That is a matter to be looked into. It has to be found out as to who are interested in seeing that the public sector does not prosper, that is the position.

Then the foreigners assist us. How ? If I may be permitted to say, they also want to drag on the construction as much as possible. Durgapur is a living example. We imported even men to run it. A large number of Russians were there running the Bhilai steel plant. Now, they have been reduced. But, Sir, even now there are some Russians. I went to Bhilai. I propose to go to Bokaro ; at this old age I propose to go there, because I am interested in those plants. And, Sir, I say that the same thing is being repeated. Here, we talk of self-reliance. But, they dependence on foreign technicians, foreign aid, foreign machinery, etc. continues. You will be surprised, Sir, to see to what length we have gone. I

think it is in Durgapur or probably Ranchi where we imported a rotary printing machinery, not only the heavy machinery, but a printing machine, a duplicating machine. In the Sindri factory, Sir we imported the staircases also, the steel plates for the staircase. This foreign aid has gone to that length. It is in the interest of the 'foreigner to tie us down to burden us with as much foreign aid as possible and it is in our interest to see that we cut adrift from this folly. Self-reliance, I say, will not come unless you decide promptly here and now that come what may, we shall not rely on foreign aid at all. From one fine morning you have to make that decision. Some, people may say that it is impracticable. But, was is not also impracticable for China when, on one fine morning, the Russians completely withdrew ? Are you in any way inferior intellectually or in any other way to Chinese ? Why can't we do that ? I do not mean to say that we will not get or import things. Let not somebody start ridiculing me saying that we cannot rely hundred per cent. I do not mean that. But, I say, he will pay for it. Whatever we cannot manufacture here, we shall import and pay for it, but we will not go with a begging bowl. We will tighten our belts. That is what China, did Now, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Now you must finish.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : My party has allotted me the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRI V. B. RAJU) your party : has been allotted 40 minutes and two speakers are there.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I am sorry I have been taken much time.

Sir, I was saying about the stopping of the foreign aid. Now, unless we decide straightway that we shall export and get things, only those things which we need here, it is of no use. Then, we shall get only the absolutely essential things once we decide that way and we shall pay for them. Let us do that and let us not try to depend on foreign aid and all that.

Now, Sir, generally, high things go wrong. I am sorry, Sir, I have taken such a long time, because I had so much

[SHRI T. N. SINGH) to say. I am rather distressed by this Midterm Appraisal. Mr. Subramaniam, my old friend, will excuse me. One of the greatest follies all through those years has been the wishful thinking by us. Every time we prepared the Third Plan, I pointed out that whatever was expected to be achieved at the end of the Second Plan was not going to be achieved and so, let us start with a lower base and then, we can go on for a certain rate of growth and work out the idea of inputs and outputs so on. But that was never done. Take, for instance, this mid-term appraisal. In the year 1968-69 the agricultural production was less than in 1967-68. When the plan was prepared in 1969 up to 1974 it was known that the production in agriculture is going to be less than that of the previous year. Yet the base year started with a high level of production in the first year itself. And then we calculated a certain increase in all succeeding years. Now that was wrong. Even now, I am afraid, the same thing will be repeated. If you compare the actual rate of growth, so far as agriculture is concerned, you will find that the rate of growth has been much less if we take 1967-68 as the base. 1968-69 was an adverse year for agriculture.

Similarly take for instance, Steel. We yet seem to think that at the end of this plan period we shall produce more than 8 million tonnes of finished steel and about 10 million tonnes of steel ingots, if I am not wrong. Now that will not be possible. We know it. Why start again with the wrong base for the 5th Plan? In the case of steel and agriculture again these are miscalculated. Shall we not go wrong? We are bound to go wrong. I suggest that this kind of wishful thinking should end. We should take a realistic view of the position rather than be conservative in regard to your possible achievements in the last year of the 4th Plan and then try. We want so much. All right. How shall we achieve that? Then, accordingly, the inputs are to be planned.

Now there is another slogan that rate of growth is not needed; what is needed is socio-economic equality and all these kinds of things. But the rate of growth is important. You cannot plan without a concept of the rate of growth of your economy. I do concede that we may have a high rate of growth with increasing

disparity of income, which is undesirable. I do not want it. I will fight it to the last drop of my blood. That's true. But for that again I say that foreign aid is largely responsible. We have tried to nationalise so many industries. But have we nationalised anything with foreign interests involved? Further, Sir, now they have the virtual monopoly of soap, oils, milk foods, etc. etc.—even dehydrated peas. These are all consumer goods. When the expansion proposal came there was no monopoly at that time. As the Industries Minister I said that you must have Indian capital. They are so tough, Sir that ultimately the great favour they did was that they agreed to 15 per cent. This is what has happened.

4 P. M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : I hope you will conclude.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Yes, just a minute.

Similarly there are other concerns which are foreign dominated and they continue; they are not nationalised. There are these oil companies—giants. Dare we touch them? So I suggest, if you want to be self-reliant, self-reliant at least in things of daily necessity, why give them to foreign concerns? Why should Lever Brothers have the virtual monopoly? And they are being allowed to expand; they are expanding. We have got their man as head of the State Trading Corporation. This is the position. Therefore, I suggest that we must stop wishful thinking. We must develop a determined, well-organised, time-bound programme of self-reliance. We must see that we pay for all the imports even if it means tightening of our belts. Four or five years ago the problem might have been difficult because then the Government majority was rather tenuous.

I wish all well to Indiraji. She has got today a better majority than even Pandi Jawaharlal in the States as well as here. And she is virtually in the position of dictator. Now, if all that can be tolerated if dictatorship can be tolerated—even democratic dictatorship—then why not really work out a strategy for self-reliance?

I am holding myself in patience. I am at such a stage of my age where I cannot afford to be very impatient or bubble with

energy and burst out; I cannot. But I am definitely watching for a real emergence of a strategy of self-reliance. This empty talk of self-reliance will not do.

Industrialisation is yet an important part of whatever you do. And these foreign collaboration agreements that are going on are a curse on our society. We have got to get rid of them. It is rather.-.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : I wish you realise . . .

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I realise much more than you do, Madam.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : The whole criticism that you are making on the Plan ... It was Mr. T.N. Singh who, as one of the Members, conceived this Plan.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Whatever I conceived I am telling you frankly. Even if I have conceived, if I did mistakes I must acknowledge. I should have the courage ...

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Then please do it.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : So, instead of trying to make a point, it is no use trying to hit back at another. I wish the Congress benches will wake up to the situation and do not get carried away by political motives. There is no political motive so far as I am concerned. I have no political ambitions, I can tell you. I am speaking to this House in all sincerity. In the evening of my life I want to see this country self-reliant. And for that purpose I want a real strategy to be worked out.

Secondly, I want that we should now have a real assessment of what we shall be in the year 1973-74. Mid-term Appraisal assessments are all wrong. I have not the time nor the inclination to go into the details as to why they are wrong. I will discuss it in the Consultative Committee meeting with the Minister later on. But what I want to say is, let us not start on a base which is unrealistic.

Then, the deficit financing and our calculations regarding savings from current fate of expenditure and current rate of

income, they are also wrong. Again it is going to be wrong; it has been going wrong all through. Our assessment of financial resources has to be redone.

Our diversion of funds to different purposes will continue on a much larger scale than what it is to-day. We have now entered the field of Power rivalries. We cannot escape it. Therefore this will continue. The Plan has to be thought of in a different context altogether. With these few words, I beg of you, Mr. Minister of Planning, to appreciate what I am saying in all sincerity. I do not mean to be critical. I have no desire to make points and appear to be triumphant on this or that question. That is not my purpose but I do wish to live to see that we learn from past experience, past mistakes and do not hesitate to redraw our Plan and plan the strategy accordingly. The economic ministries need a lot of pulling up and the Ministers are in the habit of proclaiming all kinds of good things they are going to do. That has to end. This bragging must end. We must know where we are and start on a realistic basis. So I say in all humility and I wish the Planning Commission will assert itself. It is a position today. The Planning Commission was never in that position as it is today because the Deputy Chairman happens to be the Minister of Planning and the Minister for Scientific Development and Technology. He has the influence with the Cabinet. Therefore if he fails to exercise that influence, if he fails to profit from past experience and past mistakes I say in all humility, he shall be, if not letting down the country, at least missing a very great opportunity.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL (Maharashtra) : I congratulate the Planning Minister for presenting such an excellent document which is neither doctrinaire nor dogmatic. Realistic and honest, it owns up certain errors and failures. The reaction by and large I find has been favourable but there is a section of the press which delights in highlighting the mistakes committed during the Plan period. All of us commit mistakes but it appears that only two people do not commit mistakes—the God above and the editor below. Therefore, let us not overemphasise the mistakes. The task before us is stupendous. Let us try to understand the magnitude of the problem and the character of the difficulties that present to us. I know there are certain critics also,

[Shri Vithal Gadgil]

some Members in other parties, who also like to highlight the mistakes. It is evident that those who do things, naturally they commit mistakes but those who do not do anything, do not commit mistakes. Such critics are like the eleventh cricket player in a match who goes to the field and does not score a run and when asked, he justifies it by saying : 'I am zero but I am not-out'. These political zero not-outs, they are the critics.' I, for one, would not respect very much their views because the task before us is so gigantic. About 96,000 villages are without water, 69,000 engineers are unemployed, 71% of the population is still illiterate and lakhs live in slums and on footpaths.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY)]

In the Chair] Verily they lead the life of sadhus because this is what our ancients say about the sadhus :

शैय्या भूमितलम् दिशापि
वसनम् ज्ञानामृतम भोजनम् ।

The earth is his bed, the sky his garment and knowledge, his food.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : And the country is a vast sadhu samaj.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL : That we shall see.

Therefore, Sir, if there are failures and errors we have to find out what were the errors and what were the failures. It is elementary that food, clothing, education, shelter and medical aid are the five basic necessities and this is what we promised in the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress, the last session that was attended by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Now after five years, a crore of refugees and a large number of droughts, we find that we have not fulfilled our targets. What is the reason? In retrospect I find there are three main reasons. The first reason is that we depended too much on heavy industries with the result that a large number of people in the rural areas, the small farmers and the landless labour, remained untouched by the process of development. The second reason in my view would be that we had planning which was highly centralised planning. Everything started from Yojana Bhavan. The word

'Yojana' in Sanskrit has two meanings, it means planning and secondly it also means a measure of distance, a mile. So our Yojana was Yojanas away from the common man. The situation that we had was that we had planning from a distance, a sort of inverted pyramid so to say where the base was the Yojana Bhavan and the top was the village. Now this topsy-turvy situation must be changed and planning must start from the district. I have here a scheme prepared by a District co-operative Bank in Maharashtra, the co-operative Bank of Kolhapur. With the help of Government agencies and academic institutions they surveyed the whole district and identified the problems of the village and they have now come up with a scheme. I would suggest to the Planning Minister that some model should be adopted as a pattern for the whole country. Planning must evidently begin from the bottom, from the district. Another reason is that we allowed too much of foreign capital. I find that foreign capital is more expensive than foreign loans. As time passes foreign capital appreciates in value with the result that we pay more and more for the same number of people, for the same investment Mr. T.N. Singh quoted the case of Lever Brothers. I might refer to Colgate Company whose capital is about twelve lakhs of rupees. In 1969-70 they have earned a profit of Rs. 2 crores excluding corporate taxes out of which a crore of rupees have been allowed to be repatriated. I would submit that this kind of exploitation must stop and such foreign Investments should not be allowed. Instead of expensive foreign capital investments we should rather go in for foreign loans.

Another reason in my submission is that we have failed in one important respect. We have been unable so far to check the rise in prices. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon it too much because the magnitude of the problem is well known to all of us. By the time an hon. Member finishes his ten minutes speech in this House, it is said that 400 new babies have already arrived in the country and by the time one session of Parliament is over the prices increase by at least one per cent. Therefore planning in my submission has become the function of three variables, prices, population and production.

And unless we do something about these three things, most of the planning that we

may resort to may not yield any fruitful results. Then again I would suggest that if you want to check prices. Government should start autonomous corporations for essential consumer goods on the lines of the Food Corporation. If we start for example, a corporation for textile goods and compel all producers of textile goods to sell their products only to this corporation, then we will have a situation of what the economists call monopsony where there are a large number of sellers and only one buyer who can dictate prices, so that the common man will get the necessities of life at reasonable prices. I would request the Planning Minister to examine this suggestion.

Then again, as is mentioned in this document, if public savings and private savings and private savings have to increase, what is needed is that a certain curtailment in expenditure. I would go one step further and say that in spite of all the measures that you might take, the problem may not be solved. What is required is that the common man must have a sense of participation and involvement. He must have the feeling that all people in this country, including rulers as well as leaders, in all parties, irrespective of parties, share his difficulties. Now, that can come about only if we have an atmosphere of austerity. I am not a killjoy I am not saying, "Abolish everything", but I do say that a certain atmosphere is necessary, the kind of austerity that was contemplated by Gandhiji and was introduced by Sir Stafford Cripps in England after the Second World War. Now, unless that kind of austerity is introduced, conspicuous consumption, ostentatious living and vulgar display of wealth will not stop. In this connection I was very happy to learn that the Chief Minister of Gujarat has decided that no Member of his Cabinet will attend any function or reception where there is a vulgar display of wealth. So, this kind of atmosphere it is necessary to create. Then only there will be the sense of participation and involvement of the common man.

To sum up, I would submit to the Planning Minister that what is necessary is more dependence on agro-industries, less foreign investment, decentralised planning and an atmosphere of austerity, a sense of dedication and a sense of mission. Then only we shall succeed. I would request the Planning Minister to cast his mind back

I three years ago. In November, 1969, he was the acting President of the Indian National Congress and he addressed a huge meeting in Shivaji Park in Bombay. He spoke in English and it was my fortune that I was to act as his interpreter and translate his speech. In that meeting he said that the historic city of Bombay was the place where the 1942 Resolution was passed with the slogan of 'quit India'. And he said, "The new slogan shall be 'Quit Poverty' ". It was thus that the *Caribi H lao* slogan was born and in a sense he is the author of that slogan. Therefore, it behoves him to create this kind of atmosphere in the country, a sense of dedication and mission and an atmosphere of austerity. Unless we do this, in my humble opinion we shall not succeed with any kind of measures, however effective they may be regarded on paper, and once we decide upon a plan—and that is the last point I wish to make. I am told that the time allotted to me is very short—once we decide upon a plan, it must be decided that we shall carry it on with courage and with determination. Our failure is not so much because of faults in the plan, but because of defaults in implementation, not so much of errors of conception but failures in implementation. Therefore I would submit to him that let him give some bold and imaginative schemes; for example, what is now being thought about joining the river Ganges with the river Cauvery and bringing the water of the Ganges to the Cauvery. Or in my own State, for example, the Government of Maharashtra has launched a plan from the 1st of May under which every person in the rural area who is willing to do manual work will be provided employment by Government. That is the guarantee given by the Government of Maharashtra.

If some such bold and imaginative plan is launched. I am sure that we shall not only translate his speech, but we shall also translate his ideas into action. With that kind of courage and determination if we proceed I sure we will succeed. Therefore, let us resolve that we shall be firm and let us resolve, to quote a Sanskrit Sloka again: —

Translated it means that we shall think before we act, but once we begin we shall not stop. I thank you.

श्री धीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय माननीय योजना मंत्री जी का मिड-टर्म एप्रैजल के ऊपर काफी लम्बा वक्तव्य सुना। इन सारे डाक्यूमेंट्स को देखने के बाद और उनके भाषण को सुनने के बाद मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जो वस्तुस्थिति है, वास्तविकता है, वह कुछ और ही है। हमारे योजना मंत्री जी ने गरीबी हटाओ की बात कही और गाडगील साहब ने भी कहा, उन्होंने अपने भाषण के अन्दर राष्ट्रपति जी का उल्लेख किया जिसमें उन्होंने बताया कि आर्थिक स्वराज्य हमें लाना है और यह बताया गया कि गरीबी हटाना है और प्रधान मंत्री के भाषणों का भी उद्धरण दिया गया, परन्तु वस्तुस्थिति क्या है, वास्तविकता क्या है, इसको देखने के लिए जब हम सनन्द होते हैं और एक-एक जिला के अन्दर जो स्थिति है, उसको जा कर के देखते हैं तो और ही कुछ दिखाई पड़ता है। जैसा की माननीय योजना मंत्री जी ने 6 अप्रैल को लोक सभा में भाषण देते हुए खुद कहा :

"It was further important that the benefits of this Plan reach the masses of the people."

तो क्या इन तीन योजनाओं के पूर्ण होने के बाद और चौथी योजना का आधा टर्म पूरा हो जाने के बाद और अरबों रुपया खर्च हो जाने के बाद मासेज तक इसका लाभ कुछ पहुंच सका है या नहीं। यह बेमिक टेस्ट है जिस पर इसका निर्णय करना होगा कि योजना का लाभ प्राप्त हो रहा है या नहीं। उस दृष्टि से जब हम देखते हैं तो क्या पाते हैं। मैं मध्य प्रदेश से आता हूं, वह भारत का सबसे बड़ा स्टेट है वहां 30 प्रतिशत हरिजन और आदिवासी निवास करते हैं। मैं उनके एक-एक जिले में सन् 1957 ई० से बराबर घूमता हूं, लेकिन उनकी आज भी वही हालत है जो कि आज से 10 वर्ष या 15 वर्ष पहले हालत थी। आज बस्तर जिले में जाता हूं, तो वहां गरीब आदिवासी के तन पर 15 वर्ष पहले भी कपड़ा नहीं दिखाई

देता था और आज भी वही स्थिति है। उसके घर के अन्दर जा कर देखता हूं, तो उसके घर के अन्दर दस रोज का अनाज भी नहीं मिलता है। यह उसकी हालत है। हारवैस्टिंग सीजन के खत्म होने के बाद वह महुआ के फल और कोदों के ऊपर गुजारा करते हैं। आज आप किसी जिले में चले जायें, हरिजनों के घरों के अन्दर चले जायें आज भी वही स्थिति है चौथी योजना के तीन वर्ष पूर्ण होने के बाद भी वह महुआ के फल खा कर जीवन निर्वाह करते हैं। एक फसल नहीं आई तो भूखे मरने की हालत में पतियां खा कर किसी तरह जीवित रहते हैं। यह हालत दिखाई देती है। उनके बच्चों को देखें तो हमारी हेल्थ की सारी स्क्रीमें मानों कागज के ऊपर ही निर्भर है यह दिखाई देगा। उनको कोई मेडिकल सहायता पहुंचा नहीं सकते हैं, उनके गांवों तक कोई डाक्टर नहीं पहुंचा है और उन्हें स्वास्थ्य की कोई सुविधायें नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार की दनीय हालत हम देखते हैं और हम चर्चा करते हैं गरीबी हटाने की, हम कहते हैं कि गरीबों के प्रति हमारे हृदय में बड़ा दर्द है। उनकी चान करते हैं, लेकिन क्या हम यह देख रहे हैं कि अरबों रुपया इन योजनाओं पर खर्च होने के बाद और चौथी योजना के तीन वर्ष खत्म होने के बाद भी उसका लाभ उन तक पहुंचा रहे हैं जो कि आप कहते हैं कि मासेज तक इस योजना का लाभ पहुंचाना है। तो हमें इस बात को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि गरीब मनुष्य तक गरीब आदिवासी तक, गरीब हरिजन तक हम उसका लाभ नहीं पहुंचा पाये हैं। यह रुपया या तो बेकार में खर्च हुआ है या ब्यूरोक्रैसी की योजनाओं के अन्दर खर्च हुआ है या भ्रष्टाचार के अन्दर खर्च हुआ है और उसके कारण हालत वैसी ही विद्यमान है इस नाते से, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके अन्दर जो स्टैटिस्टिक्स दिये हैं, उनमें न जाक वस्तुस्थिति की ओर से ही आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा। हम जिला जिलों जा कर देखें, हम जन प्रतिनिधि हैं कि जिले

की हालत क्या है, गरीबों की हालत क्या है ? और उन लोगों में किसी तरह का परिवर्तन लाये किस तरह से उनकी स्थिति में परिवर्तन ला सकते हैं, यह हम देखें। योजनाओं की कागज के ऊपर जो रिपोर्ट आती है, उसकी वास्तविकता उन लोगों को देख कर ही मालूम हो सकती है, उन लोगों की हालत को देख कर ही इस बात का निर्णय करना है। तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हालत आज क्या है ? आज स्थिति क्या है ? हम योजना-बद्ध विकास की बात करते हैं, हम माननीय योजना मंत्री से पूछना चाहते हैं कि क्या वह आत्मविश्वास के साथ खुद कह सकते हैं कि जो वास्तविक अर्थ है "कि एक योजनाबद्ध तरीके से सारी योजना कार्यान्वित करने के लिए गवर्नमेंट का हर डिपार्टमेंट उस योजना के अनुसार चलेगा। मुझे मालूम है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हर डिपार्टमेंट आता है, योजना विभाग से अपनी योजनाएं मंजूर कराता है, वहां सेंकशन लेते हैं। बजट विधान सभाओं द्वारा, लोक सभा के द्वारा मंजूर किए जाते हैं, उसके हिसाब से एक्सपेंडीचर बगैरह आते हैं। लेकिन वास्तविक स्प्रिट है क्या हमारे बीच में कि एक उद्देश्य को, एक लक्ष्य को सामने रख कर उसके लिए जो कुछ प्लान तैयार किया उस प्लान के हिसाब से आगे बढ़ेंगे और उसकी पूर्ति के लिए सारी शक्ति लगाएंगे। यह दिखायी नहीं देता। उदाहरण के लिए, एक कापिलट आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि इस सारे मिडटम एप्रैजल आफ प्लान में जो सारे स्टेटिस्टिक्स दिए गए, उसमें एक बात यह दी है कि ग्रैन के प्रोडक्शन में सफलता पायी आनज का उत्पादन बढ़ो पाए लक्ष्य के अनुसार और योजना के अनुसार, लक्ष्य के अनुसार, हमने कुछ प्रगति की है। उससे आगे वर्षों में संतोष करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। जितना लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया था उतना हम आगे बढ़े या नहीं, इस बात को देखना होगा। इस दृष्टि से देखते हैं, तो आपने स्वीकार किया

कि इन्डस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ के अंदर हम नहीं लक्ष्य के अनुसार बढ़ पाए, हम प्रगति नहीं की है, इस बात को आपने स्वीकार किया है। आपने इस बात को भी स्वीकार किया है कि हम केतल फूडप्रेन्स में आगे बढ़े हैं। शुगरकेन में जितना हम डेवलपमेंट करना चाहते थे उतना नहीं बढ़े, काटन का जितना प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना चाहते थे नहीं बढ़ा, एम्प्लायमेंट जितना बढ़ाना चाहते थे उतना बढ़ा नहीं पाए इनके बारे में फेलियर्स आपके द्वारा दिए गए स्टेटिस्टिक्स में आपने स्वीकार किए। उसका कारण क्या है ? केवल एक क्षेत्र के अंदर-अनाज के उत्पादन में—जरूर प्रगति कर पाए, लेकिन आज ये जो गवर्नमेंट आफ इन्डिया की डिफ्रेन्ट मिनिस्ट्रीज है, मुझे लगता है, उनमें कोई सामंजस्य विद्यमान नहीं। बजट योजनाबद्ध विकास का प्रतीक होना चाहिए। लेकिन क्या आपके जो अन्य विभाग हैं, वे सारे के सारे एक लक्ष्य को ख्याल में रख कर, एक योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के उद्देश्य से जा रहे हैं ? यहां एक ओर किसान ने नाज का उत्पादन बढ़ाया है तो इस वर्ष के बजट में रखे गए टैक्सेशन को देखें तो सारा टैक्स किसानों पर लगाया गया है, इसमें कहा गया है कि पम्पों के पम्पिंग आवर्स में कमी हो रही है—यह बात आपने एप्रैजल में लिखी है। लेकिन दूसरी ओर पम्पिंग सेट्स में इस बार के बजट में आपने टैक्स बढ़ाने का प्रस्ताव किया। एक ओर आप कहते हैं सिंचाई की जितनी मुश्किलें देते हैं उतना किसान उठा नहीं पाते। लेकिन इसी ओर इलेक्ट्रिकल मोटर्स के बारे में, पम्प के बारे में, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी ड्यूज बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं। यह एक कॉन्फ्लिक्ट खड़ा हो रहा है। अभी कल ही इस सदन के अंदर एग्जिक्यूटिव प्राइस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट की कुछ चर्चा हुई। एक तरफ किसान के द्वारा आप पैदावार बढ़ाना चाहते हैं दूसरी तरफ प्राइस आप घटाना चाहते हैं। क्या आपकी सारी उत्पादन बढ़ाने वाली योजनाएं

[श्री विरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा]

अगर किसान को ठीक प्रकार से प्राइस नहीं मिला—सबसेसफल होगी? अभी कुछ सफलता हमने पायी है, लेकिन आपकी असंगति के कारण वह सफलता असफलता में परिवर्तित हो गई। आज एक बड़ा अंतर खड़ा हो गया है, मैं गांव में रहता हूं, इसलिए मुझे अनुभव होता है कि किसान के अंदर यह बात खटकती है कि जिन चीजों का वह उत्पादन करता है, गेहू का उत्पादन करता है, कपास का उत्पादन करता है, गन्ने का उत्पादन करता है, जब उनकी कीमत देने का सवाल आता है तो हमारे को ठीक कीमत प्राप्त नहीं होती। कितना बड़ा अंतर है उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, शक्कर 300 रु० क्विन्टल के भाव से मिल रहा है लेकिन किसान को गन्ने की कीमत 8 रु० क्विन्टल मिल रही है। मैं स्वयं भी उत्पादन करता हूं गन्ने का, फिर किसान उत्पादन बढ़ाता है तो उसके लिए जितनी चीजें लेनी हैं ट्रक्टर लेना है, लोहा लेना है या लकड़ी लेनी है तो हर वर्ष उन चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ती जा रही हैं। लेकिन उसके गन्ने के भाव कम रहेंगे, उसको बढ़ाने के लिए आप तैयार नहीं होंगे। गेहूं जो 100 रु० क्विन्टल होगा, आज 76 रु० क्विन्टल के अंदर बिक रहा है और शासन चाहता है उसे 67-68 रु० क्विन्टल खरीदा जाए। सारे बाजार में निरंतर प्रति वर्ष यह होता चला जा रहा है। तो क्या शासन का यह योजनबद्ध तरीके से, समन्वित तरीके से, विभागों के अंदर सामंजस्य के रूप में कार्य चला हुआ है? इसका परिणाम क्या होगा हमारी जनता के ऊपर, यदि उत्पादनकर्ता को उसकी चीजों के मूल्य कम मिले और वह जो खरीद कर बाजार से, उसका मूल्य निरंतर बढ़ता जाए? मेरा ऐसा विश्वास है कि अगर ठीक प्रकार से हम अधिक, विकास करना चाहते हैं तो उसमें विभिन्न दृष्टिकोणों का सामंजस्य जब तक स्थापित नहीं करेंगे तो यह अनाज के उत्पादन में जो सफलता हमने पायी है वह खत्म हो जाएगी। वह आगे नहीं होगा और किसान गन्ना

उत्पादन नहीं करेगा। कपास को ले लीजिए। वही किसान जो गन्ना पैदा करता है, शूगर बाजार में मंहगी लेता है। वही किसान जो कपास पैदा करता है, जब बाजार में कपड़ा लेने जाता है तो उसको निरंतर मंहगा दिखलाई देता है और आज कपड़ा मंहगा होते चला जा रहा है। इसके पीछे कारण स्पष्ट है? चाहे योजना मंत्री कितनी ही अच्छी योजना बनायें और उसको प्लानिंग कमिशन द्वारा स्वीकार कराया जाय, लेकिन सबसे बड़ा कारण यह है कि शूगर मिल मालिक हर प्रकार की महायना पार्टी इन पावर जो है उसको दे सकते हैं और मिल मालिकों के बड़े हुए भावों को स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। किसान जो गन्ना बोता है अगर वह इस तरह की मांग करता है तो उसको स्वीकार नहीं किया जाएगा। इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि जो आपकी योजना है उसके विकास पर असर होगा। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि राजनीतिक दलों के सामने इन प्राथिक मूल्यों का रूप रख दिया जाता है और इसका परिणाम इस पर होता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, केवल इसी क्षेत्र में नहीं चलता। माननीय योजना मंत्री जी ने 6 अप्रैल को लोक सभा में भाषण दिया था और उसमें उन्होंने यह बतलाया था कि—

"The second commitment >>>e have made to the people was to tackle this problem. The third commitment was to effect reduction of disparities that existed in the society to-day whether it be regional imbalances or imbalances as between individuals and individuals."

आप इस तुला पर नहीं बलिक देश को स्थिति को देखें कि तमाम इंडिविजुअल, इंडिविजुअल के बीच 'डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन' दूर करने में आपको जरा भी सफलता मिली है। क्या आपके स्टैटिस्टिक इस बात को सपोर्ट करते हैं कि गरीबी आदमी और अमीर आदमी के बीच जो डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन है, उसको दूर करने में आगे इतनी बर्बाद की योजना के बाद भी जरा भी सफलता प्राप्त हुई है? स्टेट्स के बारे में उप-

समाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं विशेष रूप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि स्टेट्स की दृष्टि से योजना बद्ध विकास के रूप में एक और कल इसी सदन में चर्चा हुई थी कि कहीं पर 50 प्रतिशत इरिगेशन के साधन हैं और कहीं पर 8 प्रतिशत इरिगेशन के साधन हैं। मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर आज नर्मदा नहीं है जिसके अन्दर पंजाब की तीन नदियों का इतना पानी है। नर्मदा धाटी की जो जमीन है वह देश की उपजाऊ जमीनों में से है, लेकिन नर्मदा नदी का जो पानी है वह मध्य प्रदेश के किसानों के खेतों की सिंचाई के लिए उपलब्ध होना कठिन है। यही कारण है कि आज मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर इतने आर्थिक साधन नहीं हैं कि नर्मदा का जल किसानों के खेत तक पहुंचाने के लिए जो बांध बांधने हैं, जो आवश्यक कार्य करना है वह उनको कर सके। क्या भारत सरकार और देश का योजना विभाग जो देश के आर्थिक विकास के साधनों को जुटाना चाहता है इस चीज को स्वीकार करेगा और इस चीज को उपलब्ध करने के लिए तैयार है? क्या इस डिसपैरिटी को दूर करने के लिए वास्तविक रूप से विचार करेगा?

वह तो आज भगड़े के अन्दर फंसा हुआ है और भगड़े भी ऐसे नहीं हैं जिसके कारण उसकी प्रगति को रोक सकें। आज बर्फी योजना के लिए कोई गुजरात का भगड़ा नहीं है। मध्य प्रदेश का पानी है और नर्मदा में मध्य प्रदेश से निकलता है और उस पर बर्फी योजना बनाने से किसी पर प्रभाव पड़ने का प्रश्न नहीं है। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि पैसा कहाँ से आये और इसके लिए उस योजना को स्वीकार कौन करेगा तथा इसके लिए धन कौन उपलब्ध करायेगा? इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि जो वहाँ के गरीब किसान है, आदिवासी है वे भुगत रहे हैं और इस डिसपैरिटी को दूर करने के लिए कौन कदम उठायेगा? क्या योजनाबद्ध विकास के अन्दर यह नहीं आता है कि हम इस प्रकार के कदम उठाएँ।

दूसरी ओर योजना का दूसरा दृश्य दिखलाई देता है। नदी है, पानी है, उर्वर भूमि है और सैकड़ों हजारों की संख्या में इंजीनियर्स खाली बैठे हुए हैं जो नौकरी के लिए दर-दर की टोकरें खा रहे हैं। क्या हमारी योजना उनको रोजगार उपलब्ध कराने के लिए कुछ करेगी? योजना मंत्री ने स्वीकार किया है कि इस दृष्टि से हम असफल रहे हैं। इस मिड-टर्म एप्रैजल के अन्दर जो फिगर्स दिये हुए हैं, वे इस बात के प्रमाण हैं कि इतने अन-इम्प्लायड खड़े कर दिये हैं और वे शाज बेकार है। इन्डस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ जितना होना चाहिए था वह नहीं हो पाया है और जितनी प्रगति होनी चाहिए थी वह नहीं हो पायी है। इसका जिम्मेदार कौन है? क्या आपका गलत ढंग से योजना बनाना और गलत ढंग से उसको कार्यान्वित करना, यह इसके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं है? माननीय मंत्री जी ने 6 अप्रैल को जो बात कही उसको पहिले क्यों नहीं कही। योजना मंत्री जी ने कहा कि पांचवा प्लान बनाते वक्त इस बात का ख्याल रखेंगे। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों नहीं बत हुए दो वर्षों में भी इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाय और विशेष रूप से प्रयास किया जाय और अगर परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता हो तो उसको सारा परिवर्तन किया जाए। यदि आप एम्प्लायमेंट उपलब्ध नहीं करा सकते बेकार इंजीनियरों को काम उपलब्ध नहीं करा सकते, बेकार पानी आज सागर में जा रहा है उसे खेत में नहीं पहुंचा सकते, तो किस तरह से हमारे देश की आर्थिक उन्नति होगी और किस तरह से गरीबी दूर होगी।

स्वतंत्रता के 25 वर्ष बाद जो भी दृश्य हम देखना चाहते थे वह क्या हम इस तरह की योजनाओं और नीतियों द्वारा ला सकेंगे? आज हमारे देश में डिसपैरिटी विद्यमान है। एक ओर काम करने की शक्ति है मनुष्य की शक्ति है, लेकिन वह दर-दर टोकर खा रहा है।

दमरी और हमारे पास नैसर्गिक साधन उपलब्ध है, लेकिन उनको समन्वित करने, ठीक प्रकार से जुटाने और कार्य पर लगाने के लिए पूरी शक्ति नहीं है। आज हमारे पास ऐसा दृष्टिकोण नहीं है कि सब मिलकर इस कार्य को सम्पन्न करें और लक्ष्य को सामने रख कर अपनी सारी शक्ति लगाये। यह दृष्टिकोण आज दिखलाई नहीं देता है।

और इसके कारण आज यह हालत है। भारत के अन्दर जो इलेक्ट्रिक पावर है, उसके बारे में इस प्लान के अन्दर कहा गया है कि उसके जितने लक्ष्य हैं वे हम प्राप्त नहीं कर सके हैं। प्लानिंग में यह आवश्यक है कि इलेक्ट्रिसिटी को हम छोटे घरों तक पहुंचा कर, मध्यम परिवारों तक पहुंचा कर, वहां छोटी इंडस्ट्री प्रारम्भ करा सकें, उसके लिए लोक दे सकें, हर प्रकार की सहायता देकर छोटे उद्योग-धन्धे पनपा सकें योजना में, प्लान में इस दृष्टिकोण की, परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। उदाहरण के लिए माइनर इरिगेशन और मीडियम इरिगेशन के बारे में इसमें जितने आंकड़े दिए गए हैं उससे लगता है कि माइनर इरिगेशन की उतनी इम्पोर्टेंस नहीं दी जा रही, यद्यपि फिगर्स इस बात को सिद्ध करते हैं कि माइनर इरिगेशन से कम फंड्स होते हुए भी ज्यादा इरिगेशन पोटेन्शियल डेवलप हुआ है मेजर इरिगेशन और मीडियम इरिगेशन के मुकाबले। अध्यक्ष महोदय, पृष्ठ 61 पर कहा है—

"The increase during the first three years has been estimated at 1.86 million hectares, that is, 58 per cent of the Plan target".

मेरा यह निवेदन है कि इसके लिए और फंड्स रखने चाहिए, इस पर ज्यादा बल देना चाहिए। माइनर इरिगेशन की स्कीम्स पूरी होने पर जल्दी लाभ पहुंच सकता है, लोगों पानी उपलब्ध हो सकता है, एम्प्लायमेंट

मिल सकता है। इसी प्रकार से बिजली के आधार पर चलने वाले छोटे उद्योगों के लिए और रकम रख कर कार्य करना चाहिए।

एम्प्लायमेंट के लिए मंत्री महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि हम 50 करोड़ से बढ़ा कर 100 करोड़ प्रोजेक्ट कर रहे हैं मेरा यह निवेदन है कि अनएम्प्लायमेंट के विषय प्रबलम को देखते हुए यह रकम कुछ नहीं है। मध्य प्रदेश जैसे पिछड़े प्रदेश के अन्दर 10-10 हजार, 50-50 हजार की आवादी वाले छोटे शहरों में 50-50, 100-100 ग्रैजुएट नौकरी के लिए इधर-उधर चक्कर काटते हुए दिखाई देते हैं। उन्हें रोजगार उपलब्ध कराना है तो बिजली के आधार पर चलने वाले उद्योग धन्धों के अन्दर उनकी खपाने की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। अन्यथा अनएम्प्लायमेंट की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती, बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती और इस आधार पर इन दो बचे हुए वर्षों में, फोर्थ प्लान के अन्दर परिवर्तन करना चाहिए। ऊंट के मुंह में जीरे की तरह यह 100 करोड़ की रकम है और यह भी वास्तविक रूप में खर्च नहीं होती। मुझे मालूम है बेरोजगारी दूर करने के नाम पर जो योजनाएं कार्यान्वित की गईं उनमें रोड़ पर मिट्टी डालने का काम चुनाव के एक दो महीने पहले प्रारम्भ किया गया दो रुपये रोज की मजदूरी देकर जबकि साधारण किसानों के यहां मजदूर दो और ढाई रुपए रोज पर काम करते हैं, लेकिन बेरोजगारी दूर करने के लिए 50 करोड़ की योजना के अन्तर्गत रोड़ पर मिट्टी डालने का काम दो रुपए रोज में कराया जा रहा है। इससे बेरोजगारी न इंजीनियरों की दूर होगी, पढ़े-लिखे बेरोजगारों की होगी और न किसानों की हो सकती है और न गांवों में रहने वाली रूरल पायुलेशन की बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल हो सकती है। उसके अलावा अन्य योजनाएं बनानी पड़ेंगी, विशेष कर विद्युत आधार पर सफल उद्योग धन्धों को कार्यान्वित करना होगा अब हम इन योजनाओं को प्राथमिकता देगे,

उनके लिए अधिक फंड्स रखेंगे, साधन जुटाएंगे तभी यह सम्भव है कि अन्वैष्णिकता की समस्या को हम दूर कर सकें। गरीबी हटाने के नारे न लगा कर अगर हम वास्तव में गरीब आदमी के घर में, उनके जीवन में कुछ परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं, कि उनके घर में सुख सुविधाएं हों, उनके घर में कुछ अच्छे दिन आएँ तो हम योजना के स्वरूप में आपको यह परिवर्तन करने दोगे। बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिए जो उत्साह दिखाई देना चाहिए वह दिखाई नहीं देता। अपने राजनीतिक उद्देश्य के लिए चाहे हम नारे लगाएँ लेकिन वास्तविक रूप में सबके साथ मिल कर लक्ष्यों को कार्यान्वित करने का उत्साह दिखाई नहीं देता। हम चाहे जितने नारे लगाएँ, जब तक हमारे लक्ष्य में परिवर्तन नहीं होता हम गरीबी को दूर नहीं कर सकेंगे। बेरोजगारी को दूर नहीं कर सकेंगे अगर इन बचे हुए दो वर्षों के अन्दर भी हम परिवर्तन रूप में कार्य करेंगे तो यह सम्भव है कि उस दिशा में हम प्रगति कर सकें। मुझे आशा है कि योजना को सही रूप में कार्यान्वित करने के लिए उसमें सही ढंग से परिवर्तन करके लागू किया जाएगा। यही मेरा निवेदन है।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, I am very happy that a new era has started particularly in the thinking and the approach of the Planning Commission towards the entire economic development in this country. I may also commend the Planning Commission's effort in producing the Fourth Plan Appraisal wherein the Minister has candidly stated what are the deficiencies and how the implementation is lagging behind and what targets are set for the new yearly plan.

In this country a new thinking has started and this is reflected in the President's Address debate on President's Address and the Prime Minister's reply to that debate. She said in the course of her reply: -

"I do have a strong feeling that the present economic thinking is not solving the

problem of contemporary society anywhere, not only in India but in the world. What other countries do is their concern, but we in India must devise an economic system which makes sense to our social setting."

I am really interested in this part. The Planning Commission is now undertaking a micro-study in identifying the problem and inviting the views of various responsible organisations in the country.

I am addressing myself to two or three problems referred to in the Plan Appraisal. The first one is about industrial production, the second about savings and third about unemployment.

As regards industrial production, we see that it is lagging behind. The 11 per cent which we achieved some four or five years ago has come down to 2.5 per cent or so. Speaking about lags in industrial production, it seems, that the Planning Commission has rightly appointed a task force to identify causes. This is one of the new innovations that the Planning Commission has invented to tune up the functioning of the public sector because it is in the public sector the return and resource generation are lagging behind. There are the problems of idle capacity, problems of management, etc. This task force has already visited some plants such as the two steel complexes and Heavy Electricals. They will completely study the various public sector undertakings and find out the reasons for their failure. In this connection I want to repeat what I have already stated yesterday that the improvement in the working of public sector undertakings should receive the top priority attention of the Planning Commission. It is also necessary for the task force to study the system of public sector working and evolve a new system under which the public sector units should work autonomously with no interference from bureaucrats. They should work with dedication and with an eye to the welfare of the people at large. In this connection, may I suggest to the Planning Minister that the task force should study the private sector units also because we have inherited many of the sick units whether they are in the textile industry or other industries. To plug the deficiencies at the right moment it is very necessary to tune up the working of the private sector units also, because their utilised capacity is roughly about 40 to 60

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni.] per cent. This is only the average figure. In one 't may be 80 per cent while in the other it may be 30. This is due to various reasons. In some it may be due to the problem of raw materials while in some others it may be due to the problem of workers. As I see it, unless all units work in two shifts, the production targets may not be reached and the atmosphere of scarcity may not be removed.

In this connection, a recent survey was conducted by the Indian Engineering Association on the industrial growth. According to this survey, 7 out of every 10 companies are saddled with idle capacity; 2 out of 3 entrepreneurs have no investment plan. This survey covered about 333 industries. One out of every three entrepreneurs has complained of shortage of raw materials.

So, Sir, these are some of the difficulties. In this connection, Sir, I find that the Fourth Plan Appraisal the Approach to the Fifth Plan and the earlier Plans also have placed a very high priority on the development of small industries. Sir, for the last four years I have been in Parliament and I have all along been harping on the development of small industries. Now, Sir, I do not want to take the time of the House giving the various figures about how the small industry generates employment at a very reduced cost. Sir, what I am worried about the Planning Commission is that there is no dearth of ideas as has been pointed out by my friend, Shri Gadgil. There is no dearth of ideas. You have got all good intentions and wishes. But, Sir, the implementation programme always lags behind. There is the zeal of the politicians at the head who are devising the entire plan. Today, Sir, I was discussing with a delegation from Kolhapur from where I come. There is a complex of some 500 small engineering units producing diesel engines. They came to me saying that there is an acute depression in the diesel engineering industry there. I just wanted to know how the Government can help if the agriculturists do not want to purchase those diesel engines produced by these units. But, Sir, they came with the complaint that the Government has now allowed a licence to be issued—I do not know exactly whether the import licence has been issued or not and it is for Mr. Subramanian! to find out—for 8,000 diesel engines CKO packs with a

range of 8 to 10 HP to be imported, to one tractor manufacturing unit in Delhi. Sh, where is your policy? Where is the coordination? 8,000 diesel engines you are intending to import into this country at the cost of 500 workshops in Kolhapur, some 200 workshops in Rajkot and some workshops in Ludhiana! This is the implementation programme or policy of the government! How can the Ministry of Industrial Development issue a licence? I am rather very much surprised, Sir. How can the DGTD recommend this? It is for you to examine. Sir, the Planning Commission is planning for the whole country and it should plan for the whole country and not for a particular region. You are not planning for Tamil Nadu; you are not planning for Maharashtra; and you are not planning for Assam. You are to plan for the whole country. Sir, as for the engineering industry, it was envisaged that during the 4th Plan period about three lakh diesel engines will have to be sold and today, we are producing 80,000 engines or so, big and small, and these eighty or ninety thousand engines are not being sold at all and the workshop owners in Kolhapur and Rajot suffer. Why? They say that the engines produced either in Maharashtra or Gujarat are not allowed to be sold in other areas; some say that they are not allowed by the Punjab Government; some say that they are not allowed by the U.P. Government; or, that the UP engine is not allowed by the Tamil Nadu Government. Sir, ar', you planning for the whole country or for a State alone? You must pull up all those Chief Ministers whose states are adopting such tactics which are anti ... State. So, Sir, this is a matter for you to consider.

Sir, I want to go into another problem also. It is the problem of savings. I say, Sir, that what is impeding the industrial growth most is neither the procedural difficulty nor the policy restraints, but it is the general dearth of savings. Such aspects as harmonious industrial relations or managerial efficiency cannot also be ignored. But, the major determinant of growth is the availability or otherwise of investible funds. Since investments in the public sector have been pivotal for generating momentum elsewhere in the economic system, it is the paucity of public savings which, more than anything else, is frustrating current attempts at a large-scale industrial breakthrough. Sir, in this connection, I want to say that the importance of savings for developmental

efforts has to be rightly emphasised at all levels. Our experience only suggests that the Government's ability to spend all that it provides for plan projects is limited. Unless the mobilisation of resources and savings comes up to the mark, it will not help and no proper investment can be done either in industry or agriculture, wherever it is necessary.

Sir, another aspect of the same saving or mobilisation is the non-Plan or non-development expenditure. Sir, I find money and resources are raised. But, where has the money gone? As has been rightly pointed out, the short answer to this is that quite a good part is going into non-development expenditure which has gone up at the rate of 15% a year during the last ten years. As a result, the share of development in the total expenditure of the Centre remains bogged down at about 60 per cent. Sir, (the second factor undermining the resource-raising effort is the annual increase in prices in spite of a succession of good crops. This has set at nought the assumption of price stability on which the fourth plan was based. Instead of a permissible increase of something like seven per cent a year in money supply the actual figure has been around 11 per cent in the first four years of the Plan—far in excess of the increase in real national income which was around four per cent a year. Nor, surprisingly, the price level keeps going up despite pious assurances to the contrary.

The hon. Minister of Planning has stated that the Public Distribution System of essential consumer articles will be activated, but neither in the Plan Appraisal nor in the Yearly Plan, a positive direction is evident. We see, Sir, in a State Particularly like Maharashtra, Public Distribution System starts whenever there is a scarcity of, say, sugar, pulses or something else. But as the production increases and there is ample availability of foodgrains, this is again dismantled and we again face the same problem year after year. So what I want to suggest is that a positive direction should be evident of public distribution system being kept in touch with cooperative consumer stores. But, Sir, I have found out that they are also not coming up to the extent desired of them. For that purpose, a suitable agency has to be devised for public distribution schemes of sensitive items.

With more money needed each year to do the same job, increased taxation has failed to overcome the financial stringency. The outlays may sound impressive in the aggregate. But this should not be allowed to obscure the serious shortfalls in actual expenditure in such key sectors as iron and steel, chemicals and fertilizers.

Sir, there are reports about the reorientation of the new industrial policy. Sometimes there is a thinking going on the disparities in income. So, Sir, I say that some type of discipline has also to be developed in the fiscal management by the various States. Some type of discipline has to be brought in as regards incomes of various groups in the Society. I mean to say, for example, Government workers, agricultural labourers and general allied of the society. Unless this is done, the social tensions are bound to arise in a democratic socialistic society like ours.

Perhaps the most serious obstacle on the way to sustained and high level of economic development is the social attitude of the elite. Sir, yesterday or the day before yesterday I referred to some economist having said that the conspicuous living and austerity are being practised in the society at a very low level. The middle class, both urban and rural, has not imposed and self-discipline on itself and is highly consumption oriented. This is evident from the accelerated growth of non-productive tertiary sector of services and administration. The combined non-developmental expenditure of the Centre and the State has more than doubled in the last six years. The middle class today is living beyond the means of this country. It is appropriating itself a larger and larger slice of additional income.

Sir, I am harping on these disparities in income in different ways, because even programmes like crash programmes for road building, etc. have failed. Two or three days ago we were discussing a resolution by Prof. Ruthnaswamy for producing employment opportunities. Our difficulty is that the road building programmes being hastily conceived, the roads are washed away in certain sectors. In a State like Maharashtra the workers had to be brought from long distances—200 miles or 300 miles—either from drought areas in Mysore State or drought areas in Andhra

[Shri A.G. Kulkasni]

Pradesh. This migration takes place because the local population does not desire to work at that level where the payment made is not in commensurate with other payments made in different areas. I want, Sir, to pinpoint particularly for the information of the Planning Minister what we find where the local industry has developed. We see that a brother in the family of an agricultural sector is earning about Rs. 10/- a day because he is under that organised, protected sector of labour. The work in agricultural sector is not getting him that much amount and if you give him some such job in road building or irrigation, he refuses because he does not have that much protection. He would like to go in a government service or in a workshop where protection is there. This type of disparity you cannot remove, but the people like us have to create an atmosphere whereby the labourers will accept jobs at their own places and that is why I suggest that some income policy or whatever you may call it—I am not saying about the income theory of prices, wages, etc—has to be adopted. It should be based on a practical commonsense approach. You fix up wages or the incomes to be derived by a skilled worker, an unskilled worker, an administrative clerk, an officer and even if he is a Minister or not. Unless some such relationship is there, this problem of unemployment will be aggravated day by day.

Sir, in this connection, what I wanted to say about the unemployment is that the problem of unemployment is very acute. The staggering unemployment which is evident after the working of the three Plans and partly the Fourth Plan is an eye-opener to prove that 'growth' necessarily does not commensurate with employment or achieves distribution of justice as desired. In a mixed economic pattern which we have adopted, it is bound to happen and the talk of reorientation of industrial policy should take cognizance of the failure achieved on the employment front.

In the present circumstances when 'consumer sovereignty' and 'return on capital' is the basis for investment, it is natural, the flow of investment would continue to be in directions which may

maximise neither welfare nor long-term growth and even in relation to public sector investments, the choice of techniques based on the concept of maximisation of welfare is likely to get into difficulty.

Sir, why I say this is because? I am now concerned with the Committee on Unemployment appointed recently by the Government. I am working on a Group for unemployment in industry. In the field of choice of techniques, the Planning Commission and the Planning Minister must be aware what is happening in the Industrial Development Ministry. Very recently, a problem came before the Licensing Committee to authorise import of certain machinery for producing bread. Here we saw the choice of technique, the technology and ultimately the Licensing Committee authorised the import of bread manufacturing machinery. If the import of bread manufacturing machinery were not allowed, the people would have got that much work and more employment would have been created. Therefore, the point is that every effort has to be made to coordinate different sectors, different policies, it may be diesel engines or the bread manufacturing machinery.

The rate of return on each project of investment is studied always in isolation of the social benefit accrued.

This is the last point and I would finish. It is, therefore, necessary that there must be strict control towards the investments by the private sector. Here in this country the capital for investment is obtained at a very cheap rate. This also I have found while working on the Committee that we have offered funds at 8 to 9 per cent rate of interest while in foreign countries if you want to import sophisticated plant, you have to give them minimum 15 per cent rate of interest so that the investor is discouraged to invest money in a sophisticated type of machinery. Similarly, there must be a highly egalitarian tax system so that the existing spread in incomes is sharply reduced and narrowed down. There must also be standardisation of simple consumer needs and a very sharply accelerated production of such consumer goods in the public sector.

This is my last point. I have already stated about the public distribution scheme,

but it is not only the public distribution scheme, it is also the basic need that has to be taken care of. The minimum requirements of cloth, soap, bread or some such sensitive items of daily consumption have to be produced. If anybody wants to purchase toothpaste, let him purchase at the rate of Rs. 25 per toothpaste. If he wants to use our usual methods, he can do it. Such type of austerities standards have to be brought in. We find, Sir, unless . . .

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir) : Toothpaste is not a luxury item.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : No, No. What I want to say is that I do not want that the Ministers should work as clerks but the using of carpets, airconditioners and all such things. . . What is this? I do not want to go into slogans, I do not want to give a lecture here. These are the things for outside consumption but an austerity type of thinking should be evolved during the Fourth Plan to generate climate conducive to reduce disparities.

5 P. M.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this Mid-term Appraisal of the Planning Commission must strike different chords in different minds. In the minds of the Government it must be an agonising appraisal. In the minds of others who have been asked to examine it, it might be amusing or cynical, to say the best of it, critical. It must be an agonising appraisal to the Government because in all departments of economy, almost all, there has been stagnation and even deterioration. For instance, in agricultural growth, the Planning Commission estimate was a growth of % and it has gone a little beyond that. It has gone in 1968-69 to 5.2% and in 1970-71 to 5.5%. [THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI V. B. ROJU) in the Chair]

But in other departments there has been a downfall. In mining and quarry the estimate was 8% and the growth was 6% in 1968-69 and it has gone still further down to 1.2 in 1969-70. In large-scale manufactures the estimate was 9%. It has gone down to 5% in 1968-69 and to 2.2% in 1969-70. In small-scale industry the estimate was 5% growth. It

has fallen to 3% in 1968-69 and to 3.6% in 1969-70. Similarly in communications, the expected target was 7.9% growth. It has fallen to 4.4% in the first year and to 6.6% in the second year. In construction the estimate was 8.6% and it has fallen to 6% and in the second year to 3%. In Education and Health, so necessary for the country, the estimate of the Commission was a growth of 4%. It has fallen to 3% in the latter year. There has been a remarkable growth only in one sphere and that is in administration. From 2% growth estimated by the Planning Commission it has risen to 7% in one year and to 5% in another year. Of course part of this administrative growth is due to growth in Defence expenditure. None will grudge that because the security of the country is concerned but surely in civil administrative services, there can be a radical cut in the cost of administration, in the personnel in the administration. We expected that perhaps the Administrative Reforms Commission would look at the administration field from the point of view of the cost of the administration but in none of their reports did they pay attention to this important part of their terms of reference, namely, the reduction in the cost of administration.

Now, what are the causes of this stagnation? To my mind the radical cause is although the Plans are good, every single part of the Plan is good, there is no choice of priorities. In any Plan there must be a choice of priorities: there must be a hierarchy of priorities. First things should come first; those that are absolutely necessary must be done first and then the other parts of the economy may be attended to. To give only one instance of wrong priorities; large-scale industry gets an allotment in the Fourth Five Year Plan of Rs. 310 crores whereas small-scale industries which give employment to a large number of people and which will improve the infrastructure of the economy gets only Rs. 138 crores. It is this concentration on certain pet projects, on certain favourites, the large-scale industry, heavy industry, steel industry, it is this addiction to give priorities to these things that is the main cause of the stagnation and the slow growth in the economy. The Government and the Planning Commission have neglected the larger infrastructure, which is the rural infrastructure. It was with the object of

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

improving the rural infra-structure that I brought in last Friday my Resolution on employment. Of course that has been criticised from various standpoints. One criticism was that the Resolution aimed only at giving employment but giving employment in the matter of rural roads, in the matter of digging wells, in the matter of small-scale industries, in the matter of rural housing, means not only more employment but it would also incidentally increase the economic prosperity of the large number of people who are in the rural areas. Rural roads for instance will connect the farm and the village with the nearest market town and thus they will be able to lift the agricultural economy from the subsistence economy to market economy. It will benefit the farmer as well as improve the economic prosperity of the country. Similarly with regard to wells, it will help the rural agriculturists in improving their health and strength and consequently production. That is why I recommended that a large number of wells should be dug in the villages. So also small scale industries, so also rural housing. It is not merely a question of giving employment but it is to increase the economic prosperity of the country that I am concentrating on these small common measures which of course the Government is too lofty to stoop down to look at. My proposals last time were criticised by the Communist Member here as constituting *ad hocism*. Dr. Kurian clubbed both the Government and me together in a common condemnation. He said this was *ad hocism*, this trying small things, trying petty things, trying one reform at a time, going step by step was not good enough. It was too little for the idealism of the communists. As against my *ad hocism* he prefers whole hogism; that is Communism, trying to organise a great leap forward all at once. That can be done by revolution only whereas my proposals aim at reforms step by step, measure by measure, so that in course of about five to ten years the rural infra-structure, which is the broadest based infra-structure, may be built up. It is this reformism, in contrast to revolutionism, that will save the country and ensure a peaceful economic evolution. The reply of Government to my proposals was that although they were very good,

were very fine, were things that had to be done, the cost—they say—is enormous—Rs. 1500 crores. How within one week after receiving the notice of my Resolution the Government was able to arrive at this figure, I cannot understand. Is it by any kind of financial legerdemain that this estimate was arrived at? Or, was it by patiently looking at each of these proposals and their total cost? Most of these proposals were labour intensive, not capital depending, and so they would not cost as much as Rs. 1500 crores per year. And what is the provision made by Government for these proposals? They also believe in village roads. They also believe in digging wells to supply water for our villages. They also believe in small-scale industries they also believe in rural housing. And what is the provision they have made? Rs. fifty crores for one year. How on earth can any decent results be obtained from Rs. 50 crores for all these proposals, for village road-making, for digging wells to supply water, for promotion of small-scale industries, for modernising all small-scale industries, for rural housing? No doubt the Planning Commission time after time says with regret that rural housing has been neglected. So, a different attitude must be adopted by Government, a change of attitude, a change of heart, a change of mind, to concentrate on the little things, those that yield immediate results, quick results, so that within a period of five to ten years this broad-based infra-structure can be built up, and then you can take off to all those adventures that you are addicted to. A great change was necessary, a change of attitude, a change-over. The engine has to be reversed. It has to be put on a different track in order to achieve the progress that we all desire, and with the massive majority that the Prime Minister has at her back both in the Centre and in the States after having been successful as the pilot that weathered the storm of the war, and winning the election—on that war victory she has a massive majority behind her - she can dominate the Cabinet both at the Centre and in the States. She can reverse the engine if anyone can, and she has been pragmatic enough, realistic enough, concrete enough, for me to hope that she will do this, reverse the engine, reverse the attitude, give priority to what needs priority, build up a hierarchy of priorities and go according to that

hierarchy. Then alone can the Planning Commission and their plans be successful. Then only can the plans reach the target, namely, promoting the economic prosperity of the country as rapidly as possible.

.SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar)
: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, two of the hon. Members have advocated a reversal of the process of planning and suggested that the emphasis on heavy industries is not conducive to the general welfare of the country and that it is generally responsible for delayed development in all fields. I suggest that probably the hon. Members have missed to see what is happening in the country in the last two or three months particularly in the field of heavy engineering. Last month we read a report emanating from Ranchi that for the power plant we had a casting of 100 tonnes. The maximum possible in most of the Western countries is a 20-tonne casting. Now, this plant in Ranchi was always dubbed a fantasy and a wild dream. Now, fortunately it has started becoming a reality and it is coming true. If this heavy engineering plant alone takes shape and develops on the lines envisaged, much of the evil and much of the shortcomings can be got over.

Now, two problems, to my mind, are most important. One is the question of unemployment and the other is the question of power. Both are so vitally connected. Unfortunately they have not been taken up in that fashion and that has resulted in a little difficulty in the development of both. Now, Sir, in regard to unemployment, I will take the question of rural unemployment first. In the rural areas wherever it has been possible to extend irrigational facilities in the shape of pumps or through irrigation canals and so on, it has been possible to raise two crops and in many places three crops. The result has been that, whereas agricultural labour could be employed in those areas for only three and a half months before, now it is possible to employ them for ten months. Probably that aspect has been overlooked. Those are things which we have ourselves experimented with and which we are doing on our own. We have found that if it is possible and practicable for Government to extend the power facility and electrify

every village and every farm, then three-fourths of the problem of rural labour and agricultural labour will be automatically solved. Not only that. Rural electrification in its wake can generate many ancillary industries and lots of things can automatically crop up and become available. Of course, it is envisaged that in those areas help will be forthcoming in the shape of advances and so on and it will be possible to help them in setting up small scale industries. Even by itself if we are able to solve the problem of agricultural labour and keep them employed for about ten months, we will have done a tremendous job. For that purpose electrification, at the moment, is the problem which must receive top priority. Now, there is a certain amount of faulty planning in the field of power. We have seen that we have three plants in Hardwar, Bhopal and Trichy. In one place we are producing thermal plants of 100 mega-watts, in another of 120 mega-watts and in the third of 200 mega-watts. Now, if you have internal competition, that is the manner in which the capitalist economy grows. But where you have State planning you can do something. I have gone and seen all these three plants. I have discussed with the engineers, discussed with the workmen and the top men. We have realised the futility of doing the same thing over again. It can be done by keeping one machine working. The rest of the available capacity can be utilised for producing something else either in the one or the other. Now, if we keep these three plants working, then it should be possible to produce enough motors. If we keep the heavy engineering plant at Ranchi—at the moment it is suffering a loss of Rs. 10 crores a year—if only we are able to reshape our plant and so design that we give them enough orders to produce tubewells and pumps, then alone can that industry give you a profit of Rs. 36 crores annually. And there is enough order for 20 years. And 20 years it will take you to mechanise the whole country—the industry, the fields and the farms. Therefore, it is a question of integrating planning of agriculture as well as power, and it should not be difficult. If it was done, then the Ranchi factory would not be starved of order. You can produce and distribute everywhere so that the whole working can be carried out to the advantage of the country. For that not much effort is needed, and that can result in a very

[Shri D. P. Singh]

great advantage. That indirectly, therefore, solves the problem both of power as well as of unemployment.

After this, the question of engineers and other unemployed person? has to be tackled on a different footing. If you think of providing governmental service or jobs to engineers, then no nation has been able to do this, and this nation will never be able to do it. An engineer is expected to create his own job. What is necessary is, in his initial years you should be able to give him sufficient advances or sufficient means so that he can set up something of his own and do his business. Provide him with a liberal banking loan or other facilities. You should not worry so much about providing him with jobs. They will find their own jobs. It is only a question of arranging the villages in order, electrifying them, connecting them with roads, making agriculture and industry work properly and thereafter ancillary industries can develop on their own.

For (the purpose of growth or development of the country, again and again, the question of self-sufficiency comes up, and it is in that direction that every effort must be made. Everybody is convinced in this regard that there must be austerity, that we must do our utmost to conserve our foreign exchange, there must not be any lavish show, this and that. The Prime Minister the other day said that there should not be lavish parties and so on. Unfortunately, hon. Ministers of the Government are content with listening to what the Prime Minister said and also with repeating that there should be austerity, there should be no vulgarity. They never think that this is applicable to them also. It is shameful the manner in which they move about in their vulgar cars costing Rs. 70,000; hon. Ministers are moving about in them for going to meetings of half-starved and naked people, saying, "Garibi hatao we will do." They should themselves do it firstly. There is still time. They must take pride in the products of this nation. We produce our own cars. I have never seen an Englishman or a German riding in any other car except in what his country produces, whether they are rotten or third-rate cars. But this vulgar tendency of using only the Daimler or a big limousine from outside and saying

that otherwise it will not be consistent with the dignity or prestige of the Minister, is not right. This is how things are going on.

Sir, apart from this, when we think of conserving our foreign exchange, we must be very careful about what we are importing. Have we come to this to-day that even for a glass of shirbat we have to import things? Are we not ashamed that we have to import some concentrates because Coca-Cola is necessary consistent with respectability? Don't we have enough talent in this country? Have we to import capital even in the matter of hotels? There is enough capital, there is enough talent; even then we have been giving licences to the hoteliers, Hiltons and other big firms to come here. Now, what is the use of inviting tourists from abroad? They come and stay in their own hotels and then they go back. And the entire money goes back. How do we gain? It is in these matters that careful thought has to be given. What we import where we import foreign capital and so on have to be carefully considered.

Now, it is a good thing, Sir, that we are under pressure or under peculiar circumstances, whatever it may be: we are rid of PL-480 assistance; we are rid of foreign loans. And to-day the nation feels that we will be able to cope with the situation. Fortunately, we are also finding alternative avenues. In the last few months, we have also had pacts and we are also finding countries with whom we can integrate our trade and so on and so forth. Probably in that direction our trade has to grow so that our dependence on the traditional sources will lessen and this country will gradually attain self-sufficiency. That is all.

MEMBER SWORN

SHRI B. N. MANDAL (Bihar)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : For the information of Members tomorrow and the day after, the House will sit till 6 o'clock. The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 12th April, 1972.