

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2 p. m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-six minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

MOTION RE FOURTH PLAN MID-TERM APPRAISAL—Continued

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I take this opportunity to congratulate you personally on your election to this high office. I recollect today long association with you for long years, and the day in 1950 when I met you first in Madras when I went to attend the Socialist Party Conference. For all these years, I have known you and I have admired your qualities of head and heart. Please accept my congratulations on this occasion today.

Sir, we must also thank the Minister for Planning for giving us the opportunity, today, or these days, to make a mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Plan in order to examine where we have failed and, if possible, to suggest corrective measures. It is good that he has done it at the beginning of the year so that we can go ahead with a little more clearer thinking. But, Sir, this Mid-term Appraisal document has shown that we have failed to achieve the targets or make adequate and satisfactory progress on a number of items in a number of sectors, and they have also indicated in this document that by the time the Fourth Plan will come to an end it would not be possible to achieve the targets on a number of items. I naturally expected that the Planning Commission and the Planning Ministry would also clearly analyse the causes of our failure and suggested the corrective measures. They have suggested some but for myself I must say I am not satisfied with whatever corrective measures they have suggested. As a matter of fact, the basic causes have not been analysed at all. Anyway, I would leave it at that.

Sir, some programmes have been suggested for welfare measures like drinking water supply, rural housing, rural electricity, elementary education, health, sanitation, and all that. There is no doubt that all these programmes are very good and they

been long overdue. It is time that we undertake a massive programme of social welfare measures in order to do good to the people of the rural areas, to the poorer sections and backward classes all that, and therefore I welcome these measures. But then these welfare measures ultimately do not solve our problem. We have raised the slogan of *garibi hatao*. We want to banish poverty. We want to achieve self-reliance. We want to banish poverty from this land, to help the last men in the society to raise his standard of living, at least to make a giving. But I do not think all these social welfare programmes constitute an assault on poverty in this country. There may be supplementary programmes. They are quite good. I welcome them, but they do not constitute, as I said assault on poverty.

In this country our objective is "Garibi Hatao" banishing poverty. Therefore, the emphasis hence forward must be on production of goods of mass consumption, so that the poor, the backward classes, the neglected man and the last man in the society may be able to satisfy his or their daily needs. We have to provide him with two wholesome meals a day, a house to live in, some arrangements for health and hygiene and clothes to wear and all that. But production alone is not enough. Even we produce these things, even if we adopt a mass programme for production of such essential goods which are necessary for the masses, even if we succeed in doing that, the problem is not solved. We must side by side, simultaneously be able to provide purchasing power to the common man. Therefore, ultimately the question comes to one of solving the problem of unemployment and under-employment. That it becomes the basic question. In the ultimate analysis if we want to launch an assault on poverty the poorest man must be given the wherewithal by which he can earn a decent living, at least a minimum standard of living. Only then the whole programme will be meaningful and it will acquire some substance.

Some people believe and even the earlier Planning Commissions used to believe that economic growth alone would eliminate poverty and provide social justice. Experience has shown that it was an entirely wrong conception. During the last twenty years of planning we have certainly made some progress. In the matter of economic development some growth is there. There is no doubt about it. But the fruits of our economic deve-

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lopment have gone to a few in the upper strata of our society and the poverty of the masses has increased. Unemployment has grown manifold, disparities in the society have become wider and wider. So, growth or a rise in the GNP alone does not produce the result. In banishing poverty and social injustice the whole strategy was wrong from the very beginning. Therefore, we have to give some thought to a new strategy.

If we want to achieve our objective of growth with social justice, of banishing poverty and achieving self-reliance, we must take into account three basic factors in our socio-economic situation to day. Firstly, our resources are extremely limited, and we cannot afford to go on depending on external aid. Secondly, we have a huge population which is growing every year at a very high rate. Of course, the family planning programmes are there. But in my opinion they have not made any impact on those sections of the people and those masses of our population which should have had its impact. These programmes have been taken advantage of by the middle-class or the upper middle-class who even otherwise would have seen their way to restricting their families. Therefore, these programmes are not going to help unless and until the cultural and economic level of the broad masses is raised. For that we have to make a proper approach. The third factor that I want to point out is that the existing socio-economic structure not only perpetuates social injustice, but also stands in the way of rapid economic growth in the true sense of the term. Whatever the Planning Commission propose to do in the remaining part of Fourth Plan or in formulating schemes and programmes for the Fifth Plan, they must take three basic factors into account and set the strategy accordingly. If we want to achieve self-reliance, we must learn to depend upon whatever resources we can mobilise ourselves and plan our development programmes accordingly. If we want to ban poverty, our development programmes must be able to generate employment at a higher and faster rate and thereby the purchasing power of the people should be increased. Otherwise, social justice cannot be achieved. And the disparities cannot be narrowed down except by bringing about radical structural changes at the base of our socio-economic life.

These are the three basic factors as I have pointed out. Unless we take them into acc-

ount, plan accordingly and tackle them, I do not think we can make our effort successful, or succeed either in achieving self-reliance or in banishing poverty from this country. So, the basic strategy of our planning should be, to give priority to production of essential goods of mass consumption, to meet the basic minimum needs of the vast masses of our people with the aid of such science and technology, whether in industry or in agriculture, as would require a lower capital investment and would have a higher employment potential, I put this concrete proposal before the Minister. We must take the help of science and technology, no doubt, but such science and technology which will demand lower capital investment and at the same time will have a higher employment potential. In a country like ours, we have to depend more upon and make much more use of the human capital rather than the money capital which is in short supply. Once you adopt this strategy, structural changes become not only inevitable but also imperative. Take, for example, land reforms. Land reforms is not only a question of giving justice to the peasantry. Unless we complete the land reforms we cannot make the desirable progress in our agricultural field. Not only that. Once land reforms are completed, agriculture can go ahead and ultimately it can produce a surplus that will add to our resources very much. This is what some other countries have done.

Similarly, along with the land reforms, a strong and vigorous cooperative movement both in production as well as distribution has become necessary and these things must come automatically along with the strategy that I have suggested. Let me make it clear that science and technology must come to the aid of our industry and agriculture, but must come as an aid to human labour only to raise his productivity and not to displace him and throw him out of employment. The crux of the whole question is, large scale technology will certainly remain where it is absolutely indispensable and is demanded by the very nature of the mechanics of production. But the emphasis should be on an extensive use of medium and small-scale technology. And I think the National Committee on Science and Technology should start thinking about innovating such a technology, if there is none. This is the only basic approach which will help us in achieving self-reliance, in fighting poverty and in creating employment opportunities and in bringing about the necessary social changes

at the base. Sir, this strategy that I have suggested will generate productive activities on a large scale at the bottom, mass economic activities, which will not only create a base for further economic development but will also simultaneously lay the foundation of a structure on which we can build up the super-structures of socialism.

I have seen the Interim Report of the Bhagawati Commission regarding unemployment. They have made three very good suggestions, no doubt. But my own impression of the Report of the Commission is that this Commission has approached the problem in a very peculiar way, as if there are 1,000 people sitting outside and if you can provide them jobs, the problem is solved. That is not the way. We have to put into operation some measures which will not only provide jobs to those one thousand sitting outside today, but will generate such an economy which will develop the capacity to create further jobs for those who may come tomorrow or the day after. It is a continuing process. I do not think we are going to solve the unemployment problem in five years or ten years. It is a long-term process. It is a huge country, it is a huge population and there is a very high rate of growth of population. Therefore, although these programmes suggested by the Bhagawati Committee are quite good and welcome, still I do not think they will ultimately solve the unemployment problem in this country. We must adopt a long-term strategy and I have, Sir, very briefly suggested this strategy.

Now I come to the question of resources. Fiscal measures, of course, will always be necessary to mobilise resources. I will not discuss in detail the fiscal measures. I will have an opportunity later on when we discuss the Finance Bill. Fiscal measures are very important, I do agree, for mobilising resources. But if we want to create a dynamic element in our economy, if we want to develop an economy which will be self-sustaining and self-generating, then I submit that we will have to depend more on private and public savings for mobilising resources. I shall not go into details about what the present situation is in private savings and public savings. I shall take only public savings. Here in comes the role of the financial institutions. We have nationalised the banks. The LIC has been nationalised long ago. These banks, the LIC and other institutions are doing good work, I admit. In a very short span of time, the banks have expan-

ded their activities, a large number of branches have been opened and a number of schemes for credit facilities have been put into operation. I do agree. But, Sir, we are going slow in this matter. I would urge upon the Planning Minister to see that the facilities of these banks and other financial institutions reach the last man in the country, the remotest village, within the next two or three years. This is a very important instrument for mobilising resources.

Then I come to the public sector undertakings. The public sector industries should also be a source from which we should draw our resources. Not for nothing do we nationalise an industry. We nationalise an industry not only to bring about equality and to curtail monopoly, but also to create some institutions from which we can draw resources. But to-day the public sector industry, as everybody knows, is in a very bad shape. There may be hundreds of causes, but one basic cause why the public sector industries have failed to give us a surplus is the inefficient, incompetent and unimaginative management. Unless, Sir, we build up a special cadre of personnel who will not only have the managerial ability and competence but who will also be in tune with the ideas of socialism that we have placed before us, I do not think the public sector industries are going to give us much result. (*Time-bell rings*) Yes, I am concluding.

Then conspicuous consumption must be curtailed. I also insist that there should be a ceiling not only on income but also on expenditure. And as for myself, I would attach more importance to a ceiling on expenditure rather than to a ceiling on income. These are some of the ways that I have suggested for mobilising resources from the private and the public sectors.

Finally I will suggest only one thing. It is perhaps high time that we thought seriously whether in the interests of mobilising resources we should not nationalise monopoly capital as a whole, monopoly capital and foreign capital. I am yet to come across an argument which satisfies me why monopoly capital and foreign capital should not be nationalised. So my demand is this. It is not a question of demand. It is not a question of political slogan. It is not a question of dogmatism about socialism. It is a question of reality. If we want to have resources for our development—we are poor already—if we want to achieve self-reliance, if we do not want to depend upon external aid

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which comes with strings, we must straightway go in for nationalisation of monopoly capital and foreign capital.

Sir, since you have rung the bell already, I will come to a close just saying one sentence about prices and another about regional imbalances. Various measures should be taken to control prices. Unless we control prices, the rising prices not only erode the purchasing power of the poor man, the rising prices will also erode the physical targets of the Plan itself. The Plan might be of Rs. 5000 crores today, but if the prices are not controlled, it becomes Rs. 10000 crores tomorrow. So prices must be controlled and stabilised. Various measures have been suggested in this House and I would make one concrete suggestion myself. The State and the cooperatives must enter the trade in competition with the private trade. I do not want to eliminate private trade altogether. Let the State and cooperatives come in competition with private trade. Only then have prices a chance of stabilising.

Now I come to my last point, Sir, You will kindly excuse me for taking a minute. About regional imbalances many people have spoken here. I come from an area which is extremely backward, perhaps the most backward in this country today. I am talking of the area lying to the east of Bangla Desh. There are five States and two Union Territories today. We suffer from two basic problems: one, the Brahmaputra floods, and the other the lack of communication. Unless the Government takes serious and earnest measures to control the Brahmaputra floods, the economic development of that area, a planned development of that area, will be very difficult. And if you can control the Brahmaputra floods, you can supply power not only to those five States and two Union Territories, not only to Sikkim and Bhutan, but also to Bangla Desh. As regards the lack of communication we have been shouting here several times and I do not understand why the broad gauge line cannot be extended right up to Dibrugarh. It not only serves the people of Assam, it serves the people of Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and the entire area. Therefore, so far as my part of the country is concerned, in order to remove these regional imbalances, at least the Government should take some measures to control the Brahmaputra floods and convert the flood waters into power and extend the broad gauge line right up to Dibrugarh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) :
Sir, some four or five years ago we sent the Five Year Plan on a long holiday. We thought there would be some recuperation there during the holiday period, if nothing else. Now we find the Five Year Plan and the Planning Commission as a whole are in a state of coma, and the two doctors we have got sitting on the Treasury Benches do not know how even to administer oxygen to revive a little life. Therefore, what we are discussing is really an admission of failure on the part of the Planning Commission and the Government and the failure is due not to the incompetence as such of these people who man the Planning Commission but due to the policies of the Government which inhibit the Scientific, progressive and dynamic planning. We are in troubles because we have been systematically pursuing the capitalist path of development which in the present conditions does not offer a solution to any of the problems affecting the life of the people and of developing nation. We should have taken to the non-capitalist path of development. That realisation should have been dawned upon the Government, at least after a decade and five years of planning.

Sir, I do not say that the Plans in the past have not produced results. The Plans have to their credit achievements, but they have also failures on the debit side.

Today what characterises planning is its monumental failures in all direction. It is almost an admission to the people that we are not in a position even to draw up a Plan. We should have thought that after the departure or exit of Shri Asoka Mehta from the Yojna Bhavan there will be some effort for independent thinking. Today what we find there is not only complete absence of independent thinking, but there is also an attempt to adjust ideas to the dictation from certain quarters which are responsible for the sabotage of the Plan.

Now, therefore, we have to make a break with the past on some of the fundamentals where we have gone wrong. First of all let me start with the human aspect and the society for which we are planning. You should have in mind the welfare of the vast millions of people that we have embarked upon planning. You must start with some basic figures to know how they are faring

under this regime and particularly under planning.

According to the National Sample Survey one-third of our total population is living in absolute poverty. 82 per cent of our total population in our country are not in a position to spend even Re. 1/- a day. This has been stated by surveys carried out by government, semi-Governments and other agencies.

If you look at the unemployment, you will find today there are nearly 20 millions people who can be described as unemployed, not to speak of the vast millions of under-employed people in the country. Yet, at the end of the First Five Year Plan, the unemployment was of the order of 3.3 million. Therefore, the more the planning, the greater the unemployment. What greater condemnation of the present day plan by the Planning Commission is needed? Are we planning for creating more unemployment or are we planning for creating more and more employment opportunities so that at least the gap between those who enter the labour market and the opportunities created is narrowed down? We are going in the opposite direction. I do not know what will happen at this rate by the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan? I think they will succeed in turning out one half of the country's entire population unemployed by the end of the Tenth Five Year Plan, if they go at this rate. That is their progress.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, here is another aspect of the situation. Apart from unemployment, we have today the phenomenal growth of unemployment among the educated classes. This is another new gift of the capitalist planning of the Congress regime. Today there are more than 2.5 million people who are educated unemployed and the queue of unemployed persons is lengthening every day. Among them there are nearly 80,000 engineers of the country. We are supposed to be a developing nation committed to the remaking of the country. But we find our young talents, skilled technicians, engineers and scientists standing in the unemployed line seeking jobs and some are even going out of the country-although I do not support that.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, now look at the other side, namely, rural areas. Sixty per cent of our population in the rural areas are either without any land at all or with uneconomic holding. They are on the starvation line and they are subjected to the vagaries of nature and caprices of the exploiting classes.

And, Sir, they are subjected to the depredation of the capitalist market which has spread its tentacles there and to that has been added the new fad of development of capitalist farming which means intensification of the exploitation in the rural areas giving rise to social problems. That will not solve the problem of agriculture. On the contrary, that will give rise to social tensions and conflicts in our rural areas.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, as I have pointed out earlier, one-third of our population is living in absolute poverty and another estimate has been made that about a third of it spends only Rs. 15/- per month in the rural areas and Rs. 24/- per month in the urban areas. Now, it has been pointed out also in similar surveys that 60% of the entire population account for one-third of the total consumer expenditure whereas the top one-fifth, that is to say, 20% of the population account for 42% of the total consumer expenditure. This is a picture of growing socio-economic disparity. On the one hand, there is colossal wealth and on the other, there is abysmal poverty and yet, we talk about growth with social justice. In the present situation, to claim that this planning is leading to growth with social justice is a lie. It is neither growth nor justice. Growth is marginal, distorted unstable; and justice is at a heavy discount and so much injustice is staring the nation in the face to the everlasting shame of all of us who are committed to serve the nation and make the life of the common man somewhat bearable.

Now, Sir, let me come from that angle to some of the problems of planning. The problem of planning, to begin with, is a problem of investment as the capitalists say. In our terms, it is not only investment, but something else also. They have now added to it "growth with social justice". But, Sir, let us see how it works. As far as investment is concerned, the investment in the public sector under this Plan is not very much. It is really even worse if you take into account the rise in prices between the time when the Plan started and now and if you take into account the rise in prices, you will see that it really wipes out a part of the so-called Plan outlay in monetary terms. Now, Sir, we find that we are failing on this score because the tempo of development in the economic activity in the country cannot be maintained without the necessary investment in our economy. We are failing on the score of investment and we are also

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failing on the score of savings to which I shall come later. Today, what do we find? The rate of growth in 1969-70 was 5.3%; in 1970-71 it was 4.8%; and in 1971-72 it would not have even reached the figure of 4.8% may be 5% if you put it a little higher. Now, Sir, here I would like to make some observation straightaway. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, at the time of the Second Plan, told us in one of the Consultative Committees that in order to maintain the population at the present level of living, taking into account the rise in population, India needs a rate of growth of the order of 6 to 7% per annum. Sir, we have not attained that figure, but the population is rising at the rate of 2% per annum. Therefore, Sir, we have reached a stage when our rate of growth is falling behind the requirements of maintaining the population even at the existing level of living, not to speak of raising the standard of living today. This is a fundamental fact. There is no shying away from this fact and there is an attempt on the part of the Planning Commission and the Government to conceal this kind of fact with all kinds of statistical jugglery and political and economic sophistry. I should like hon. Members to consider whether we can maintain the present level of population as a whole unless the rate of growth is stepped up.

Now, much is said about agricultural production. Yes, agricultural production has gone up today. The growth is slightly more than 5.2 per cent or around that figure which is more or less what has been envisaged in the Fourth Five Year Plan. But then this is not the whole story. This is mainly due to the production of cereals, particularly wheat. Green revolution is responsible for it. But in our eyes the green revolution is not wholly responsible for it. After all, it has embraced only 7 per cent of the total irrigated areas in the country. It does not embrace vast areas under plough. Besides this, it is also due largely to successive good weather and also due to the fact that there has been the use of pesticides, fertilizers and so on. But the vast millions of our peasantry, who are tilling this land, the tillers of the soil, the creators of wealth, are not getting the benefit of the facilities that goes to our rural economy in funds or in kind or the benefits of increased agricultural production. They suffer also as sellers in the market. And this is what has happened.

But here again what about the other commercial crops? There is stagnation. There is no such rise or rise is very nominal and unstable. Therefore, I say that when you talk about agriculture, do not try to take credit merely by pointing to the overall figure, without analysing what is happening in all sectors of agricultural production.

Now, therefore, I say that there also the Planning Commission has really failed to a great extent. We welcome the improvement in agricultural production. That is due to the toil of our peasantry. Despite all privations, sufferings, disease, hunger, humiliations and social oppression, they are today producing foodgrains in our country and serving the nation to an extent. But what about the men at the top and landlords and other classes, who are encouraged by certain Chief Ministers and who are sometimes even encouraged by certain Government policies, as we understand it, at the State level and at the Centre?

Then, come to the industrial sector. Well, modern economy should produce a better industrial sector than we have today. Our target of growth was 9 per cent. Our performance is about 3 per cent. At the rate of 3 per cent per annum, do you think we are going to modernize our economy? The target was 9 per cent. This is a modest target. But we have failed to achieve that target. Not only that, 50 to 60 per cent of the installed capacity in the country remains idle due to the mismanagement and due to sabotage and other activities on the part of the monopolist classes. Closures, as has been pointed out in the House, have taken place in West Bengal. But 43 per cent of the closures are due to the mismanagement and other malpractices on the part of the employer, and not due to industrial disputes, so-called or otherwise. Well, that has happened. Now we are not doing anything to stop this thing. Therefore, I say that if you look at the industrial sector, if you look at the agrarian sector, our performance is condemnation of the policies of the Government, is condemnation of the capitalistic path.

Capitalism has reached a stage today when it is not in a position even to ensure a balanced development, or maintain such rate of development, of our economy. This is what has happened to capitalism today. We

talk about Socialism but build Capitalism. Socialism is treated like a fashionable lady cosmates and capitalism is a fact of hard life. Licences are given to industrial tycoons in disregard of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act and the Monopolies Commission. And we have the Prime Minister telling us in her inaugural address : Do not try to witch-hunt them ? Is Birla a witch that we can run and hunt him ? Such gentlemen are tycoons vultures and if such people are not taken care of, the national economy can never improve. Why should the Prime Minister state, "Do not prosecute them for small blemishes ?" It was a fantastic speech for a Prime Minister to have made and I find Mr. Moinul Haque Choudhury getting a green signal from the Prime Minister and distributing different permits and licences to these people. Is this the way to build up economy ? I should like to know this.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, let us come to the brass tacks. Coming to savings, I would ask : Where can you get savings ? Our domestic saving has stagnated around 8 per cent or so when actually by now we should have been able to raise it to about 14 per cent or so.

Why have we failed ? It is because we have no control over our economy, because the vast agricultural sector is not being brought under real planning and the resources from that sector are not being tapped. It is because the now additional agricultural income which is being generated is not being duly tapped by taxation. Then there are other reasons also. Some of our Chief Minister in the States and some parties, including the ruling party, will rely on the good will and political support of landlords and others. Therefore, at the alter of their political support is sold national interest ; otherwise we would have realised, we would have raised large resources from the country side. We are not doing either. I hope something will be done about it.

About monopolist, may I know what has happened to them ? Well, the Planning Commission does not seem to know that the people who are called the monopolists are the Birlas and the Tatas. They are not innocent as the Members of the Planning Committee. What has happened ? At the time of the Monopolies Commission, it was pointed out that 75 of their families possess industrial assets of the order of Rs. 2600 crores. Today after the

Monopoly Commission, after the plethora of talks against monopolists, their assets have risen to about Rs. 6,000 crores or may be a little less. This is what has happened. Here again it is the Tatas and the Birlas who have fared under the regime when we are supposed to build up socialism. Here are the figures relating to industrial assets of the Birlas :

Year			Assets Rs.
1955	..	..	65 crores
1958	..	..	159 crores
1964	..	..	293 crores
1968	..	..	576 crores

It went straight up. There is no question of slackening. Here is the figure relating to the Tatas. At the commencement of the Plan in the year 1952, it was Rs. 51 crores. In 1958 it was Rs. 389 crores, in 1964 it was Rs. 418 crores and in 1968 it was 585 crores. The Tatas and the Birlas, two big tycoons, put together, today possess Rs. 1161 crores of industrial assets. Who plans ? Do they plan or you plan ? Mr. Deputy Chairman, in this connection, may I point out that whereas their share in industrial assets of the country was barely 45 or 47 per cent, today this has gone to 57 per cent. If this is their share, what has happened to your Directive Principles ? What has happened to your slogan of reducing concentration of wealth and economic power ? Is the planning not meant for these people ? Therefore, I say that this is another aspect which the Government should keep in view. I need not go into details because it takes time, but it has brought to us one conclusion. Unless there are structural changes in our economy, unless we nationalise the monopoly houses and carry out radical agrarian reforms, we would not be in a position to produce any worthwhile planning in this country to get rid of all these things. Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is there where we failed. What has happened to our foreign aid and foreign capital ? There is bonanza for foreign capital. In 1948, in June, the foreign investment in the country was of the order of Rs. 256 crores. Today it is nearly Rs. 1300 crores and then as a result of this, by way of profits, dividends, royalty, commission, etc. they come to about Rs. 100 crores. How are you going to find the resources ? There is no attempt even to come to grips with the problem. On the contrary they are trying to get more of this kind of assistance from abroad from the foreign imperialists. More than three thousand collaboration agreements have been signed with the Western countries. As a result

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this menace in the country has grown. As a result our technical know-how has not been developed. As a result we lose every year by way of commission several crores and yet, recklessly the collaboration agreements with the foreign countries are being signed without any care for restraint on it. There is some check but this is systematically going on. Why some of the consumer goods in the country should be left to be produced under collaboration agreements when our Industrial resources, our technical know-how are in a position to produce such goods I cannot understand. Yet that is being done. Letters of intent are being issued freely by this Government. I suggest therefore that oil should be nationalised. Why textile and sugar industry in the hands of the monopoly houses should not be nationalised and what comes in the way? We did not carry out the 25th Amendment of the Constitution and this particular amendment to be put in the museum or to be shown as an exhibit to the world at large. We wanted this weapon in our hands to carry out the vigorous policy of nationalisation. Now that the clause for compensation is gone and you can give whatever amount you like when you nationalise, why are you hesitating to nationalise these monopoly concerns as it has been suggested I cannot understand. Unless there is nationalisation of the monopoly concerns you shall not be in a position to plan. Some years ago we were told about the commanding heights of our economy. What happened to that? It seems our Ministers are standing at the foot-hills whereas the capitalists are sitting at the apex of our economy lording it over in our economic life, dictating terms, indulging in malpractices and corruption and holding the economy to ransom with the help of the ICS people. Where can you get resources? Here is an interesting thing. I am very much interested to point out to you something. I have Mr. G. D. Birla's Income-tax return. Here is Mr. Birla's Income-tax, Wealth Tax. Mr. Birla is supposed to be a rich man in the country, surely richer than Mr. Dharwadkar or Mr. Subramaniam. Mr. Birla paid Wealth Tax in 1965-66 Rs. 8. Even you can pay a little more Wealth Tax if you are here in the office for some little time. In 1966-67 Mr. Birla did not pay any Wealth Tax and he became an East Bengal refugee. In 1967-68 Mr. Birla was good enough to pay Rs. 178 as Wealth Tax. In 1968-69 Mr. Birla was kind enough to raise it to Rs. 390 and in 1969-70 to Rs. 366.45. Gift Tax Mr. Birla

has only paid in one year Rs. 6000. Capital Gains Tax in all these years only Rs. 752. You can understand this. Who is going to believe this? I have the other great Birla brother of his. Their Wealth Tax is declining and I have shown you that their assets are increasing. The Wealth Tax is declining. What is the magic in it? Only Mr. Moinul Haque Chowdhury can tell us perhaps but somebody like Mr. Choudhury should treat us with a lecture as to how the Birla assets grow up and Wealth Tax falls, the Capital Gains Tax falls and the Expenditure Tax and Income-tax fall. All are here. So where can you get the resources from? At the same time we find the common man has been taxed and we find Rs. 2300 crores are being raised as additional tax under Excise Duties and so on. Therefore from where can you get the resources? You do not tax the rural rich; you do not tax the monopolists. You do not have a public sector which will produce revenues for your budgetary and developmental expenditure because you would not nationalise the monopoly concerns and at the same time you allow your public sector to be run by ICS bureaucrats and those who do not know how even to spell 'public sector'. That is what is happening. Therefore I say: where is your planning. What are you doing? Is it to mark time? Mr. Subramaniam should realise that he has to break from the entire approach.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is important to have good industrial relations and labour policy. Need-based minimum wage should be accepted. Only yesterday there was a meeting of the Consultative Committee on Finance and there I suggested and everybody supported that there should be a maximum for the salary paid to the high officials and also a minimum wage and that should be the need-based minimum. Where is your planning? Unless there is incentive to labour you cannot mobilise the labour force. It is important today that we mobilise our labour force for creative labour. That you cannot do by making election speeches; that you cannot do by giving sermons to them. You have to give them material incentives in order to make them work and put in creative labour in a much bigger way. On the contrary we have no provision to give even a living wage, need-based minimum wage, to the vast millions of labourers or even so the six million Government employees in the country. Therefore this is not the way to plan.

Then there is the question of foreign dependance. (*Time bell rings*) I am just finishing. There is also the question of black money. Black money we shall discuss but how are you going to tackle the problem of black money? The plan is a prisoner of black money it seems and there is no man courageous enough sitting there even to tell the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister of the country that if you want to tackle the black money in the first instance you have to start with demonetisation. But they will not do demonetisation because the monopolist class will not like it. That is the only reason for avoiding demonetisation which has become an urgent necessity. It is a life and death question for us and the Wanchoo committee has reported that in the year 1968-69 tax evasion took place of the order of Rs. 1400 crores and yet we find the Government is taking no measure to mobilise resources from there.

At the same time our foreign dependance continues. What has happened to the PL 480 funds? Rs. 1800 crores have accumulated there but Rs. 300 crores have been left at the disposal of the US Embassy and other establishments for expenditure by them. And everybody knows how the money is spent. The money goes to Rajasthan or Maharashtra in order to be spent in elections to bolster the chances of some reactionary rightist candidates in the election. Mr. Deputy Chairman, our foreign debts have risen to the order of Rs. 9000 crores. Rs. 6000 crores are payable in foreign exchange and every year we are spending on account of debt servicing, by way of interest and capital charges, Rs. 500 crores. Today one-third of our export earnings are to be set apart or spent for meeting the debt liabilities. Here again the export targets have not been achieved. As far as exports are concerned, the so-called export promotion has been utilised by the monopolist class to accumulate licences, letters of intent and indulge in corruption. Where is your planning? The foreign trade should be taken over hundred per cent in order that all the export and import trade comes in the hands of the nation. Similarly, the wholesale trade in foodgrains should be taken over by the State. We hear much about agricultural prices, experts will decide that but do not yield to the pressures of the landlords and the kulaks. Decide the price in the interests of the national economy in the interests of the toiling peasantry. With that idea there should be consultation between the Government and those representatives who are in a competent position to render good

advice on behalf of the toiling peasantry. So I need not go into all these things. Many facts can be given.

Finally before I end, may I make one or two observations by way of concluding remarks to our friends? Mr. Dharia is a smiling friend, and Mr. Subramaniam is not so smiling a friend but his heart may smile somewhere—I do not know; that I am not supposed to know. To know the heart of a man is the privilege of others, not me. Now, first of all scrap this Fourth Five-Year Plan. Bury it ceremonially. It has buried itself in shame and ignominy, Bury it ceremonially. Draw up a new Plan keeping in view the social objectives which must give the pride of place to elimination of monopoly houses, to radical agrarian land reforms, which means land to the tillers who toil, by bringing down the ceiling and removing the exemptions and so on. We should control the prices and indeed bring down the prices. We should go in for an all-out fight against unemployment, and we should remove the tax burden on the common man, and get the resources from the exploiting classes, which would mean *Arthik Swaraj* in the sense that there should be a strategy to eliminate foreign exploitation and plunder to which I have made a reference, and also to reduce the dependence on foreign aid, especially from imperialist quarters. And today, therefore, we should declare—and we shall be within our right to declare—a moratorium on the foreign debts that we have received from imperialist countries. These are the steps that are needed, Mr. Deputy Chairman. Let these steps be taken. Let there be bold thinking and rethinking. Unless we abandon this capitalist path of development, unless we go in for restructuring our economy by structural changes, unless we decide once and for all that we shall declare an assault on privilege, wealth and economic power in the interests of this great nation, we shall be nowhere near the situation where we can even think of planning for the nation and for the masses. Therefore, the challenge is big, and the challenge is that the mandates of the two general elections, last year's and this year's have given you the right and the duty to do so. Let not the mandate be defied. What you have promised to the ears must not be broken at the heart. And that is why I ask the Government, Shrinati Indira Gandhi in particular because in this Government only she matters; others are satellites around the star. Now only she matters and therefore I say as one who has stood by the Government in critical

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

days when they were fighting bravely, to the pride of all of us, the Rightist forces in the country. That was a glorious and noble fight. The Rightists were routed from the political life of the country in two elections. Let us now implement the slogan of *garibi hatao* by routing monopoly capital from our economic life, by routing vested interests, landlord interests, foreign capitalists, from our economic and social life. Let this battle be joined now. I know what I am saying is the sentiment of every Congressman who stands for progress. Other bad elements may be there but I know I am not speaking in the partisan outlook. I am speaking the voice of the nation, a voice shared by Congressmen, not in one, but in two elections, a voice which found the language when the Prime Minister addressed public meetings with the slogan of *garibi hatao*. What happened to it now? Must we allow one thing to be said at public meetings and another thing to be done later? Udyog Bhavan should respect the mandate of the people. Let it be written in the Yojana Bhavan—I am sorry I mentioned Udyog Bhavan wrongly; Udyog Bhavan is a den of corrupt people—let it be written in the Yojana Bhavan: “Down with monopoly capital. Down with landlordism.” Let it be stated that *garibi hatao* means “Tata Birla monopolists *hatao*.” Let it be translated in terms of policy, in terms of measures, in terms of action. Let it also be said full-throatedly, without reservations, that the purpose of our planning, of our economic development, would be to remove unemployment, to lift the millions of our people from the degradation of a life of poverty, of unemployment, disease and suffering into the limelight of better, prosperous, joyous and honourable life. Let us go there to lift the common man from his slum and hovel and put him under the light of a new civilization and a modern industrial economy that we want to build in our country. Therefore, I say, hell with the capitalist path of development. Go forward with the structural reforms and the social and economic transformation in our economy. That is the mandate of the people. That is what we expect. All of us who stand for the mandate of the people shall in one voice join together in compelling this Government to abandon the discredited path of capitalist development and policies which distort planning, sabotage planning and also the measures which are standing in the way of planning. Let us turn a new leaf and that is the challenge. I hope the

discussion will be fruitful if we move in that direction. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING (SHRI MOHAN DHARIA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I would like to express my feeling of gratitude for the very high level of discussion on the Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal. I am also thankful to certain Members who expressed their love and particularly for the love that came from my colleague, Mr. Chandra Shekhar. The Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal is a fair appraisal on behalf of the Planning Commission and while coming before the House we have taken care to see that we produce what exists in the country and the facts are narrated without any reservations whatsoever. We are aware of the shortfalls. At the same time, we felt that we should go before the hon. Members of both Houses with the shortfalls as they exist today and also before the country, so that their guidance, their observations and their suggestions would be of great use to us in formulating the next Plan and in taking more precautions. As rightly pointed out by my senior colleague, Subramaniamji, the paramount imperatives are: (i) increasing employment that will lead to fuller employment; (ii) larger provision for the fulfilment of the basic needs of the common man; and (iii) increased self-reliance. Whenever we say ‘self-reliance’ doubts are expressed by many. I feel that self-reliance is the freedom from dependence on foreign aid and along with that it is the creation of the indigenous capacity to meet the requirements essential to fulfil the acceptable minimum standard living of society and also to meet the further requirements of the ever-increasing acceptable standards as they go up higher. When we speak of these three imperatives naturally we have to go through several disciplines. Mention was made about the commanding heights. Mention was made of the monopolists in the country. Mention was made of the severe social and economic disparities. We are well aware of these disparities and the monopolistic trends in the country. Here in this Fourth Plan Mid-term Appraisal we have made a special mention of it. Along with these imperatives we cannot forget the growing population in the country. I consider that the rate is too high of our population where 55,000 babies are born every day. Assuming that about 14,000 or 15,000 persons die, the net

addition is to the tune of 40,000 persons every day. And whatever may be the rate of growth, whatever may be our planning, it will not be possible for us to come out of the present state of agony and to achieve all that we desire. It is on this ground that we shall have to think of all these imperatives. Also while we have all these imperatives, we cannot forget that while we want growth, there are also many countries which have obtained new heights of growth but where it has not been possible for them to render social justice. I can quote France. In the regime of De Gaulle who was its President, the rate of growth had reached nearly 18 per cent. But at the same time, the increase in unemployment every year was about 30 per cent. So it is not that the rate of growth is necessarily followed by social justice. And therefore we are determined that we want growth along with social justice. We want development but development with employment and employment through development is the new strategy that we would like to have.

Several eminent Members have rightly pointed out about the shortfalls in our economic growth rate. We entirely share their anxiety. And the present shortfall particularly in the industrial rate of growth, shall have to be dealt with by all possible forces at our command. Sir, in the case of agriculture, there is no doubt that we have done well. But we cannot forget that there are some cash crops, may be cotton, may be oilseeds, may be jute, where it was not possible for us to achieve those targets which were fixed. But I am happy to tell the House that we have taken special measures, taken up some crash programmes and within these two to three years this country will be self-sufficient so far as cotton, oilseeds and jute are concerned.

Sir, so far as agricultural reforms or land reforms are concerned, the Planning Commission is equally anxious to see that these reforms are carried out everywhere. We received some sermons also yesterday. But let us not forget the whole character of our country. The Constitution which we have adopted provides for various State Governments, and Agriculture and Land Reforms are the subjects of the State Governments. It is through persuasion and not through coercion, that we can have land reforms. I do not want to quote any discussion that has taken place on the floor. . . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : Will the hon. Minister see that in land reforms implementation, uneconomic holdings are avoided ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Yes, Sir. That is the strategy, and that is the reason why we have been insisting on the lowering down of land ceilings.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : What is the need for . . .

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, if there are some queries, I am prepared to reply to them, which will be a matter of privilege and honour for me. But the hon. Member should first listen to my speech. Otherwise, it will not be possible for me to go ahead with the speech and perhaps, I may require much more time than has been allotted to me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member is going to speak later.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : So far as the land ceilings are concerned, the ruling party is not only anxious but it is absolutely serious about it and when we went to the polls, whether in 1971 or in 1972, it is the programme that we placed before the people that . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want you to be serious. Now, you are a Minister. You advise the Chief Ministers. The Chief Ministers are here. Tell them that if land ceiling is not implemented within six months, they shall be sacked in the way she has sacked some Ministers. Say that. That will work.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I can assure the House that without sacking the Chief Ministers, the Congress Party will see to it that these land reforms of which we assured the people, will be properly implemented. Those days are gone. There is a new change within the party itself and the country. I entirely agree with the feeling of my colleague, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, when he said that, this new change has been brought about in the country by the various socialist forces that acted in the country and that the mandate given by the people shall have to be accepted by those who are in authority in all the States wherever they are. Sir, I can only assure this House that I entirely agree with their anxiety. Government is equally anxious and serious and Government shall take care to see that these land reforms which are

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assured to the people are properly implemented. Along with land reforms there are several other questions also. As was rightly pointed out by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, there are nearly 60 per cent people in rural areas who do not have even the subsistence level of living. What do we do with them? Along with lands we shall have to provide some alternative income for them. And what can be done? Here we are very much interested to see that these schemes for small farmers or marginal farmers which we have taken up as a pilot project, are properly implemented. If there are any draw backs or lacunas, let us see what the drawbacks are, what the short-falls are, and try to remove them so that we can take up such schemes on a massive scale and help these people who are not getting even the subsistence level of living in the rural areas. Sir, regarding industrial production...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Monopolies.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : ... and monopolies, too, I would like to clarify in the beginning itself. . .

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM) : I do not think Bhupesh Gupta should preach monopoly to Dharia.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Sir, I would like to clarify at the outset that when we speak of a socialist economy, the commanding heights of the economy shall have to be controlled by the public sector and we cannot allow any monopolists to have the heights under their control. And the Government is determined to take steps against such monopolists. Sir, regarding the industrial policy, as was again rightly pointed out by several Members, the industrial rate of growth has come down to nearly 3 per cent. Now, the real challenge in the country to-day is, how do we bring under proper utilisation the capacities already installed, whether legally or illegally. Let this House not forget that they are the property of the society and we shall have to take all possible care to see that these capacities are brought under use. At the same time, please allow me to say that if, with lesser investment, these capacities can be expanded, it should be our endeavour to see that these capacities are expanded and that, too, in time. While expanding these capacities or utilising these capacities, I can very

well understand three types of control—price control, quality control and management control. And when I say management control it is not only control the Government along with the private management but also control the working classes through the participation in management of the workers working in those industries. How can we introduce this system so that we do not allow the monopolies to grow and at the same time we take care that these capacities which exist in the country to-day are properly exploited in the interest of the society? We are well aware of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Re-write it ; change it.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I am coming to it. In this country there is a public sector and there is a private sector; and there is also a joint sector. But you may be surprised to know, or may be Members are aware, that the co-operative sector has not been properly emphasised in the Industrial Policy Resolution. It is taken for granted that the co-operative sector is part of the private sector. I entirely differ with this view as it exists in the present Industrial Policy Resolution. It is high time for us to see that we establish a proper relationship between the public sector, the joint sector, the private sector and the co-operative sector. Here again, Sir, I would like to place some factors for consideration regarding the relationship between the large-scale industries and the small-scale industries and also the village industries. Sir, with lesser investment we can employ more people and we can produce more from our small-scale industries. But unfortunately, up to this stage, please allow me to say, we have not given that emphasis which we should have given. And therefore, if this fibre of our industrial policy is to be properly woven, I have no doubt in my mind that this present industrial policy resolution shall have to be changed and a new policy resolution shall have to be drafted and while drafting that new resolution care shall have to be taken to see that the commanding heights always remain in the hands of the public sector and no opportunity is given to the private sector .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : How?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Again while expanding the public sector...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not ex-

panding ; you cannot achieve commanding heights without a vigorous policy of nationalisation. That is the most important thing. Say what you used to say as a private Member here.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I was just mentioning this point because I felt that in this country there is a lot of misunderstanding on the joint sector. It was our demand when I was a Member of this august House—and I always feel proud that I was a Member of this House—that wherever the public financial institutions have advanced loans to the private sector, those loans should be converted into equity capital and thereby the Government should take its hold, and the whole concept of joint sector as it has come in the country today is based on that demand which the Government has accepted, and when the Government accepted that demand of ours, now to come and criticise as to how this joint sector is coming up in the country is, I think, something strange...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : May I seek a clarification ? You have said we had been suggesting that the loans should be converted into equity capital. Do you think that Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, did not mean that ? She could have easily said that we shall convert our loans into equity share and thereby we shall say...

(Interruptions).

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Let the Minister complete first.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Minister, are you yielding ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Dharia, I have got her speech with me. Do not take the risk of writing a commentary on Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I am not taking the risk of writing a commentary, I am trying to properly interpret what the views of the Prime Minister are...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Say that. I know.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : So, I was referring to the industrial policy resolution and I do feel that so far as the present industrial policy resolution is concerned, it shall have to be reoriented. At the same time let us not forget the experience of the other

world also. Incidentally, Mr. Deputy Chairman, along with you I had the opportunity of visiting East Germany...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not East Germany, German Democratic Republic.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : All right, I concede it. Sir, when we visited the German Democratic Republic—it was perhaps four years back—we came to know that there were nearly 5000 undertakings where the Government had directly entered into a partnership with the private entrepreneurs...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. First of all, he has taken your name that he went along with you. It would have been all right if he had said I had gone there. Your name is unnecessary there. I had also been there five times although he had not been with me.

These are small things. All major industries are in the public sector. A little shop here, a little grecery there, these add up to some number. Mr. Dharia, there is no Tata, no Birla, no 75 families...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is not a point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, what did you see there ? A point of order is there because he is misleading us by taking your name.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : There is no desire for misleading the House. I am only saying that if out of these new experiments we can combine the talent in the country without allowing any monopolistic trends to grow, with the investments in the country, we should not be much worried over that. We should really view the situation and benefit out of the experiences even of the communist countries. That way my suggestion. I was submitting to the House that the Planning Commission has certainly taken note of the various points being mentioned here since yesterday...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And my amendments also.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Yes. Your amendments are a speech by themselves. Now I would like to draw the attention of the House to page 21 of Volume I of the Fourth Plan Mid-Term Appraisal...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which para ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Para 32. I quote :

"Steps will have to be taken to accelerate the rate of growth of agricultural and industrial production to achieve the postulated rate of growth in national income. To maintain price stability, the growth of money supply will have to be kept in check. Both fiscal and monetary policies will have to be used in an integrated manner for this purpose."

Then in paragraph 34 it says :

"A greater measure of financial discipline will have to be introduced if resource mobilisation is to take place under conditions of monetary and price stability. The Central and State Governments will have to exercise restraint on increases in avoidable expenditures and strengthen revenue collection machinery. Effective steps will have to be taken to prevent the States from incurring unauthorised overdrafts for financing their excess Plan outlays or increases in non-Plan gaps. Restraint will also be necessary on the grant of further pay increases or dearness allowance to Government employees, although this task will become easier, if, as a result of the other policies recommended, prices remain stabilised at the current level. Every effort will have to be made to maximise resource mobilisation from non-tax sources.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) in the Chair.]

For this purpose, it will be necessary to adopt policies and measures aimed at restraining increases in private consumption, enlarging the volume of private savings and promoting their flow into productive uses. This would necessitate the extension of the activities of institutions like banks, LIC and postal savings banks, particularly in rural areas, and adoption by these institutions of attractive schemes for mobilising agricultural surpluses. New devices like rural debentures may be tried for encouraging voluntary plough-back of surpluses with the farmers into productive schemes. It will be necessary to regulate investment policies of financial intermediaries like banks, LIC and the Employees' Provident Fund and an understanding reached that their

policies do not cut into their contribution to Plan resources. Wherever necessary, e.g., in the case of banks, the statutory ratio of investment in Government and approved securities may have to be raised to ensure that the stipulated share out of the enlarged resources of these institutions becomes available for the Plan."

Then in the next paragraph it says :

"The contribution of public enterprises as now estimated shows a large shortfall as compared to the original estimates. Effective steps for increasing their operational efficiency, promoting better utilisation of capacity, ensuring satisfactory maintenance of plant and equipment and improving inventory control, management and industrial relations are urgently called for."

I was really sorry yesterday when I was listening to the speeches of various hon. Members because some of them said that the Planning Commission had not taken note of these factors. In fact, after taking note of these, the Planning Commission have narrated these views in the document. It is on these matters that we would like to have guidance from the House. I may point out that in this country today there is no question of accepting democratic socialism as the goal. That exactly is the mandate of the people. I was one of the members of this House who used to give sermons on socialism because in those days a battle on ideology was on. That battle on ideology is now over. The ideology has been accepted and now a new battle for reconstruction has started in this country. When this battle of reconstruction has started, what we expect today is not some sermons on socialism. We expect constructive ideas from the hon. Members so that they can give us more vigour and strength which will encourage us to go ahead in order to have proper implementation of the Plan and the socialist philosophy in this country.

I was saying regarding industrial relations. I have no doubt in my mind that workers' participation in management has become one of the most important imperatives in the country and unless and until that feeling of involvement is created in the minds of the employees, it will not be possible for us to expect our workers to play a better role in the country. I would like to submit to this House that while we are

facing strains on our economy and when we want to go ahead with our programme of self-reliance and more growth in our industry and more production in agriculture, at least for ten years to come, this country cannot afford to have either strikes or lock-outs. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Again I repeat that this country cannot afford to have. . .
(*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Please do not advert to strikes. It will be a very sad day. .

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : You have not listened. .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why did you start wrong ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Do not worry. I will start from the right end. Your listening is somewhere wrong.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : How can I listen from the wrong ?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : This country cannot afford to have strikes or lock-outs for at least ten years. .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : First stop monopolistic exploitation, plunder, corruption and bureaucracy. After that you say what you like.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I accept this amendment of Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

Madam, when I make this statement, I am well aware of the pious right of the workers to strike and there is no question whatsoever of banning strikes. We have to create conditions whereby the worker should feel, "Why should I go on strike ? If I go on strike, ultimately I mar the progress of my country and the society" and these conditions shall have to be created. Then, naturally the present role of the industrialists and monopolists shall have to be effectively curbed and the present Industrial Disputes Act which is falling short and it does fall short shall have to be amended. All possible care should be taken to see that proper justice is rendered to the working classes and that too without delay. If this precaution is taken, I have no doubt that it will be possible for us to avoid strikes in the country and I am now sure that by this time Shri Bhupesh Gupta would have understood, what I wanted to say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Some little sense is there now.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Madam, if we can create this sort of feeling in the country, I have no doubt that the present capacities that are lying idle today could be brought under use and even the present capacities could be expanded with due controls which I have mentioned earlier. We can thus give a good lift to the industrial production and that is the need of the day. Without adding to our industrial and agricultural production it will not be possible for us to have either social justice or growth and, therefore, I am here to urge that we should evolve a plan so that we can give that impetus to achieve the industrial and agricultural production.

Madam, we have been urging for multi-level planning. It was commented here that this has been said for the last several years. It is true. It is not enough to have only the Planning Commission at the national level, but it is necessary to have planning bodies at lower levels also. We are trying to persuade the State Chief Ministers and I am happy to say to this House that we have already started that exercise and we are getting very good response from the various State Chief Ministers. Fortunately, several Chief Ministers are here in Delhi for some other deliberations and we are utilising that opportunity also for having discussions with them so that they can create this mechanism of multi-level planning in the States also. A point was raised that if it is to be done, then, we shall have to give away the power from the Central Government. I do not think that it is necessary and I do not feel that we should give some more powers to the State Governments, because they cannot implement the plans. On the contrary, if my need at all is there, it is for the decentralisation of power at the State level. Some States have accepted the Zila Parishads and the Panchayat Samitis, but some States have not accepted this philosophy and if at all they accept this philosophy, they feel that the collectors should be the heads of the Zila Parishads or the Mamlatdars or the Revenue Officers should be the heads of the Panchayat Samitis. But, Madam, may I urge on the Members of the Rajya Sabha as the representatives of the various States that in their own States they should create this atmosphere that they should have decentralisation of power and that too in a scientific way. Then the people will feel that they are involved in

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planning? I think perhaps such a mechanism will help in the proper implementation of our plans at the State level.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh) : But this decentralisation should not lead to more decentralisation.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Madam, while we are working in the Planning Commission, it is true that during the course of one year we have been doing several exercises in that direction. What we feel is that such exercises were necessary, because without people's participation in planning it is not possible to implement the plans properly and, therefore, how we can involve more and more people in this process of planning was the problem before us. We started our dialogue with the various political parties and with the various Members of Parliament . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You consulted our party and in the document that you have now given there is not even an echo of what we have stated. Therefore, we have been ignored. So, Madam, what kind of an exercise is he doing? Yogic exercises or some modern exercises? He should tell us.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Madam, my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, is committing one mistake. So far as this document is concerned, it is the Appraisal of the Fourth Plan and not the Plan itself.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : We are preparing an approach for the Fifth Plan and I can assure this House that valuable suggestions as they come from Members of Parliament, and eminent economists in the country, which are vital for effective planning in this country, are not only sympathetically considered but shall also be a part of the 5th Five Year Plan. I can give this assurance to this House. But so far as this document and discussions are concerned, it is only limited to a mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It is a baby which is being carried forward.

So, coming to the point, I would like to draw the attention of this House to the fact that several schemes are taken by the Planning Commission as well as the State Governments, including schemes for employment. And what is the experience? I am here to concede that last year an amount of Rs. 25 crores was first provided in the budget and

then we started preparing the plans for this Rs. 25 crores. An absolutely wrong way of preparing plans and preparing schemes. But this year we have taken some care. We have formulated some plans. On the basis of those programmes the amounts have been allotted in the budget for 1972-73 and I have no doubt that performance this year shall be much better than what happened in the past year. We are well aware of these difficulties.

For instance, take rural crash programmes. To this day, as per my information, nearly Rs. 35 crores out of Rs. 50 crores allotted for rural crash programmes will be spent for those purposes. But again that is not enough.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : How many jobs were created?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : I can't just say what was the number of jobs. But I can say one thing that wherever the Zila Parishads and Panchayat Samitis have effectively functioned, they have created good conditions for offering either jobs or giving some additional incomes through such schemes.

Many members insist that they want their districts to be declared as backward districts. When such financial concessions are given for districts, including 10 per cent subsidy what is the mechanism to see that we invite some entrepreneurs who can take advantage of these concessional facilities? Here comes the question of people's participation. I entirely agree with Shri Goay when he said that if you want to have a new psychology in the country a complete transformation shall have to take place. And here comes the problem of proper involvement of the people as well and I would like to appeal to this House.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SAKHAL-ECHA (Madhya Pradesh) : He is talking about 100 crores about jobs. But that comes to Rs. 2 a day. What is the plan for? . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please don't disturb now.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : My submission to the House is that in this country a new temperament shall have to be evolved. A mental transformation and a psychological transformation has become absolutely essential. And Fifth Plan should necessarily become a people's plan. Plan is an effective instrument for the achievement of our social objectives as

we have clearly stated so often. And I would like to appeal to the Members—I am not going to deal with the other aspects because my learned, senior colleague will be dealing with the same when he replies to points raised here—that regarding this planning process a new atmosphere shall have to be created in this country, and Members of Parliament can help us a lot in creating that atmosphere in the States.

There are some States who are not prepared to accept the planning body. If experts and economists are associated with the planning body, their advice can become more important. It can be more effective and then the present controversy may go. Naturally there is some resistance from some quarters, and on this background I appeal to the House to extend all possible cooperation in making this planning process a perfect planning process and also to give us all possible cooperation in order to achieve the multi-level planning at all levels..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am not sure how you will fare as a Planning Minister, but you are a well-planned talker.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Madam Vice-Chairman, so far as economic discipline is concerned, I have no doubt in my mind that any vulgar consumption shall have to be curbed. A new economic discipline shall have to be enforced and the affluent sections in the society shall have to sacrifice for those who are now facing all this poverty and unemployment if they are to be rendered relief. New measures shall have to be taken in this direction and I have no doubt in my mind that the Government will come forward in taking such measures.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I mentioned about Birlas.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Mr. Gupta..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want to know whether Birlas will think of..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : .. there are many speakers.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is well aware of my view and even though I am a Minister I am not at all deterred from expressing my views. I am confirmed in my conviction and I say to this House that those

monopolists who are exploiting the society have no place in a socialist economy, and steps shall have to be taken against such people..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : See, I have got a good statement from the Minister.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : ..whether they are Birlas or Tatas.

Madam Vice-Chairman, I wanted to touch some other aspects also but I have already taken almost 30 minutes. I want to thank this House for enabling us to discuss these things. We are not wandering in a dreamland. It is the reality of the situation. This country has shown its own determination in having self-reliance, its own determination in the eradication of poverty, and we shall certainly come forward before the country so that this poverty is eradicated, and proper planning in that direction shall take place in this country. Thank you very much.

SHRI HABIB TANVIR (Nominated) : Madam Vice-Chairman, I have been listening to the debate on the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fifth Five year Plan but never so far was the word 'culture' uttered, as far as I remember. I browsed through the Plan and the other hand-books pertaining it but even there 'culture' is conspicuous by its absence. As a matter of fact I do not remember if the word is there. So it is about this that I intend to speak.

The hopeful sign seems to be, if I may say so, Madam, that nomination of people such as myself, so far as culture is concerned, would mean there might be in the offing a new style of functioning in this Government. That is what one persuades oneself to think. I, for instance, am not used to speaking in a very politic manner; I am an artist. For one such as myself, the theatre is the better forum where I feel much more at ease. But things which have been upon one's mind even before entering this august House can now be given expression to. Now I think it is significant to note that even the Education Ministry does not, perhaps, use the word 'culture'. It is the "Ministry of Education and Social Welfare" as far as I remember. I think that an artist is a politically conscious human being. Therefore I am aware, as we are all aware, of the fact that after so many hundreds of years of British rule, after the kind of devastation of the Indian culture that took place under the alien regime, there is need to disinfect ourselves from

[Shri Habib Tanvir]

this, to undo the harm done by the Britishers. They came as traders, they started as missionaries, they started teaching us their language and many other things and ended up as our absolute rulers. Somebody mentioned the other day about Malaysian prosperity. I had recently been to Malaysia and I saw it. I was stunned to see that the shops were stocked to the ceiling with goods of all kinds, chocolates of every description, cigarette brands and tobacco of every manner from each Country of Europe and it was pathetic to see this kind of prosperity. I was also in Karachi, passing through Karachi in 1962 on my way back from the U. S. A. They were so proud of their transistors, TV sets and other gadgets. One asked them what among these beautiful luxury things they had got was made in Pakistan. They said: 'Not very much'. To-day one knows that their economy has come down like a house of cards. That is because it was all made from foreign aid. I am saying this because this is the other side of our development. It is a very hopeful side that we are getting rid of foreign aid. We are going ahead with self-sufficiency. But economic self sufficiency must go side by side with cultural prosperity. Such cultural orientation of politics is not something new. Asoka did it in his time. The British also did it in their way. We want it in our own manner and unless we orient our planning that way there is little hope. In this sub-continent in the post-Bangladesh era we know that for communalism there is no room. Secularism has triumphed. The Bangladesh culture is not only Bangla culture but Muslim culture which underwent influence from Ramayana and Mahabharata. You come across things about Hasan and Husain and the similes and metaphors in them often allude to Ram, Lakshman and Sita. That happens in the UP folklore also and that is what I mean by culture. That is what we all now realise as culture. In the S. E. Asian countries there are Buddhist countries, at least 5 of them and there are Muslim countries like Indonesia and Malaysia and they have two great epics of which they are proud just as we have got two great epics of which we are proud, and those are Ramayana and Mahabharata. A lot can be made of the fact that there is something secular about these epics and then these traditions are the only ones of which the SE Asians are proud. For the last 25 years we have adopted big brotherly attitude towards these countries. We had no reason in the past to be in a big

brotherly way towards them and now we have even less, because we have emerged as a Power to reckon with. For the last 25 years one only noticed a kind of sentimental attitude towards countries of Asia not only in a political senses but also in a cultural sense.

We have got to realise that there is a lot even in Ramayana and Mahabharat that we can take from these South East Asian countries and also perhaps a little that we can give to them. This cultural orientation has been missing from our plans as far as one notices. The scientist has been acknowledged by the system because the scientist has to deal with things which are geared to progress directly. Also in the western countries the scientist's work is geared to warfare and warfare is tremendously important for the big powers, so that the scientist has come into his own. But not so the artist. Many years ago—I think it was in Edinburgh in an international drama festival, if I am not mistaken—it was pointed out that the scientist is usually given millions of dollars for the sake of his right to commit mistakes but not so the artist. The scientist gets money for the sake of making experiments but the artist is not patronised to that extent. Money is not given to him so that he can make mistakes, so that he can fall, fumble and falter and through errors flower. I am not in the least suggesting, I am not at all inclined to suggest that a cultural awareness has so far been entirely missing. Already there seems to be an awareness that there ought to be a clear cut cultural policy. On the other hand I have not got in my mind the notion that the Government alone can produce such a thing, such an abstract thing as culture. As a matter of fact, the contrary perhaps is true. A policy oriented towards a free flowering of culture, free efflorescence of artists and culture, must be consciously worked for by which I mean a cultural policy which is attached to the apron strings of a developing socialist economy of a developing country such as our country although in many other countries which are fully developed you still find the State subsidising theatres and art organisations. How can developing countries dispense with that need. I am not suggesting that development should always be taken into account in the matter of culture but I am thinking of culture in its true sense. I am thinking of artists whose right to criticise the Government remains inalienable. Of course, I do not mean in an obscurantist culture of a

culture which incites communal passions. But certainly if they are of a different political view, that kind of art also must come in for patronage by a progressive Government. Such a policy is what we require.

In linguistic development also one finds there are shortfalls and difficulties. There is a book Board and some very good work has been done. Translations into the Urdu language have been made from various languages for the use of M.A. students and Ph.D. students but of them there are few readers. There cannot be readers of these technical high-flown books because Urdu language has not received sustenance, encouragement and succour at its grass-roots. These are some of the remedies that must be made as soon as possible before it is too late.

There is no uniform censorship policy. There is no entertainment tax exemption for all drama troupes. Some States do not have tax at all while in some States they scrutinise the script before taking a decision. The Delhi Administration has recently started looking into the scripts. While on this question of censorship it may be pointed out that it was reported in the Times of India of 9th April that Vijay Tendulkar's new play had come in for censorship. This and other plays are being censored by authorities who know nothing about art and culture. There was the case of Rasoolan Bai mentioned recently in the Times of India I have heard that an *ad hoc* grant was given to Rasoolan Bai by the Ministry of education. While this is good that is hardly the answer. There is need for a scheme by which the old artistes, recognised ones, who have received awards and citations, who in their old age are facing penury, should be given some sustained help by way of old age scholarships. There must be some provision made for such cases so that their recognition is sustained and it becomes a true recognition and not a mere recognition on paper. So far as tribal welfare is concerned, I know about Baster, Chhattisgarh and other areas; I go to these areas time and again. The Chhattisgarhi artistes play and perform in the theatre for some months of the season and for the rest of the year they go about selling bidis and pans. During some months in a year they perform dramas and are left on their own afterwards. In Mariya and Mariya areas, I know the Tribal Welfare Board is making some efforts to improve their economic conditions. Brooms are now being made as community profession and are being exported.

Something is organised there and it is very good. The same is not true, however, of their cultural well-being. Their education is faulty unwillingly and inadvertently, these so-called instructors and tutors of the tribals are giving them a sense of contempt for their own culture, and they are forgetting their own language. They are, no doubt, having a smattering of Hindi but they are forgetting that their own culture is far richer.

Madam, thank you very much.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh) :
Madam Vice-Chairman, the Reappraisal document broadly reveals that there is a serious concern about the slow rate of growth of economy. There seems to be a bit of a misconceived controversy about growth and distributive justice. I do not think there is any scope for such an acrimony because the Planning Minister also just now made it clear that it will be growth with social justice. We want both and so let there be no polemics about it; we have enough of polemics in this country.

Now why is this slow growth and in what sectors? The Plan envisaged a 5.6% growth in the national income annually; a compound rate of growth, but the experience has been 5.3% in the first year, 4.7% in the second year, and in the third year it is still further going down, to less than 4%. So to say, there is deceleration now. First of all the Government has to arrest this decline before actually aiming at too much. As a boulder moves from the top of a hillock, it is very difficult to hold it because it gains momentum a lot of momentum, and so this declining growth, this decelerating growth is really a serious matter. Now, in what sectors is this decline or this shortfall? Madam, we have been speaking about the revolution in agriculture—we call it green revolution—and I thing self-sufficiency in foodgrains seems to have developed a sort of complacency. Now I warn the Government about this. If there has been any revolution, it is only in wheat production, in a limited area like Punjab, Haryana, probably U.P. It is not taking into consideration the other products, which are very essential for human existence. Take pulses, Madam. In fact their production has been lower than what it was ten years ago. I will just read out the figures though they may be known to everyone. The Index Number for pulses in 1960-61 was 129. In 1970-71 it is 117.1. So there has been a decline in the production of pulses. Same is the case in respect of fibres, Madam.

[Shri V. B. Raju]

For cotton the Index Number was 202.1 in 1960-61, and it is only 175.8 in 1970-71. Now in rice I do not think the production has crossed the threshold yet. The rice-consuming population is very high and the area occupied for rice cultivation is also high. There, our scientists have got to make a breakthrough, and they have been making a very strenuous effort and I wish them success. The Plan envisaged a 5 per cent annual growth in agriculture. We are happy that, because of the accelerated production in wheat, the rate of growth has been 7 per cent in 1969-70 against 5 per cent visualised. It was 6.7 per cent in 1970-71 but 3.8 per cent in 1971-72. Even here in the graph it shows a decline. We have to be careful.

Much has already been said about industry. What is the level of investment in industry? It is a colossal sum in terms of investment and loans to the public sector particularly. It has been criticised from all sides that the low rate of growth in industry particularly in 1971-72 is very disturbing. As the Plan Appraisal document reveals in the first eight months of 71-72, it was less than 2 per cent growth. This deceleration of economic growth is a subject which should be discussed at great length. It should not be just as a casual reference as we make in our speeches here. Parliament must be seized of it. I remember the speech which I made in 1952 when the First Plan was prepared. I was the Planning Minister in Hyderabad Government. It is the same speech, a carbon copy, which I am making now. Practically the terminology is the same. The complaints are the same. The performance is the same. Everything is the same. I am not criticising anybody on this matter. I know development has its own problems. Growth has its own problems. The increase in wheat production has created many problems. In fact, there was an uproar in this House the other day. There is the problem of storage, then transport to the distribution areas and then the bank advances which are locked up. Development also has its problems. As Panditji used to say: You had a costume prepared for you when you were fifteen years or ten years old. Now, you want to use the same costume when you are twenty-five years. What will happen? "EK DHAM PHAT JAYACA". It cannot be like that. It has to be an integrated development. It has to be an all round development. We cannot be satisfied merely

because there has been an increase in the production of wheat and we have stopped PL-480 imports. I think all our hon. Members understand the implications of the stoppage of PL-480 imports. We were getting wheat at a concessional rate. I am against import of foodgrains, but it has its implications. The pool rate for wheat worked out and the issue price was Rs. 78. Today we see in the Budget a provision for a subsidy of Rs. 100 crores. I heard speeches being made to do away with foreign aid. It is all right, but what does it mean? Has it been carefully gone through? What will be the gross foreign aid that we will have to get in the Fourth Plan? The gross foreign aid will exceed Rs. 4,000 crores. We have got the repayment obligations. We have lived in the past beyond our means. We have borrowed a lot of money from outside and we have to repay it. Yesterday there was some criticism against foreign aid, in this House.

First and foremost this growth has to be improved. Growth, savings and investment go together. They cannot be dealt separately. What is the disturbing factor? The disturbing factor in this country is low rate of savings. Governmental savings and particularly public savings are just about one per cent of the domestic product, even though there has been massive taxation. I think last year the tax arrears that were realised and the taxation that was levied have been the highest. But in spite of it, the public savings, the Governmental savings, are very insignificant. What happens when there are no public savings? Naturally savings must come from somewhere. You go to private savings. If you examine, you will find that they too have been low. The corporate savings are negligible and the cooperative savings are also very negligible. And what is left? It is only the household savings. What exactly is the plan to mobilise those savings? Once I made a point here and I think I also repeated it here. We talk of black money. Now, the money supply in the market is about Rs. 7000 crores. Unless the national income also in real terms grows, this money supply actually makes a distortion in our economy. How to draw at least a portion of this unaccounted money, which money is not being put to productive purposes, which money is being actually employed for stocks, which money is being employed for speculation, land purchase, for luxury goods and houses and added to that, for air travel. I

was surprised. The other day we were talking about improvement in civil aviation and the expansion of civil aviation. I would like the Minister to make a study and let the House know what is really the character and composition of the air-travelling public in this country. (1) Government servants who do not pay from their pockets; (2) Members of Parliament—we do not pay from our pockets; (3) Business executives, company executives, who do not pay from their pockets and (4) Possessors of black market money. Is it for these people, that we have to improve services with sophisticated equipment for aircraft and face strikes and losses—we talk about all these things. Where are we? And I have been happy when I heard the criticism about the small car, which was erroneously called the people's car. In fact, I had an occasion to preside over an international conference at Prague on metropolitan transport. All the representatives from the European countries said that the private car was a traffic problem, in the metropolitan cities. We cannot encourage this private car. It is taking away the garage space, road space and living space. And it pollutes the air. What we want is public transport. And even for that, our surface, the road, does not permit. We have actually to go under ground. But it involves a lot of capital and investment. I request the Minister to see that the private car, the small car project, does not and shall not come, and that it is not given priority in this country. And it is not the private car, but it is the public transport. That has a priority. Whenever we travel in the DTC buses, they make such a terrible noise that our ear drums are affected. I request the Minister to sit in the bus in which we come every day from the Western Court to the House. At peak hours hundreds of passengers are actually stranded in the queues. It is the public transport system that is more...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : Don't be so harsh on the Minister.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : He is accustomed to bus travel.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : There is nothing personal. I think I have overstated my point. What I had in my mind was this. When the Planning Commission fixes priorities, when the Planning Commission actually thinks of increasing the size of the cake, what should be the content character of the cake? It is

not the production of luxury goods which would add to your growth..

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : थोड़ा बादाम पिस्ता तो होना चाहिये ।

SHRI V. B. RAJU : The question is this. For twenty years, we have been making promises. I too have made promises. In fact, I belong to the ruling party; except for two years, I have been in this party. And yesterday, I was a bit worried when some one was saying that he was not a Minister. When a particular decision was taken. It matters very little whether I am a Minister or you are a Minister. It is a continuing Congress Government. It is the party that functions and its programme is based on certain policies. We must be bold to say, "We stand by our Commitments and if we have gone wrong, we should admit that we have gone wrong."

Now, savings must be available. But savings must be available from where? I would like the Minister to make it clear from where we expect savings to be made? Savings must be made from at least a part of the unaccounted money.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : How?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : I have already made it out. If I use the word "demonetisation," you will be angry. So I do not use that word. About the detection part of unaccounted money, let it be dealt with by the Income-tax authorities. What I am suggesting is this. Let all the top denomination notes—I do not have the figure as to what their total value is—be divided into two halves. For one half, give 10-year bonds, and for the other half, give new notes. In one year you will be able to mobilise Rs. 900 or Rs. 1,000 crores. Put it to use for productive purposes.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Like Moinul Haque Choudhury?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Thereby you are not taking away the sanctity of monetary currency. I call it compulsory borrowing. What is wrong with it? I actually put this question to the Finance Minister—please let me know whether I am committing a mistake in thinking like this. What is the difficulty with the Government in taking away at least 50 per cent of the top notes?

Coming to the public sector undertakings including the Railways, I hope the House

[Shri V. B. Raju]

knows that the level of investment and loans and advances to them exceeds Rs. 11,000 crores. The Railways themselves have got more than Rs. 3,000 crores. Now, Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 11,000 crores are locked up in departmental undertakings and commercial undertakings of the Government. And what is it that we are getting in return out of it? We have a Committee on Public Undertakings. It is not simply a question of the Committee sitting and preparing a report. It is shown that 32 undertakings in the year 1970-71 lost Rs. 72 crores. These statistics are supplied by you, by the Government. Now, what exactly are the remedies? Even the Planning Commission does not say anything about these things? What is the mechanism, what is the new approach, what is the new type of organisation, what is the new strategy, that we are to employ? Reappraisal involves means correcting the course just like correcting the course of a rocket or a satellite going to the moon. When you have gone half way, if you find that your destination is not going to be reached as planned you should apply some correctives and change the course so that you can reach your destination as planned. It is not a post-mortem examination that we want to have in this country. We do not want to find scapegoats or simply throw the blame on somebody and be satisfied. What are the remedies sought to be employed in the public sector undertakings? Madam Vice-Chairman, the success of the slogan of *garibi hatao* or establishment of socialism in this country is greatly dependent upon the success or the failure of the public enterprise activities because people cannot make a distinction between Government, administration, company and so on. They cannot make that distinction. When you say Railways, people take it as Government and if a third-class passenger is inconvenienced, it is the Railway Minister who will be criticised and not the Railway Board. People cannot make such delicate distinctions. Therefore, I try to reiterate that the working of the public sector undertakings. (Time bell rings) Madam, I will take two or three minutes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : These are the speeches, Madam, which the ruling party should encourage.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : It is all right. Investment in the public sector, as I said, is Rs. 8,114 crores and loans, Rs. 2,516 crores.

The Plan Appraisal also reveals that deficit financing at the end of the Plan is going to be high. Deficit financing, they have shown at about Rs. 1203 crores. What they postulated was only Rs. 852 crores. Now it is going up to Rs. 1203 crores.

Now let us come to prices. As has already been pointed out in this House there are certain things which are getting acceleration. Out of those, prices is one. As I have already said and I repeat that it is the money supply in the market. . (Time bell rings) . . (Interruption) . . that is responsible. How to arrest increase in the prices. We have also been talking about it, we have been criticising about it. We have been talking about the public distribution system. I make one suggestion to the Minister for serious consideration. Why should we not take to public distribution in a big way? Firstly, we should take in hand the distribution of essentials to human living, that is, foodgrains, coarse cloth, sugar, kerosene, and one or two other things. .

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : You can add on.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : It does not matter, you can increase the number. Why should not this Food Corporation be renamed as Essentials Distribution Corporation? Then I can show you another method of drawing money from the market. You can easily have 3 lakh shops all over the country both in the rural areas and urban—it may not be an exaggerated figure, I am not very particular about that figure. Mr. Minister, will you kindly stipulate that each shop will be registered with you for the purposes of retail distribution if they deposit Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 or even Rs. 5000? You can take those deposits. These shopkeepers can get that unaccounted money and convert into deposits. As Tamil Nadu has given a start, let us go by the card system. There is nothing wrong in this. It is essential, otherwise the emoluments to the employees which we have to pay go on increasing and affecting our Budgetary estimates.

The second is the distribution of raw materials to the industries. You are already working in that direction. For internal distribution you will have a corporation for distribution of essential raw materials for the industrial sector. These two big things, you see whether they can succeed; otherwise, what is the way out? Not by your regulatory

methods, not by your controlled methods. I have been a Supplies Minister myself and I know much more than any other Member here what the difficulties are. In fact if I make a statement it may be too much on my part ; I think it is nearer truth : The corrupt administrator, the corrupt politician and the corrupt tradesman have conspired together to defeat this democracy. Therefore, we will have to go in a big way for public distribution. (Time bell) Lastly, our balance of payments position is going to become difficult. At the moment it is all right. Our exports are also increasing though not to that extent which we need. But our imports are going up. The gap in the balance of trade is widening now ; the gap between the import and export trade is widening now..

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Our exports are increasing through statistical manipulation !

SHRI V. B. RAJU : If this situation continues, we have to fall back upon foreign aid for this purpose. I can only examine this question between importing components and raw materials on the one side and importing capital goods on the other side. If we import a machine, we are a slave for thirty years. Even now more than Rs. 500 crores worth of capital goods are being imported annually. Can we not put a stop to that ? Import more raw material, import more components, but not capital goods machinery. As I said in the beginning we must and try to make the full utilisation of the installed capacity. Madam, I have taken more time, I am sorry for that.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Madam Vice-Chairman, the honourable Minister of State for Planning, Mr. Dharja, said that in the Planning Commission exercises are being made. I find from the detailed study of the Mid-Term Appraisal and also the Annual Plan that the so-called exercises that they have been making are exercises in futility. The document on Mid-Term Appraisal and the Annual Plan also reveal that mediocrity rules the roost in the Planning Commission and the Economic Ministries of the Government of India. The Mid-Term Appraisal is a scandalous document. If you refer to that document it only reveals the paucity of ideas, lack of long-term strategy, even shorter expedient measures, that could have been taken to correct the type of imbalances which have been created. On the top of that, the Planning Commission, particularly the head of the Planning Commis-

sion, its Deputy Chairman, Mr. Subramaniam, who is also the Planning Minister, reveals an ostrich like ignorance trying to emphasise micro aspects of planning forgetting entirely long-term strategy. Discussion on long-term strategy, discussions on priority and development for future on a perspective basis are absent. On the contrary, we have detailed discussions on the micro-aspects of plan such as rural works, road development and various other schemes. All these schemes individually are all right. But without an adequate long-term strategy, the Planning Commission is going to end up in miserable failure very soon. I am surprised that the Planning Commission and the Government of India are still following a policy of glorified pragmatism which they have been exhibiting for the last several years. If they continue to do that, they are definitely sitting on a volcano. We have here the statement of Shri Subramaniam, the hon. Minister for Planning. I quote :

"In formulating our approach to Garibi Hatao, we have to be clear about the meaning and the causes of poverty."

From there he goes on to define the causes of poverty. It is a very interesting statement. He says. I quote :

"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-employment."

What does it really mean ? He says that people are poor because they have no incomes and no jobs. This is saying nothing at all. Why are they poor ? Why have they no jobs ? Why do not they have incomes ? These are questions which he has not answered. Instead of squarely facing the problem and blaming the nature of system that he operates and the economic laws of a capitalist and feudal system that he follows and which we have inherited, he goes on repeating truisms. Unless we go into the key question which affects the people, we will never be able to diagnose our problem nor get at the right remedies.

The speech of the hon. Minister does not identify the causes of poverty and for that very reason it is very disappointing. Is this the expertise that you have made up in the Planning Commission ? Is it the advice that your expert economists and statisticians have given you ? Experts may give different ad-

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

vices which the political leadership does not find very convenient to accept. That is a different matter and I am not interested in the internal problems of the Planning Commission. But I would like to make an important point on the way in which the Planning Commission has been operating and the manner in which the Plans have been drawn up. I think there is some grave deficiency. What is that deficiency? I am not certainly questioning the supremacy of politics while drawing up the Plan. Politics must be supreme in any developmental process. But do we have the correct political policies and the right economic policies? How could you have these if the planning is modelled on the borrowed capitalist ideas. In the Planning Commission we have a very interesting representative from the private enterprise, Shri P. L. Tandon who presided over the Hindustan Lever empire. He was brought in to study the structure of the Planning Commission and he suggested a managerial culture for the Planning Commission—a new culture. All these borrowed ideas are put into the Planning Commission at a time when we must seriously think of development and various alternatives of development based on long-term strategy so that our short-term and annual plans and five year plans can be dovetailed into long-term Plan and long-term vision of growth.

I suggest that this is not purely due to the mistake of the members of the Planning Commission. This is primarily due to the mistake of the political leadership itself.

We had recently the speech of the Prime Minister at the FICCI meeting where I understand that the members of the Federation—the big magnates that they are—had a very cheerful and happy discussion with the Prime Minister. And the Prime Minister said lot of things which fit into the type of pragmatism that the big business has been asking for.

If you look into the history of planning in this country, it is very interesting. Whenever the political leadership was facing economic and political crisis, they and the Planning Commission came out with a lot of socialist slogans. Once that political crisis is over and consolidation takes place, they talk about growthmanship and high rate of growth. Again when a political crisis comes, they revert back to slogans and slogan mongering. This is the irony of Indian planning.

Now, the important point that I would like to make for the consideration of the Planning Commission is that despite the facade of the various slogans and schemes given in the Plan, they are sitting on a volcano. Why? There is a serious deepening economic crisis in the country. When I say this, a number of people on the Treasury Benches may raise their eyebrows and may ask, "Where is the crisis?" True, there is apparent political consolidation now after the so-called massive mandate with 46% of the votes with this so-called massive mandate they can enjoy power. I agree that there has been some political consolidation recently. But, behind this political consolidation there is the deepening economic crisis and it is reflected in a number of ways; it is reflected in the declining rates of growth in industry; it is reflected in the increasing tensions in the countryside; it is reflected in the widening gap between the rural rich and the rural poor in the wake of the green revolution; it is reflected in the shortages of important raw materials for industry and for other development activities, and it is also reflected, on top of all these, in the crisis which the people in general are facing in the form of poverty, unemployment, prices, increasing tax burdens and so on. Now, this crisis is a reflection of the capitalist feudal policies pursued by the Government and the anarchic way in which planning and development have taken place.

Now, one important aspect of this crisis I would like to emphasise: Having allowed monopoly concentration to take place in industry, the Government of India and the planners are looking to agriculture now for resources. Dr. Raj has been appointed the Chairman of a Committee and the Raj Committee has been given the task of finding resources from agriculture in the name of raising agricultural resources from the so-called affluent rural sector. But, what we are really going to have is an increase in the burden on the rural poor across the line. If they differentiate between the classes in the rural sector, between the poor and the rich landlords or the top level rich peasants and put the burden on them; I can understand. But, the Planning Commission, after 25 years, still does not have data on class differentiation in the country side, on class holdings. The Planning Commission does not have the statistical data on the structure of the classes in the country side. They have data only on

size-holdings, upto two acres, two to five acres, five to ten acres, etc, with such inadequate data you cannot tax the rural rich. Unless, therefore, you start from the very beginning with sufficient data on class structures in the rural areas, I do not think you can tax the rich peasant, and the feudal landlords. Do not make the agriculturists the peasants generally, the whipping boy of inflation and tax burden and do not try to pass on all the blunders of the Government and the planners to the agriculturists and do not do it in the name of taxing the rich.

Madam, there is another very serious problem. In the recent discussions of the FICCI and elsewhere they talk about profitability declining, investment by the private sector declining and so on and one of the reasons given is that wages and salaries are rising and manufacturing costs are rising. There is an interesting study by the Reserve Bank of India published in its bulletin of February 1972 covering 290 non-financial governmental public limited companies constituting about 70% of the assets of 1,501 companies which they normally study. An interesting result of this study is that in the six-year period that they have taken, the tax burden of the 290 companies has increased by 32% from Rs. 119 crores to Rs. 158 crores. Tax burden increased; but profits after taxation increased much faster, by 60% from Rs. 132 crores to Rs. 211 crores. Profits have been rising for the big companies; manufacturing costs have been more or less stagnant and the proportion of wages and salaries to the total value of production has declined, not decreased. It is against the popular misconception in the country that in industry wages and salaries have been rising. In other words, exploitation, capitalist exploitation by the monopoly sector has been increasing substantially. Profit or surpluses amassed by the capitalists have been increasing. None the less, the investment rate has declined. This is the crux of the capitalist system. (*Time Bell rings*). Madam, I will take about two minutes only.

Despite increase in profitability, despite increase in the exploitation, investment in the private sector has slumped. This is the most interesting result of the scientific study made. The Reserve Bank study shows that the investment rate has declined from 9.7% in 1966-67 to 2.6% in 1970-71. Therefore, if the Planning Commission believes that they are having a

rosy picture ahead they will be mistaken very soon.

Monopolies are also attempted to be eliminated by definition. Madam Vice-Chairman, the Monopolies Commission identified 1,100 commodities as "dominant" the industries. Today the Government has reduced the number of commodities to 400 by clubbing them together in general terms. There are very glaring instances. I will quote one. India Linoleum, a Birla firm, which is clearly a "dominant" firm but Linoleum is now included under the broad category of "floor-covering". India Linoleum ceases to be "dominant". This is how the monopolists are allowed to grow by tampering with the definition. And this is the clear policy of the Planning Commission and the Government of India. Are they be really serious on the question of monopolies?

Madam Vice-Chairman, I come to my last point. What is the future of Indian planning? The hon. Minister of State for Planning, Mr. Mohan Dhar, talked about multi-level planning, at the district level, at the State level and so on. But what has happened? There is no authority, no power, no finance available with the States. And we talk of multi-level planning. We have a serious crisis of resources with the State Governments. The last year's budget shows that the States give about Rs. 11 crores to the Centre. That means that the repayment of loans and the interest is larger than the Central assistance received by the State Governments. So there is complete bankruptcy in the States. And this is equally true at the district level.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please conclude.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Therefore, I suggest, Madam Vice-Chairman, that there is no point in talking about the multi-level planning unless we re-structure the entire Centre-State economic relations. Unless we give more powers to States and unless we move towards more State autonomy, there can be no question of implementing the multi-level planning.

In conclusion I make the following concrete suggestions.

(1) Implement radical land reforms, with ceilings fixed at the level which is equal to a plough unit, cultivated essentially by family labour with only occasional casual labour.

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

(2) Nationalise all the 75 monopoly houses mentioned in the Monopolies Commission Report.

(3) Nationalise all the private foreign monopoly concerns, without giving compensation.

(4) Till that time the above proposal is implemented, put a ceiling on the profits transferred abroad ;

(5) Nationalise the entire export import trade.

(6) Curb black money by demonitising the currency.

(7) Change the discredited tax policy of putting more burdens on the people.

(8) Radically re-structure Centre-State relations and give more powers to States.

In a multi-national State country like ours we can maintain unity of the nation only on the basis of more State autonomy.

(9) Change the anti-labour and repressive policies of the Government as in the recent elections in West Bengal.

Shri Subramaniam referred to the need for a national consensus for the implementation of the Plan. But we can not have a national consensus which Shri Subramaniam wants, so long as the Government pursues their discredited capitalist feudal policies.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA : Madam, Mr. Subramaniam will be coming here. I have to go to the other House. With your permission ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : But somebody should be here from the Government side to take notes.

SHRI PAPI REDDI (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam Vice-Chairman, this is my maiden speech and I hope the House will excuse if there are any falls.

Yesterday while introducing this Motion Mr. Subramaniam was talking about the need-based Plans. But unfortunately, our Plans have been green-based. One section of the Planning Commission believes in ambitious target, prepares the plans to that extent and the other section believes in preparing stories to prove, to tell the nation why the Plans have failed. So, they have some of those arguments about the Pakistan War, or drought

or ultimately population expansion. We have been going on for this family planning since the inception of these Plans, but unfortunately we have not been successful in the task. Unfortunately our experts go and search for solutions in America and other places. They go there to find out as to how we could reduce this populations. Instead of that, they should allow our scientists to make research. We have our own apex where we can do a good deal make our scientists made some research. Lord Krishna has married about 16,000 Gopics but he has not produced a single child, whereas Kuchela could do—he has done enough damage. So, there should be a comparative study by the Government. They should see how we could reduce this population growth.

Then coming from a village, I would like to bring these things to your notice, Madam, about the basic necessities about which Mr. Subramaniam was talking the previous day. Take for instance health facilities. In my experience, where there are patients we do not have doctors and where there are doctors we do not have patients, but where fortunately booth are available, the medicines are missing. That is the unfortunate position in villages. About education, Madam, perhaps the Ministers in the Central Government do not know that in villages still there are single-teacher schools continuing. There is a single teacher and he has to teach five classes for five hours a day. He is supposed to teach up to the Fifth standard from 7 O' Clock in the morning till 5 O' Clock in the evening. I do not know how he maintains it, it is only a miracle and you can think of the results and the boys that come out of the school.

The third thing about the basic amenities is from my personal experience about drinking water. A 'protected water scheme' has been sanctioned to a particular village in my place. Within a year we are told that 90 per cent of the work is completed. That means 90 per cent of the grant has been spent. But when ultimately we go and see, they have completed the construction of overhead tank, they have completed all other work, they have got the pipes. This is the 90 per cent of the work that they say they have completed and for this they have already spent Rs. 90,000. But unfortunately, they have forgotten to dig the well, for that of course a sum of Rs. 10,000 is still there. The financial achievement is surely 90 per cent but not the real work.

Then you need some efficient governments to implement the plans—whatever the politics. As far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, I am sorry to say, Madam, we have... I do not know what to say about our Government. The Government does not function at all.

Most of the time we find our Chief Minister in Delhi and none of the files move. Actually, Mr. Subramaniam also knows it. He was there in Hyderabad to instal the present Chief Minister.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Madam, is it fair that we should discuss the Chief Minister here? He is responsible to the Legislature and it should be raised in the Legislature.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : We are discussing the multi-purpose Plan.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : But you cannot bring in the Chief Minister by indirect methods. He is responsible to the Legislature and whatever is to be talked in favour or against should be done there.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : After all, it is his maiden speech. He should not be interrupted.

SHRI PAPI REDDI : I was not criticising the Chief Minister. What I meant was if the plans have to be efficiently implemented by the Chief Ministers, we need efficient administration. The other things I will bring up later. There is a simmering discontent in the State and the chances are that the State will have to be split into three States. Six months back for the integration of the State one Chief Minister was asked to step down and this Chief Minister was installed. Mr. Subramaniam thinks of three States when he thinks of planning for those areas. Already they have started naming the three States also. The Rayalaseema and other areas they want to call along the lines of Himachal and Arunachal, as Venkatachal, the Coastal districts as Simhachal and Telangana as Bhadrachal. After hearing Mr. Gupta I would like the slogan of '*Garibi Hatao*' to be amended to '*Garibla Hatao*'!

SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI (Gujarat) : Madam, I take it that the purpose of a Mid-Term Appraisal of the Plan is to see whether the Plan is going in the direction in which it was supposed to go, to find out errors if any, which have been committed and to find remedies for the errors which we discover. I would be inclined to say, going through the papers that one of the maladies lies at the very root of the Plan

itself and that is that historically both during the First and the Second Plans, we were aware that the common criticism which was correct, was that it was not more than a conglomeration of plans and that process probably continued and there is no dovetailing of the Plan as a whole between the Plan and its physical implementation. We have been continuously thinking in terms of financial resources matching against projects and programmes State-wise Centre-wise, agriculture, industry etc. but there has been a continuous lack of implementation of projects and programmes. This is my general criticism. But I would now like to refer to 3 major aspects. The first is that running through the document it gives a feeling, although it is couched in language of law gear, that we are going to be faced with the problem, as in the past, of resources. If we are going to attempt at self-reliance if we are going to diminish foreign aid, if the balance of payment is not in order and if in fact there is a gap in balance of payments, if in fact resources raised by corporate taxation and individual taxation has now reached limits where we are prepared to concede that in fact the mobilisation of resources will have to be from the rural sector, then we have to move over the psychology or we have to move over to a mobilisation of resources from the rural sector as taxation or agricultural income and taxation of agricultural wealth. How ever strong may be a section of Parliamentary opinion, however strong may be a section of opinion in the State against such a proposition, I suggest that we have to take steps to move over to this phase of raising additional resources. I am envisaging something and I was a little surprised when Mr. Dharia actually referred to land reforms as having to be carried out with the cooperation of the States. If they can be carried out with the cooperation of the States, well and good but if land reforms or the mobilisation of resources from the agricultural or the rural sector cannot in fact be achieved by persuasion then it is necessary that they must be either persuaded or pressurised by the due process of law, even if necessary, through constitutional amendments.

I say that we have moved over to a second phase of land reforms. The late Pandit Nehru always said that the Constitution cannot be allowed to stand in the way of economic progress. We carried out constitutional amendments in order to effect zamindari abolition, to make zamindari abolition a reality. The 25th Amendment has also been carried out in the

[Shri H. M Trivedi]

same spirit. I therefore submit to the hon. Minister ; he may perhaps reply that the Raj Committee is already looking into this but I submit that the Raj Committee will probably supply the *modus vivendi*, the procedures, the level of taxation, the method of preventing evasion etc. but we are aware that our major difficulty is the constitutional difficulty, namely, the power of the Centre to be able to impose agricultural income and agricultural wealth taxation. The Green Revolution, Madam, has touched only same cereals ; it has equally touched only same States and to that extent the benefits of the Green Revolution have not really spread yet nationally. Are we going to permit the benefits of the Green Revolution only to make the rich richer in certain rural areas in certain States or are we going to spread the benefits nationally? Discussion in this House on the Report of the Agricultural Prices Commission and the revision of the price for wheat indicated the kind of opposition which can get generated. I would therefore like to submit to the hon. Minister that while we await the Report of the Raj Committee about the procedures of this taxation he must devote his attention, if I may so submit, to the necessity of constitutional amendment if necessary to bring about this kind of mobilisation of resources.

The second aspect which I want to refer to, Madam is the settlement of inter-State disputes on river waters. One hon. Member from Madhya Pradesh referred yesterday to the Narmada valley dispute. I want particularly to refer to this not so much because it affects Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat but I refer to this as another classic example of the manner in which the Constitution which we have given to ourselves and the statutes which we have ourselves enacted are in fact hampering our growth. Madam Vice Chairman, the Narmada Valley Authority could have been create ten years back. An hon. Member who is now sitting in the other House had prepared a Report along the lines of the TVA. That Report was shelved and that was shelved because of the shortcomings which were discovered in the Damodar Valley Authority. I submit, Madam Vice Chairman, that the Damodar Valley Authority's success was limited partly because of the separation of the executive power of that Authority in relation to the generation and distribution of power on the one hand and distribution of waters on the other hand. Two years have passed before a tribunal in settling merely the

preliminary issues in relation to this dispute. I would imagine that it would take a generation before the substantive issues of this dispute are settled. The hon. Minister for Irrigation and Power is reported to have told the Consultative Committee of Parliament that he is thinking of measures by which the Central Government will be able to take this out of the purview of the inter-State disputes. I suggest to you, Madam, that the hon. Minister for Planning may also lend his support to the idea that this dispute is taken out. It is surprising, Madam, that 1% of the water of the Narmada is being utilised and 99% flows on. There is no dispute about the water that is going to be available to both the States for irrigation. There is no dispute about the generation of electricity. There is no dispute even about the cost of the project except that the costs have escalated since. In spite of all these, in spite of the federal Constitution and a strong party in power at the Centre and in the States, it has been impossible to find a solution to this inter-State river dispute, a dispute which is affecting the people of two States vitally. I would therefore like to submit to the hon. Minister for Planning to lend his support to take this dispute out of the purview of the Tribunal and the inter-State level and go back, if necessary, to what was preliminarily proposed, namely, the creation of a Narmada Valley Development Authority with full executive powers.

Thank you.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN :
Madam Vice Chairman, the document in relation to the appraisal of the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the years it has already been implemented, I am sorry to say, Madam, that it is a document of apology, an apology for the past and an apology for the future. It was rather amusing for some of us today a little earlier, Madam, to see the hon. junior Minister for Planning refer to the difficulties that have been caused in the matter of implementation of the Plan by, what he termed as, population growth. It is not as if, Madam, that the authors of all the Five-Year Plans so far have not taken due notice of the population growth, of the percentage of the possible population growth. In fact, in all the Plans, we have planned on the basis of the possible population growth. And it is really strange that the hon. Minister should refer to something which has been taken into account, as a reason for failure of planning to the

extent he has admitted. Madam, two things he subsequently referred to, of them, firstly to the creation of a joint sector. I have absolutely no doubt to tell this hon. House that the creation of a joint sector is not likely to solve the problems that we are facing from the monopoly capital as it exists in the country today. The big industrial houses that have grown with the three Five-Year Plans are not likely to be in any-wise softened, so far as our economy is concerned, by the creation of, what he calls, a joint sector. Further, the joint sector is not likely to affect them also. There are not large industries where, in any substantial manner, loans have been taken and, therefore, the creation of equity capital in such spheres would not be there and really, therefore, there would be no effective joint sector also. Then, Madam, the second thing that he said was the creation of a mental atmosphere and the creation of a people's plan and people's association with the plan. I thought that the hon. junior Minister was making a public speech and not intervening in the course of a very serious discussion so far as planning is concerned. I would, therefore, submit that I have still to wait to hear the Minister of Planning's reply because the intervention that the hon. junior Minister made has been in a vacuum and has only created a hollow atmosphere.

Madam, I shall confine myself to a few points because the time allotted to me is very little at the fagend of the discussion. I submit that one of the things we have always been stressing—and it is very gratifying to note that the Planning Commission has in this document, to a large extent, has accepted it—is that external assistance should go down so far as the future interest of the country is concerned. The flow of foreign capital has created foreign in roads into our economy and political life. Therefore, more and more the self-reliance aspect is being rightly stressed. The Economic Review for 1971-72 has given indications by a statistical table to show that in the course of the last three or four years we have been drawing lesser and lesser foreign assistance. I submit that the figures given in that statistical table in the Economic Review are, to an extent, misleading. If you look at the foreign assistance effectively for the purposes for which we are drawing to-day, you will find that we are really drawing foreign assistance every year in an increasing manner. The figures no doubt show that foreign assistance is lower, but that has been because during the last three or four years the assistance that we have

been drawing both on account of PL-480 food and on account of PL-480 non-food had been on the decrease.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Both of you will get fifteen minutes. Quickly you may come to your point.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : It is rather difficult.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : I know it.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : Within ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Make it within two minutes.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : It will be seen on a reference to the Annual Plan for 1972-73—the document that has been given to us very recently—that the total extent of foreign assistance for 1971-72 was of the order of Rs. 461 crores. The total extent of foreign assistance for 1972-73, as estimated some months back, is of the order of Rs. 380 crores. But then it will be seen that during last year we drew Rs. 349 crores on account of non PL-480 and Rs. 112 crores on account of PL-480. This year, for 1972-73, we are going to draw on account of PL-480—in fact it is stated—minus Rs. 4 crores, but we are going to draw for non-PL-480 a sum of Rs. 384 crores. The estimate for non-PL-480 for last year 1971-72, was Rs. 349 crores and the estimate made by the Planning Commission for non-PL-480 for 1972-73 is Rs. 384 crores. In fact, a look at the Economic Review would show that this is the position. So far as the previous years also are concerned . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please conclude. No more new points.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : I shall touch only on two more points and that will take just two minutes. One is the maintenance of the price level. The Planning Commission has rightly stressed that it has proceeded on the mid-term assessment on the basis that the price level would be maintained. But what happened in 1971-72 ? In spite of the fact that the price level in respect of food commodities remained the same, there was no increase at all in respect of food prices, the prices of other essential commodities rose. And it is rather startling as to how

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan]

they rose because every year in the past we thought that if we are able to arrest the rise in prices of foodgrains, we will be able to arrest the rise in the prices of consumer goods also. The third point is—and I am finishing—with regard to the assessment of the Plan achievements. We have been assessing the Plan achievements and we have been assessing the targets achieved so far mainly on the basis of the financial targets achieved. It is necessary, Madam, that the Planning Commission should make an assessment of the physical targets achieved and what exactly are the physical targets achieved in proportion to the financial targets achieved. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Mr. P. S. Patil. Five minutes.

श्री पंढरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील (महाराष्ट्र) : पांच मिनट में सब बोलना बहुत कठिन है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मुझे आपने बहुत ही कम समय दिया है, इतने समय में क्या-क्या बोलूँ, मुझे बहुत बातें कहनी थीं, अतः बहुत ही थोड़े में अपना भाषण समाप्त करने की कोशिश करूंगा।

इस सदन के सामने मन्त्री महोदय ने 1973 में समाप्त होने वाली पंचवार्षिक योजना का जो मध्यावधि प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत किया है, उसमें 15,900 करोड़ रु० का व्यय होने वाला है। साथ ही साथ उन्होंने योजना आयोग पर वर्ष 1974—1979 तक की अवधि के लिए 31,000 करोड़ रु० के व्यय की पंचवार्षिक योजना की रूप रेखा भी सदन के सामने रखी है। उस पर मैं अपने कुछ विचार सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

पिछली तीन पंचवार्षिक योजनाएँ बीत चुकी, उनमें से दो पंचवार्षिक योजनाओं के लिए स्वस्थ वातावरण अपने देश में था, परन्तु तीसरी पंचवार्षिक योजना के शुरू से अभी तक अपने देश के ऊपर बार-बार संकट आए हैं और उसके निवारण के लिए बहुत सा धन हमारे देश को खर्च करना पड़ा, इसलिए विकास की गति में कुछ मदी सी आ गई। अब जो 5वीं पंचवार्षिक योजना के लिए दुगना पैसा चाहिए उन गरीब वर्ग, जिनकी आमदनी औसत

से कम है, उनसे कर के द्वारा लेने की बजाय जिन धनवानों के घरों या बैंकों में काला धन भरा हुआ है, वह दूढ़ कर शासन को प्राप्त करना चाहिए। महोदया, हमारा देश अब काफी जाग उठा है। पिछले पांच-छः साल से अपने देश के नेताओं ने “जय जवान और जय किसान” के नारे लगाए और हम देखते हैं कि इन दो वर्गों ने इतने दिनों में अपना कर्तव्य ठीक तरह से निभाया है। स्वाधीनता प्राप्त होने से अब तक हमारे देश के ऊपर अपने पड़ोसी देश द्वारा चार वक्त फौजी आक्रमण हुआ, परन्तु हमारे देश के जवानों ने, वीरता से दुश्मनों का डट कर मुकाबला किया और पिछली दिसम्बर में जब पाकिस्तान ने हम पर हमला किया तो केवल 10 दिन के अन्दर ही अपने बहादुर सेनानियों ने विजय प्राप्त की

5 P. M.

और ऐसी विजय प्राप्त की जो इतिहास के स्वर्ण अक्षरों में लिखी जायेगी। उसी तरह से हमारे किसानों ने भी अपना कर्तव्य बहुत अच्छी तरह से निभाया है और उसी के परिणाम-स्वरूप जहाँ पहिले हमारे देश में, हमारी जनता के लिए निर्वाह का अनाज पैदा नहीं होता था, बाहर के देशों से हमें अनाज मंगाना पड़ता था, वहाँ हम अब अनाज के सम्बन्ध में आत्म-निर्भर हो गये हैं और अब हम बाहर से किसी तरह का कोई अनाज नहीं मंगा रहे हैं। आज इतनी भारी सेवा किसानों ने देश की और जनता की की है।

“जय जवान, जय किसान” के दो नारों के पश्चात् अब अपने देश के कांग्रेस नेताओं ने “गरीबी हटाओ” का तीसरा नारा लगाया। इस दिशा में जवानों तथा किसानों की भाँति अब देश भर के मत-दाताओं ने भी कांग्रेसपार्टी को भारी बहुमत देकर अपना कर्तव्य पूरा किया है। अब बारी हमारी है। अगर अपनी कांग्रेस सरकार आम जनता को गरीबी हटाने के लिए क्रान्तिकारी कदम नहीं उठाएगी, तो जनता हमें अगले चुनाव में क्षमा नहीं करेगी और परिणाम अंगार के साथ खेलने तुल्य होगा। जैसा कि सुझाया गया है कि गंगा का

पानी कावेरी तक ले जाया जायेगा, अगर इस तरह का ठोस कदम हमारे देश में उठाया गया तो सारे देश में हरित क्रान्ति दिखेगी। जब तक बड़े पैमाने पर इस तरह के कार्य नहीं किये जायेंगे, तब तक हम इस देश से गरीबी नहीं हटा सकते हैं।

इसके साथ ही साथ अपने देश में बिजली के सहारे कृषि-ग्रामोद्योग तथा बड़े कारखानों को बढ़ाने से देश के बेरोजगार लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा। वस्तुओं के उत्पादन बढ़ने से निर्यात बढ़ कर विदेशी मुद्रा भी प्राप्त होगी। परिणामस्वरूप ऐसी विकास योजनाओं को पूरा करने के लिए जो अतिरिक्त रशि लगेगी, उसके सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव है कि सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग निर्धारित कर उससे जिन धनवानों की तिजोरियों में काफी धन पड़ा हुआ है, उसे प्राप्त कर इन योजनाओं में लगाना चाहिये। अब समयाभाव के कारण मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त किये देता हूँ।

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श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में मध्यावधि मूल्यांकन जिस पर यह सदन विचार कर रहा है इसमें जो कुछ भी लिखा गया है उससे साफ प्रकट है कि योजना कमीशन अपनी असफलता को स्वीकार करता है। परन्तु जो सुझाव दिये गये हैं वे भी इस ढंग के हैं जिन पर चर्चा करने पहिले ही की तरह असफलता मिलेगी।

महोदय, मैं बहुत नज़ातापूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज माहौल यह है कि चाहे हमारे नियोजन मन्त्री हों, चाहे हमारे अर्थ मन्त्री हों, उनके अपने कुछ विचार नहीं चल पाते और वे ऐसे लोगों में घिरे हुए हैं, उनके मलाहकार ऐसे लोग हैं, इस नियोजन का स्वरूप देने वाले ऐसे लोग हैं, उनके इकोनोमिक एक्स्पर्ट लोग ऐसे हैं, जिनको केवल बुकिश ज्ञान है। इस देश के बारे में जिसकी 80 प्रतिशत जनता गावों में रहती है, उन गावों के दर्शन ये लोग हवाई जहाजों से करते हैं और

इन गाव के रहने वाले लोगों के बारे में ये कितानों से जानते हैं।

महोदय, इस सम्बन्ध में मैं दो तीन बात कह कर खतम कर दूंगा। पहली बात तो यह है कि जो हरित क्रान्ति की बात कही जा रही है, उसका श्रेय प्लानिंग कमीशन भी लेना चाहता है, कृषि विभाग भी लेना चाहता है, तमाम विभाग लेना चाहते हैं और ये कहते हैं कि हमने यह किया, वह किया। लेकिन असल बात यह है कि हम सब लोग इस बात को जानते हैं कि इस हरित क्रान्ति का श्रेय केवल इस बात को है कि आज किसानों को अपनी कमाई का मूल्य मिलने लगा है। अगर अन्न का उचित मूल्य, उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य किसानों को नहीं मिलता तो कोई हरित क्रान्ति नहीं आती और जो लोग आजकल उसके लिए श्रेय ले रहे हैं वे कतई न ले पाते। आज किसानों को उचित मूल्य मिलने लगा तो वह ट्रैक्टर के लिए दौड़ने लगा, वह खाद के लिये दौड़ने लगा, वह पम्पिंग सेट के लिए दौड़ने लगा। सरकार ने इससे यह समझा कि हम इन चीजों पर टैक्स लगाएंगे तो हमको बहुत रुपया मिल जायगा।

श्री पंडरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील : लेकिन आपने यह भी सुना होगा . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती पुरबी मुखोपाध्याय) : नहीं, समय बहुत कम है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : खाद पर टैक्स बढ़ाया गया, ट्रैक्टर पर टैक्स बढ़ाया गया, पम्पिंग सेट पर टैक्स बढ़ाया गया, हर चीज जो किसान के काम की है, जो खेती के काम की है, सब पर टैक्स बढ़ाया गया और किसान के उत्पादन का दाम घटाने का फैसला किया गया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हरित क्रान्ति असफल हो जायगी और नियोजन की नीति जो और क्षेत्रों में असफल हुई है वैसे ही यहाँ भी होगी।

दूसरा उदाहरण मैं यह देना चाहता हूँ कि इस नियोजन के क्षेत्र में बहुत कुछ गय रिजर्व

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

बैंक के गवर्नर्स और डायरेक्टर्स की होती है। रिजर्व बैंक की कृषि को ऋण देने की जो नीति है उसका मूल आधार इतना गलत है, इतना अनुचित है कि उसके बारे में जितना ही कम कहा जाय अच्छा है, कृषि को ऋण का विस्वास नहीं किया जाता। नियोजन विभाग और रिजर्व बैंक के डायरेक्टर यह मान कर चलते हैं कि जो खेती करता है वह बेइमान होता है, उनको ऋण दिया जाता है कृषि के लिए, उस पर यह बन्दिश है कि उसको ऋण नकद नहीं मिलेगा, वे इसका दुरुपयोग कर लेंगे, वे खा डालेंगे और यह ऋण दिया जाता है उनको जो बड़ी-बड़ी फर्म वाले हैं, कम्पनी वाले हैं, जो ट्रैक्टर सप्लाई करते हैं और पम्पिंग सेट सप्लाई करते हैं। यह जो उनके विचार का आधार है, यह जो उनकी मनोवृत्ति है यह बड़ी दूषित मनोवृत्ति है और जब तक यह बदलेगी नहीं तब तक इस देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। महोदया, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस तरह की बन्दिश जो किमानों के ऊपर रिजर्व बैंक लगाता है, जो नियोजन विभाग लगाता है वह उद्योगपतियों के ऊपर भी लगाई जाती है? करोड़ों-करोड़, अरबों-अरब रुपया उनको रोज देते हैं, एक दम छूट रहती है, जो चाहो मशीन खरीदो, जैसे चाहो खरीदो और किसानों पर बन्दिश लगाते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती पुरबी मुखोपाध्याय) :

बस।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि हम लोग, भारतीय भाषाओं के वक्ता यहाँ अवहेलना पाते हैं, प्रेस से भी अवहेलना पाते हैं, आप तो खयाल करेंगे, केवल 5 मिनट और।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती पुरबी मुखोपाध्याय) :

5 मिनट नहीं 1 मिनट, बहुत देर हो गई है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं दो-तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूँ, जो मूलभूत आधार की बातें हैं। आप जहाँ-तहाँ नियोजन के लिए रुपया इकट्ठा करते हैं दूसरे स्रोतों से। मैं दो-तीन

स्रोत बताता हूँ, आप उन पर चलिए, नियोजन के लिए रुपया आपके पास रहेगा। आप उच्चतम और निम्नतम आमदनी को बाध दें, जिस समाजवाद की खोज आप दूसरी जगह कर रहे हैं, वह आपके सामने आएगा। आप उच्चतम खर्च की सीमा बाध दें, समाजवाद आपके सामने आएगा। तीसरा काम आप यह कर दें कि हर चीज का मूल्य बाध दें, उत्पादन के डेढ़ गुने से अधिक कीमत पर कोई चीज न बिके, आपके सामने समाजवाद आएगा, आपके सामने वे चीजें आएंगी, जिन्हें आप दूर दूढ़ रहे हैं और कहीं नजर नहीं आ रही है।

महोदया, मैं आपके द्वारा आखीर में यह बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा नियोजन विभाग, केन्द्र की सरकार और प्रान्तीय सरकार सब लोग मिल कर हर माने में हमारे पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की जिस तरह से अवहेलना कर रहे हैं। आज हम लोगों की गरीबी इस कदर बढ़ गई है कि हम विवश हो गये हैं यह कहने के लिये कि हम भी दूसरे प्रान्त की माग करेंगे और मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आज भी आपकी आखें नहीं खुलने जा रही हैं और आप उपेक्षित क्षेत्र की ओर ध्यान नहीं देने जा रहे हैं, आप उनकी गरीबी की ओर ध्यान नहीं देने जा रहे हैं, तो हम वहाँ के रहने वाले निवासी अलग प्रान्त की माग करने के लिये विवश होंगे। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : The Planning Minister (Applause)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. What was the applause for ?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : For my rise

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : So that you may be attentive

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is it because he stood up ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Time is very precious. Please sit down.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Madam, Vice-Chairman, at the outset I would like to express my gratitude to the high-level debate in this House on the Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Plan. I want to assure the House that the main beneficiary of this debate is the Planning Minister. Unless the Planning apparatus is aware of the political trends, the political thinking and the political changes which are taking place in the country, the planning itself might become an effort in the ivory tower. And that is why this combination of the Planning Minister and the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission has been brought about. I think it was the DMK Member who raised this question whether these two posts could be combined and he appealed to me that I should make a choice and stick to one of them rather than hold both.

As a matter of fact, a point was made that if planning takes place merely on the basis of economic factors it is likely to go wrong. It has to be influenced by politics also and the Planning Minister provides that political factor in the Planning Commission and the planning process. Therefore, instead of saying that these two should not be combined, I think the House on the whole would welcome this combination.

Madam, before I proceed with the very many matters which were raised with regard to planning, the failures in the planning etc. I would like to deal with the few ghosts which were raised in this House. Unless those ghosts are laid to rest, I am afraid our planning and the implementation of the planning and the progress of the country also are likely to be impeded. I am sorry that Shri Niren Ghosh, the member belonging to the CPM, is not here. He was the person who raised the ghost. If you are prepared to lay it to rest, it is all right...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : It will reappear in the cup-boards of the Planning Commission.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : The ghost was raised in the form of a theory that this country consists of many nations. First of all we have to decide whether we are going to have a planning on the basis of an integrated nation or on the basis of a multi-national State existing in the country. I want to State this categorically that this is not a multi-national State, but it is a multi-lingual nation. And unless this difference is understood in

all its implications, the process of planning, its implementation and the very economy and social progress are likely to get impeded. And this ghost is being raised by the CPM and I do not know with what ulterior motive, because he went on saying...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : No, Madam...

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Kindly do not interrupt. I did not interrupt your speech and nobody interrupted your speech. You please listen and if you have got anything to ask, please ask me later on. This kind of a running commentary, pardon me, is not proper, particularly in a parliamentary debate. Therefore, I would request the hon. Member to have some patience and listen to me.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : When you talk about the party position, you should also not misrepresent.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Dr. Kurian please do not interrupt.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : As a matter of fact, we are not against integrated national planning. But it can be implemented only by giving more powers to the States.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : I am quoting what an hon. Member of your party stated on the floor of the House and I am not saying what has been stated outside. I am dealing with the points raised in the House and not with what all fantasies and fantastic nonsense you said outside... *(Interruptions)*.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Madam, I am on a point of order. He used the word 'nonsense'. He has said that... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : I said, "outside the House".

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : The Minister is saying it inside the Parliament... *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please do not disturb.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : If the Minister says that it refers to what is said outside the Parliament, it should not be referred to here. The Minister is right when he says that an integrated national planning is neces-

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

sary and we are not against an integrated national planning. But, we say that we are a multi-national country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : All right.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : From that theory, Madam, he want on to formulate another proposition that West Bengal has been reduced to the status of a colony which is being exploited by the rest of India. I would like to place some figures for the benefit of the hon. Member who is considered to be an economist and then he can draw his own conclusions. Madam, if you look at the progress of West Bengal State till 1967, when unfortunately political changes took place, you will find continuous development, particularly in the field of industry. If you look into the registered factories, you will find that the total number of factories that existed in 1952 were 2,625, in 1957, 3,400; in 1961, 4,311; in 1965, 5,643 and in 1966, 5,714. And, then the change takes place and you will find a decrease in the number.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : What is the percentage for the whole country ? The whole country was in a crisis then.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Why don't you have some patience ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Dr. Kurian, you are the only member of your party here now. Please do not obstruct the proceedings.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I will accept your word.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : You have a Doctor's title and you should prove worthy of the title . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Madam, I am on a point of order. The Minister is referring to my title. It is not proper. . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Then, I would give the value of. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : What is his title ? He is the Planning Minister and what does he understand about planning ?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : I do not know anything.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI : There should be no personal remarks.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Do not interrupt me like this.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : It is not for you to say this. It is for the Vice-Chairman to say that. You are not the Vice-Chairman.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : I am entitled to protest against interruptions of this type. Madam, I know where it hurts and that is why these interruptions.

Madam, now I would give the value of output ex-factory in your State : In 1959 it was Rs. 598 crores, in 1960 : Rs. 720 crores, in 1961 : Rs. 814 crores, in 1962 : Rs. 944 crores, in 1963 : Rs. 1,038 crores, in 1964 : Rs. 1,207 crores, in 1965 : Rs. 1,273 crores and in 1966 : Rs. 1,453 crores. And then what happens later on ? There is a steep fall. What is it due to ? There also we have the figures here. You will find that after 1967 there is stoppage of work and the fall in production that has come about. I think we should know the causes for that.

In 1952 the man-days lost due to stoppages (in regard to 139 stoppages) are 5,44,000 and odd. In 1957, the man-days lost were 9,98,000. In 1961, 20 lakhs ; in 1968, 67 lakhs ; in 1969, 93 lakhs ; and in 1970, up to three or four months, 41 lakhs. This is the state of affairs. How can you expect West Bengal to prosper, to progress. And even if you take into account the all-India percentage of industrial production till 1966, it always maintained between 20 to 23 per cent. But now if you look into the picture, it is a dismal picture. Who is responsible for it ? Certainly the people are best suited to judge. And they have given their judgment recently. This is where it hurts them . . . (*Interruption*)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : It is because of rigged elections.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Madam, whenever it goes in their favour it is democracy. Whenever it goes against them, it is a rigged election. I wish they have some standard with regard to the functioning of the democracy.

Then, Madam, from this on, another thing developed : State autonomy. The hon. Mem-

ber found a partner in the DMK party for this autonomy demand. I am very sorry I was not present here when the hon. Member Shri Kamalanathan spoke. He said that good ideas do not come necessarily from the Centre. I agree that many good ideas come from State Governments also. And I am taking into account the performance particularly of the State from which I and he come. Take the progress which has been made during the last 15 years. I do not want to differentiate between period and period. Take 20 years as a whole. From the 7th or 8th rank it has come to 2nd or 3rd rank with regard to development. I want to place it particularly before the DMK party not to fall a prey to this slogan of autonomy, by becoming a partner with the Marxist Party. It will be a very dangerous experiment that they will be trying...

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN (Tamil Nadu) : May I ask the Minister whether he has not spoken at a public meeting at Krishnagiri that he would fight for more powers for the State ?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : That's different. I am coming to that. If you look into the proceedings, you will find that not only at the public meeting at Krishnagiri but at other places also. From 1952 onwards, I have stated that we should have a little more powers. But that is different from State autonomy. This what the DMK should also recognize. If they are saying that for the purpose of implementing the Plan certain more powers are necessary certainly we shall consider and discuss. If there are any obstacles, constitutional or otherwise, they can be looked into. But to raise the slogan of autonomy and also to equate to what has happened in Bangla Desh is certainly a dangerous trend. I do not think anybody who has got the interest of the nation at heart can allow this thing to happen in this country (*Interruption*). And I want to be quite firm about it, and particularly about having pictures of the Chief Minister of Madras and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We all respect Mujibur Rahman. As a matter of fact, when he came here we gave him all the honour. But see the implications of it: either autonomy or Mujibur Rahman. What is the implication of it ? Therefore, about this question of autonomy coming in the way of planning process and the implementation, whether they want a proper plan or the implementation or they

want an agitation with regard to autonomy, they have got to decide here and now.

I am glad they are saying that they are prepared to co-operate with the Central Government in all the progressive policies. To that extent I welcome them but when these ghosts are raised, certainly there cannot be proper co-operation. All this plan and implementation is going to be impeded to that extent. Therefore, even in the very beginning I thought that I should deal with this aspect of multi-national State business and West Bengal becoming a colony and then, State autonomy. If these are the things which are going to be projected in the country today and on the basis of it our policy is going to operate, then we can give up the process of planning and the implementation of planning and the economic and social transformation that we want. Therefore, this is the important thing which we will have to deal with.

And now, with regard to the various speeches that have been made here, most of them highlighted the points which had already been printed and circulated to the hon. Members in the Reappraisal document. No doubt, cold print cannot thunder, cannot roar but we can do it on the floor of the House. But we have made a frank assessment, an honest assessment for the state of affairs and it is this. We have not only tried to highlight what has been achieved but also, more than that, we have tried to point out where the defects and deficiencies have crept in with the hope that they should be remedied. And it is from that point of view I placed before this House how to the best of our ability we have tried to tackle it in the Annual Plans, in the allocations to the Annual Plans, and the various steps we have taken through the Annual Plans. Members may say this is not adequate; but hon. Members should realise that we are not formulating a new Plan; we are in the process of implementing an existing Plan. It is easy to draw a new picture rather than correct an existing picture.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Why do you not scrap the Plan and draw up a new one since you have got a massive mandate ?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : We have taken up formulation of the Fifth Plan after the 1972 mandate. It will take at least two years to finalise the Plan. We have formulated a very rigid time-table for ourselves and even with that rigid time-table it will take at least two years to have a Plan. Then shall we have

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a Plan holiday again? Therefore, we have tried our best within the existing Plan, within the existing structure, how to introduce into the structure new thrusts, new directions so that this may even be a preparatory ground for the Fifth Plan. We want to know what direction we have got to take in the Fifth Plan and there also we have placed before the House certain ideas for the purpose of criticism—not that we have finalised those ideas; it is a preliminary thinking with regard to the direction in which we want to move. So, this is the most important thing. Therefore, going on pointing out that these are the deficiencies, these are the shortfalls here, these are the figures—which I myself have given in the document—is not enough. As a matter of fact, we have gone through an agonising experience in producing it. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said that it is an agonising document. It is an agonising document for many of us when we find that so many things have gone wrong. Therefore, how do we go about it? Is the direction in which we are moving the correct direction or are we in an advantageous position now to make new thrusts and new directions? This is the important thing which we have got to decide. Even with regard to that I placed it before the House. While in the past we were very much concerned with the growth factor, now particularly we are very much concerned with the building up of an infrastructure and without the building up of that infrastructure, whatever might have been our intentions and whatever might have been our sincerity, certainly we could not have attempted the task which we are trying to attempt today. This should be taken note of. We have every desire to fight the enemy but that does not mean you can immediately jump into a war without being fully prepared for it. Therefore, while we have many fronts to fight on the economic front, it does not mean that you can immediately take up those tasks and then achieve success. So if we think in terms of removing poverty to which we are committed and that poverty cannot be removed unless we have a large employment programme which will take care of not only unemployment but under-employment also, not only the educated unemployment but the manual labour also which is not employed, unless these two things are taken care of it will not be possible to move towards the direction in which we want to move. We have not stopped with that, I would like to point out to Mr. Gupta. Even for these two very things, for eradication of poverty and

employment programmes, if the disparities which exist in the community to-day, if they continue to exist in the same state, it will not be possible either to attack either poverty or tackle the problem of employment. Therefore we have made a commitment that we will remove this disparity and it is only for the purpose of clearing the ground, clearing the obstacles that we went through the process of amending the Constitution in the last one year. Just now the elections were over, two weeks ago and new Governments have been formed only now and they have taken charge. Immediately Mr. Gupta wants to ask: 'Why has not land reforms been implemented?' I wish it is possible to work a miracle that way. After all we have to give them reasonable time to take decisions and on the basis of the decisions to bring in legislations and on the basis of the legislations to have implementation. If they go wrong, certainly you are entitled to say 'Where are your commitments' but to charge them even now certainly is not encouraging them to take these decisions. It looks as if some people have vested interests in failures. This is the real trouble, otherwise they cannot go on attacking the Ruling party. Therefore within 2 or 3 weeks if you put the Chief Ministers on the test as to how they have implemented the land reform legislations, how they have amended the land reform legislations with regard to ceiling, if it is the test you are going to put to the Chief Minister, then certainly they are not super human beings. They are ordinary human beings and therefore you have to give them some reasonable time. If it does not happen, certainly all of us are entitled to put the question, not even as Members of Parliament but as citizens of the country we are entitled to question: "These were the commitments you made to the people during the elections, what has happened to it?"

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : What about the legislations which existed for many years? Why are they not implemented?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : That is why I said that things have been changing. If you do not take note of the changing trends then I cannot help it. After all 1967-68 is completely different from 1971-72, I want to make it quite clear.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : We are not asking about new legislations you are visualising but about the existing legislations.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Even the existing legislations, if you expect the new Chief Ministers even to implement the existing legislation, all that could not be done within the last few weeks. Therefore if the new commitments are there in 1971-72 kindly give us some time and I can tell you that it is not a state of affairs where we can evade the question as before. The atmosphere in the country is such that we cannot merely, on the basis of the slogans, carry the people with us. Those days are over. Either we deliver the goods or we get out but I want to tell you one other thing. This is the last chance in my view which democracy is getting to prove its credibility with regard to social and economic changes and if we do not succeed, I do not think anybody else is going to succeed on the basis of the democratic process. Something else will have to overtake the country and will overtake the country and therefore particularly those of us who believe in democracy, we are on trial and therefore it is not a question of just sniping at us. It is a question of sniping at democracy itself and particularly those parties who believe in the democratic process will have to assist in the implementation of this process rather than create obstacles in the way of the implementation of these various schemes. Therefore when we have placed before the country these commitments and for the purpose of fulfilling the commitments whatever stood in the way also we have been removing and again even though politicians may have doubts with regard to our credibility, with regard to the performance and implementations anyhow, the 1972 elections have established that the people have belief and they have faith in the leadership, in the party, in the Ruling party today that they will implement the programmes which they have placed before the people. Therefore kindly do not get impatient. Give us some time and if we do not deliver the goods, not only Parliament Members here, even the people will take good care of whoever falls behind the commitments that have been made. This is the new dynamic situation in which we are living but people seem to think that requires 74 amendments to bring it to the notice of the Government that these are the things which have got to be done. I think we have travelled far away from that situation. It is not merely a question of realisation but it is a positive commitment which this Government has made to the people and whether we are going to fulfil those commitments or not, all of us will try. I will

plead with Mr. Chandra Shekhar also that those days when you have to goad the Government, to criticise the Government, for taking active steps, are gone. The Government fully realises the dynamic situation, the explosive situation in which we are functioning and unless we move fast and prove our credibility we are going to be thrown out; there is no doubt about it.

So realising this we are trying to perfect the instrument as best as possible. Take even the process of planning and the implementation of the Plan. Have we lessons to learn with regard to the past experience? I am not talking about the contents of the Plan; I will come to it a little later. Even in the very process of planning it has become necessary to get the people involved. And if the people have to get involved in it, certainly it cannot be done sitting at Yojana Bhavan. That is why in the present context, particularly when we have reached a certain level of development, further developments will have to be on the basis of regional variations, local variations. Therefore for the purpose of planning and in the very Planning process to understand the difficult problems existing in each area, it can not be done sitting in Delhi. That is why we have now come to the conclusion, even though it was emphasized in all the Plan documents—even in the First Plan documents it was there that we cannot proceed unless we have multi-level planning and that is why we have written to the State Governments that multi-level planning is important and fortunately many State Governments have responded and even in the State of Kerala only day before yesterday a non-official Deputy Chairman has been appointed. And they are appointing a full-fledged planning body for this purpose; you may call it a Committee or Commission, whatever might be the name. Not only that planning apparatus for the districts also is becoming important. So it is in this context that we are new not only in a position but there is a compelling necessity to have this multi-level planning process introduced in the country. Till now planning was done in this way that they would only indicate and the targets with reference to the targets each Ministry afterwards began formulating various projects. One main factor which has contributed to the delay in reaching the targets is this that we were not ready with the formulation of the projects sufficiently early to take them up in time. Therefore we have come to the conclusion

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that each Ministry with reference to the likely targets—not merely one project but various alternative projects which would be relevant—should make the necessary studies and the feasibility reports at least should be got ready before the Fifth Plan Document comes into existence so that we do not talk in abstract terms of reaching our targets. We not only have different projects formulated but even get the feasibility reports ready. Then the Planning Commission would be in a position to evaluate with regard to various economic factors and various other considerations before each project is taken up. Now we are completely in the dark, and shoot in the dark which may hit the target or may not hit the target. That is why, only three days back, a special Division, a Project Evaluation Division has been created in the Planning Commission for this purpose. Then, the mere selection of the projects, the mere project evaluation alone, is not enough. We have now no machinery to keep track of the implementation of the various projects. This is another defect which we have come across and, therefore, what we call monitoring of the projects becomes very important and, therefore, along with the Evaluation, in the same Division, a Monitoring Division is being created at the Central level so that, major projects, particularly projects, which have inter-sectoral links, can be monitored. I would like to illustrate. For example, we want to have a thermal plant. And thermal plant means that we should, side by side, have the coal also. It means that the coal is to be got or developed and the transport is to be available to get the coal to the thermal station. The thermal station may come into existence but the coal may not be available. Now there is no machinery to monitor both and try to synchronise the coal project as well as the thermal plant project so that they are taken up and they come fruition at the same time, so that we are in a position to produce the power. Therefore, we are now creating the monitoring machinery in the Planning Commission for this purpose. All this would mean that we should have a good information system to get information from the various sources, from the District level, from the State level, and from the Central Ministries. It is not merely that. Sometimes we get the information but store it up. Therefore, a retrieval system should also be available. Therefore, the Evaluation system, the Monitoring system and, overall, the Information

system, these are what we are trying to build up in the Planning Commission. Therefore, it is not as if we are unaware of . . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Will all this make the red tape longer, or, will it be cut ?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : It can always be ; for anybody who wants to delay anything can be an excuse, but for anybody who wants to perform, even the present red tape does not stand in the way, does not stand in the way if a person is determined to get things done. Therefore it is only an excuse to say that red tape stands in the way. You create the red tape, you give place to the red tape and then say that red tape stands in the way. We talk of the bureaucracy and say that bureaucracy stands in the way. When there has been the determination I do not think that any bureaucracy has stood in the way of the implementation of any plan or any project. It is only an alibi that we try to raise and then get up and say that bureaucracy stood in the way. We should raise ourselves to put in a determined effort to implement the various projects and plans. Therefore, I want to make this quite clear. It is not for the purpose of delaying things. On the other hand, it is this system which would quicken the tempo of project selection, project implementation, and the project performance later on. So, we need not be under the impression that all this would necessarily impede progress ; on the other hand, this is the only way to quicken the process. Therefore, this is how we are looking at even the planning process, and we are fully aware of our shortcomings. We are fully aware of the defects and deficiencies and we are trying to find them out, not with our own wisdom. It is there we are trying to get the combined wisdom of the various experts and the various specialists for the purpose of removing the defects and the deficiencies. Therefore, it becomes necessary to improve our planning machinery to the extent possible. For that also we are taking the necessary steps. One thing we have now realised, and that was emphasised by many Members, and it was dealt with by my colleague also, is that a mere increase in the GNP is not going to solve the problem of poverty or unemployment. Growth is necessary but the components of growth are much more important. We could have a GNP increase at a much faster rate, and create a two-tier society, as it happens in many places. But, if you want the benefit of this to percolate to the lower sections

also, it becomes necessary to tackle the problems of poverty and unemployment at the very process of development and at the very process of production.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And therefore you need structural changes.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Having placed our objectives squarely and without any ambiguity, I want to assure this House and I want to assure Shri Bhupesh Gupta that whatever structural changes are necessary, whatever administrative changes are necessary, they will be made, and whatever structures have got to be pulled down, they will be pulled down if it becomes necessary, and nothing shall stand in the way of reaching our objectives. We have to judge whether a structure should stand or not, whether a monopoly house is entitled to function or not. We have to find out whether it serves the social objectives which we have placed before ourselves. Whether it stands in the way of economic progress or stands as a block to economic progress, this is going to be the test. Whether they are the Birlas or the Tatas, whoever they might be, if it is going to stand in the way of the achievement of the objectives that we have placed before ourselves, I want to give this assurance that this Government will not hesitate to take any step against any institution or against any capitalist if it becomes necessary for this purpose. It is becoming clearer that these structures will have to be pulled down, but how we pull them down is also important. In the process do you want to create confusion by taking over the entire thing? If we are prepared to make all sacrifices that a violent revolution needs and if we are prepared to go through the process of suffering and misery, then certainly we can take that step, but at the same time, everybody accuses the Government saying that there is such a shortage, that production is not enough, that production has been impeded. That is why we are trying to find it out. Can we pull down, the structures, if it becomes necessary to pull them down, without affecting the economic apparatus as whole? And we feel it could be done. The only thing is if we do it quickly it may damage the very economic apparatus and then the whole thing will have to be rebuilt again. Instead of that if we could take planned action even for the purpose of reducing the disparities and for the purpose of eliminating what you call monopoly houses

or big houses, if we plan it properly and take steps, perhaps it will be for the benefit of the entire nation. Here differences in the approach come in the way. Certain political parties seem to feel that they have a revolutionary approach. It is all right. It is not as if any of us here are afraid of revolution. We have gone through revolution much better than many of those people who talk about revolution. Therefore, we are not afraid of revolution. But is it necessary to pull down this thing and create more misery in the existing situation or you plan it in such a way that by taking planned action you are able to achieve the same result, may be a little delayed? And that delay is not be much. That is why we are committed now—not in a hazy way—to seeing that we shall remove poverty and unemployment. We want to place before this House and the nation a time-bound programme. This is what we are working out and it will come for discussion before this House. Before we finalise our Plan, certainly you people are entitled to make your suggestions and contribute to this planning process, so that ultimately a proper Fifth Plan will emerge which will not only meet the wishes of the people, but it will also be a process which will reach the social and economic objectives. This is what we are aiming at. Therefore, there is no need for using harsh and hard words against each other and sniping at the Planning Commission. Members, who, I want to tell you, are young men, who were not unemployed, who were holding very honourable and high positions. Because of the call of duty they have come to function here, leaving their lucrative positions and immediately Mr. Bhupesh Gupta thinks that they are all fools, that they are all being imprisoned...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not at all. I have said they are competent people, but they have been made prisoners.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : This is where you doubt their competence, that they do not have the intelligence to realise that they are in prison. If they are intelligent people and they realise that they are being imprisoned, immediately they would have released themselves from the prison. They would have got out of it. Since Mr. Bhupesh Gupta says they are prisoners, he seems to think that a brigade headed by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is necessary to release them from the prison of Yojana Bhavan. It is pure imagination.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No brigade can go there because the Marshal, Mr. Subramaniam, is there to defend them.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Anyhow, if you think that I have imprisoned them, then you have to release them from our clutches. You talk to them and find out if they want to be released from our clutches. We have got fortunately a young and competent team. I do not claim any merit for myself that I am going to achieve all these things. If I have any credit for any achievement, I want to tell you that it is not a personal credit to me. It is because I think I have the capacity to choose the right instruments for getting things done and in my view I have chosen the right instrument this time also for the purpose of formulating the Fifth Plan and that instrument I am quite confident will deliver the goods. Kindly leave off this sniping. Try to be cooperative. If you think same more ideas will have to be given to us, give them. We do not claim, even though there are competent people, that all wisdom and experience are concentrated in them. They are open to discussion, they are open to conviction, they are open to change. And that is why we exposed ourselves to all the political parties. Why did we call all the political parties and had talks with them as to what do they want us to do, what should be the approach. But even though we had a meeting, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's party had not fully cooperated about whatever we wanted....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : About what?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : The offer I made to their party, which I made to the other parties about industrial relations about which my colleague spoke in great detail. It is a matter which is the concern of everyone of us and that is standing in the way. I asked that party and its leader also to give me a plan as to what would be the industrial relation which he thinks would deliver the goods. I said, I am prepared to consider, even if it is making structural changes in the functioning of the entire public sector system. I gave him an assurance that I shall consider it, prepare about it, go to the Government and convince it. It is nearly ten months and I am yet to see it; it is going to come. Therefore there is no use in merely criticising—I have called every party and told them—if they have got any idea or any contribution to make, certainly I will take that and the Planning Commission will fully study the suggestion, and try

to be benefited by it. Therefore, I would appeal to you again. It is not necessary to go into the various details. I would appeal to you particularly when we are in the process of formulating the Fifth Plan—and as far as the objectives are concerned, they are, the elimination of poverty, tackling the problem of unemployment, reducing the disparities and finally, the selfreliance aspect. When we are all agreed on these objectives, can we not co-operate and pool our wisdom and experience so that out of it comes the Fifth Plan? Not only with reference to the formulation of this, even with regard to the Fifth Plan. This is the earnest appeal that I am making to the Members of the House, not only to the Members of the House but to all the political parties, to all the experts who are in the country today, who are in a position to contribute to the thinking with regard to the formulation of the Plan.

So, this is one aspect which we will have to keep in mind, and not simply harp upon the past that this had gone wrong. We agree we had gone wrong. I would ask them to quote any country which has not committed mistakes grievous mistakes, much more grievous mistakes than we have committed. But if on the basis of the mistakes we are able to learn the lessons then we progress. But if we do not learn lessons of our mistakes, then we are bound to go down. And we are making an honest attempt to learn lessons from our mistakes. But you cannot harp upon the mistakes, not showing the way we are to go. Most of the speeches, except a few, were merely harping upon our failures, which we ourselves put before you for consideration, to try and find out whether any new light could be thrown. So, if this cooperative approach is made, whether it be Dr. Kurian or Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or Dr. Bhai Mahavir, I have no doubt in my mind that every one of them, even though they are diametrically opposed with regard to the ideology, will have something to contribute in the process of thinking and in the process of the formulation of the Plan. This is the appeal that I am making to them.

Then, I do agree—it is not the Planning Commission alone which is going to deliver the goods. The administrative apparatus is becoming more and more important—the administrative apparatus not in the South Block or the North Block—that is also important. Ultimately, the results have to be achieved at the ground level. So the implementation machinery at the ground level is very

important. Therefore, the whole administrative system becomes important. Here also we have got the habit of sniping at individuals as bureaucrats. I made this point in the other House also that as far as the individuals in our bureaucratic system are concerned, perhaps they are much better trained than many of us, much better talented than many of us.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not necessarily.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : But you have put them in a system where they have to function in a particular way. I am not saying that there are no corrupt individuals. Corrupt individuals are there in every sector, not only among the bureaucrats.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Nayak in the Labour Ministry is sabotaging every move by the INTUC, the AITUC....

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Some of us politicians also sabotage. That does not mean that you should condemn the entire politicians. because some politicians are corrupt. You do not condemn an entire section because you find one person in that section stealing. And which section is pure and free from mistakes and faults? Can politicians, all of us, stand up and say that we are pure? Then you can throw stones at them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mistakes are different. This is deliberate sabotage.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Deliberate corruption I am talking about. Therefore, it is not a question of just throwing stone. It is a question of reforming the whole thing. Therefore, that system has got to be changed.

Finally I would make one point and finish ; it is 6 o'clock, Madam, and I will not take more time. That point is, what we want to achieve, particularly levelling up of the standard of life of the people at the lower level, just cannot happen if we continue to enjoy the same things that we are enjoying at the higher levels or even want to improve upon it. Therefore, sacrifices will have to be made by those who are in a position to make sacrifices. And it is not the Tatas and Birlas alone who should make sacrifices—I think this point was made by Mr. Pai in his speech—but every one of us has got to make sacrifices. In my

view, austerity is never preached. It has to be practised. Therefore, austerity should begin from the top, wherever the top might be, and should percolate to the bottom. But we expect the others to practise austerity whereas we want our privileges to go on increasing, our emoluments to go on increasing. And not only that, when those who are getting Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 go on strike, all our sympathies in the name of progressivism are in favour of those who are striking, even though they are getting Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000. We are talking of an employment programme. But employment means work. It is not merely getting salaries. So, what is important is not an employment programme but a work programme. But unfortunately the work programme is not there, and many of us are parties to creating an illusion that anybody who agitates for higher wages at whatever level, must get them, and whatever might be their privileges, if they want some more privileges, we should support them. Otherwise certainly I cannot understand the sympathy which the pilots got, which the other employees in the Indian Airlines got. Political parties went behind them and said, "Yes, we are behind you". For what? When we are thinking in terms of *garibi hatao*, we think that when a person is receiving Rs. 3,000 and so many other emoluments, it is not adequate. I think this is where the realisation has so come as to what causes we have to support, particularly the responsible elected representatives. Unless we develop that sense of responsibility in regard to what to support and what not to support, I am afraid we cannot have any disciplined work in this country. And without disciplined hard work no country has made progress. I do agree that we will have to create an atmosphere where this discipline and hard work would be the motivating force. But still I think that all of us will have to make an effort to put in a little more hard work and create conditions in which this atmosphere can be created. For that purpose also, if we have to make institutional changes, if institutional changes are necessary for this purpose to give incentives for harder work, I want to give this assurance, Madam, through you to the House that it will be done. Ultimately, whatever might be the tools we may have, whatever might be the benefits of science and technology we may have, it will depend upon the labour that we put in, the work that we put in. So, if we shirk work and if everybody should think "less work, more wages and more benefits", the

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

country as a whole is not going to benefit. Therefore, we have not only to create an atmosphere of austerity, but an atmosphere of hard work and harder work. That is the essence of the requirements of the situation today. I hope this House and also all responsible persons would come forward to create this atmosphere so that we can go forward.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Madam, just one or two clarifications. We expected one or two clarifications from the Minister..

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : This is not an end of the debate. We are going to have many more occasions. I do not want to shirk any issue. But I do not want also to take the House beyond 6 o'clock. That is why I finished my speech. But I have put the basic factors for your consideration.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : What I am saying is I am not entering into any controversy. I was just trying to ask whether the Planning Commission has made up its mind to shift emphasis from big industry, from big schemes, to small industry, small irrigation, and whether it has any idea about giving up the importance and the preferences it gives to foreign capital, foreign collaboration, foreign plants. These are just the things on which I wanted a clarification.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : This is another phobia which we have that everything small is good and everything big is bad or *vice versa*. There are certain things which have got to be done on a big scale. For example, you want fertilisers for your agriculture today. Certainly it cannot be done on a small scale. It has to be done in a big way. You want equipment for power generation. Certainly it cannot be done in the small scale sector. It has to be done on a big scale. Therefore, wherever it is possible to do it in a small scale, we are committed to doing it and we will do it. But this should not become a slogan that everything big should be avoided and we have only small enterprise. Then we become a primitive society. I do not want to be self-reliant on the basis of primitiveness. I want to be self-reliant on the basis of a modern and dynamic society in our country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : One question, Madam.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : Madam, just one point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You are turning it into a Question Hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Madam, this is an important thing..

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is wrong, Madam, All right, then I shall go on pressing every one of my amendments. Because they are larger in number they say 'no, no'. What do they mean by it ? The honourable Minister has legitimately suggested that we should cooperate with them. I appreciate it. I welcome this thing. Now, what is the mechanism ? That is what I would like to know from him. In the past Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, apart from Parliamentary Committees, had a small committee where representatives of various parties were called and principles were discussed. It went on from Plan to Plan. Under Shrimati Indira Gandhi also it continued. But nowadays there is no such arrangement..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : All right, you have made your point.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : I am prepared to discuss with the honourable Member and particularly with the leaders of the parties and arrive at an arrangement as to how we bring about an institutional set-up where this cooperation will be possible.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, I agree with the Planning Minister that the Chief Ministers of the States now want some more time, sufficient time, to introduce and implement land reforms. But I want to know whether you can give some idea as to how much time you intend to give them and how much time they want to introduce and implement land reforms.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : This is the thing which we are going to discuss on the 8th and 9th at our party level and after that it will be made public. The time-bound programme in regard to land reforms will be announced, it will not be kept as a secret in the party office, it will be made public, those commitments will be made public by the Chief Ministers and by the party also.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : I would like to ask the honourable Minister as to what the present position is of the Sarabhai Profile for technology. For two years it is lying in the Planning Commission. Has it been cleared—Sarabhai's ten-year profile for technology? Have they considered the question of having a ten-year plan for technology? If so, what is the present position?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : We are in the process of formulating a scientific and technological plan for ten years, and one for five years for the Fifth Five Year Plan. And that is under discussion just now in the Lok Sabha. I want to give this assurance that all steps will be taken to step up our technology and scientific competence. Without that we are not going to make progress. With regard to the technology profile, it is not such an easy matter. I have looked into it and I have discussed it with various experts and a little more thinking becomes necessary, particularly after the death of Sarabhai. As a matter of fact, we wanted to have a discussion and come to a decision about it. On Monday we had a long discussion for hours together, and we wanted to have a final meeting. But unfortunately on Tuesday night he died. A new Director is in position and he has to go through it and he has promised to go before the Planning Commission as soon as he finalises his study with regard to the technical feasibility of certain proposals that have been included in the ten year programme. We are fully aware of it and we are not sleeping over it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : I shall put the amendments to vote.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Together?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : Please withdraw them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : After the Minister's speech, some of us wanted to ask some questions. The manner in which it was sought to be prevented does not speak well. You invite co-operation and you behave like that. This is not talking sense, but nonsense. Therefore, I am sorry, Shri Subramaniam was willing to answer. But some hon. Members from that side outheroded Herod by saying 'no'. Therefore, if the hon. Members are tired, let them go home. I can move my amendments after that.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : I will appeal to the hon. Member to withdraw them. I have asked for co-operation. This should be the first step in that direction.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which way?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : By withdrawing your amendments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let me press these amendments in the absence of hon. friends who might be tired. I want to give them relief. Then there will be vote on my amendments.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Are you withdrawing them?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He does not want 74 amendments. If I had a little more time, I would have given more. Since I have given them, kindly put them to vote. I want that to go on record. These amendments are only some suggestions. There is no question of confidence and all that. These amendments contain certain ideas. Without any disrespect to him, I press the amendments.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : I shall now put amendments Nos. 1 to 74 to vote.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In deference to your wish, I am not asking for division.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : I am now putting amendments Nos. 1 to 74 moved by Shri Balachandra Menon to vote.

The questions were put and the motions were negatived.

MEMBER SWORN

Shri Shaweess K. Shilla. (Meghalaya)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : The House now stands adjourned until 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 14th April, 1972.