

the Table, under sub-section (4) of section 17 of the Coir Industry Act, 1953, a copy of the Annual Certified Accounts of the Coir Board, Ernakulam, for the year 1958-59. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-354/62.]

CONCLUSIONS REACHED AT STATE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE ON THE SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES COMMISSION REPORT

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI-MATI MARAGATHAM CHANDRASEKHAR): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Record of conclusions reached at the Conference of State Ministers in charge of Backward Classes held on the 26th and 27th July, 1962, on the Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-382/62.]

STATEMENT CONTAINING MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF 20TH SESSION OF INDIAN LABOUR CONFERENCE

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): Sir, beg to lay on the Table a statement containing the main conclusions of the 20th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held at New Delhi on August 7 to 9, 1962. [See Appendix XL, Annexure No. 83.]

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF MOTION RE PROGRESS OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that under rule 153 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I have allotted two days for the consideration of the Government Motion regarding the Progress of the Third Five Year Plan.

MOTION RE PROGRESS OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING AND LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA): Sir, I beg to move the following motion:—

“That the progress of the Third Five Year Plan and the measures being taken to ensure its successful implementation be taken into consideration.”

Sir, it is indeed a happy coincidence that exactly a year ago, on the 28th of August 1961, the Rajya Sabha took up the consideration of the final Report of the Third Five Year Plan when the following motion was moved by me on behalf of the Prime Minister:—

“That the Third Five Year Plan laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 14th August, 1961, be taken into consideration.”

It is worth while recalling what the Prime Minister said on that occasion, this day, a year ago:

“In the last twelve years, we have faced all these problems, some of them very serious, some of them even on the verge of danger, and yet in spite of all that, this process, that we started twelve years ago of planning, has continued; in spite of criticism, sometimes justified, it has continued. In spite of set backs it has continued; and in spite of our own failures in implementing all that we wanted to implement. Nevertheless it has continued for the last twelve years, and there have been two Five Year Plans and now we are on the Third. It is a heartening thought, I think, to realise this continuity of these difficulties in spite of, I may add, the deficiencies of our Governments.”

Sir, it is in the fitness of things that in view of the events of the past year or so and the problems encountered, the achievements such as they are—

and there may be certain failures and deficiencies also—the Rajya Sabha should review the progress of the Third Five Year Plan

Sir, when we formulate a Plan, we give a sketch of the lines on which we wish to advance, the dimensions of the Plan as a whole, allocations to the various sectors, the measures which are necessary for the implementation of the various programmes, and so on. But the fact that there is a Plan does not mean that its course is set for a period of five years and that it will move on by itself to a certain destination. A variety of circumstances and factors come into the situation, certain changes take place in various sectors and the economy as a whole. There are, even to begin with, various elements of uncertainty, and for our country, Sir, there is the question of the forces of nature, in particular the monsoon, and there are international factors also. We have to depend to an extent upon assistance from other countries to accomplish something as big as the Third Five Year Plan or even bigger than that. It is the responsibility of the millions of people. The progress of the Plan depends upon not the work done by a few people in the Planning Commission or in the Secretariat or in the Ministries or even in the Departments of the States but by the millions of the people in the country, their responses, their reactions and enthusiasm. And that, Sir, depends mainly on how far we are able to go ahead. Many of our people are unorganised and not well equipped. All these become elements of uncertainty.

Sir, it is natural that the House will wish to know how the Third Plan has fared during the past year, about the difficulties and problems which have come in its way and what changes and adjustments have come in its way or are being contemplated and what are the prospects for the future. This is a proper occasion for a review of the Plan in the course of last one

and a half years and there have to be several other occasions for a review of its progress periodically. It is necessary, Sir, because the Plan has become the framework for economic activity in all parts of the country and for all aspects of the economic life of the nation. Therefore, if the Plan is faced with difficulties, it becomes a matter of concern for every one here and outside. Therefore, there is need for a continuous appraisal and watch.

Sir, how do we look at it? There are certain tests, tests of performance, in relation to which whatever has been achieved or any lack of achievement has to be judged in relation to the *expectations and targets of the Plan, its overall aims and objectives*. Now, I would like to draw attention of the House to the main aims in relation to which we have to examine how far we have advanced and whether that advance is satisfactory or not. Well, there is the overall review of the economic situation in terms of increase in national income and production, and in the case of the Plan of the structure and the strategy of the Plan. What is important is not what we have achieved during a year or two of a Plan but what efforts we have made or what arrangements or preparations have been made in order that progress is accelerated during the coming years, that is, in relation to the aim of arriving as quickly as possible at the stage of self-sustaining and self-reliant growth. That is, Sir, another test. That is another way in which to judge what has happened in the course of a period. Next, I would put employment and social services. Many hon. Members are interested in one field or another of social services including education, health, welfare of the backward classes, social welfare generally and housing. These are both aids for development and also instruments for raising the level of well-being of the people. It is not that social services mean just so much expenditure. They are in the nature of investment. There is another aspect regarding which, in the course of the debate in the Lok

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Sabha, many hon Members evinced interest, that is the aspect relating to social justice—whether the benefits of progress, are being more widely shared as between different sections of the population and the regions of the country.

Although it is convenient to divide the Plan by five-year periods and annually, but it stretches over a longer period, having regard to the realisation of the objectives, and therefore it would be possible to comprehend the significance of what takes place in the course of one year or five years only if we keep in view the perspective of the country's longterm development specially in vital sectors of the economy

Hon. Members know this fact but it is good to bring it to their notice in view of the very large expectations and aims that we have set before ourselves. At 1960-61 prices, the *per capita* income between 1960-61 and 1975-76, should increase by over 60 per cent. To achieve this rate of development, the net investment as a proportion of national income should rise from 11 per cent. to around 20 per cent. per annum. Domestic savings would have to rise in a corresponding measure from 8.5 per cent. to 18-19 per cent. This is the magnitude of the effort that is involved.

Now, taking the Third Plan itself, what is the goal that we set out to achieve, against which we can compare our achievements. We undertook to secure 30 per cent. increase in the national income by the end of the Third Plan and 17 per cent. in the *per capita* income. This implies that the rate of domestic savings should be increased from 8.5 per cent. at the end of the Second Plan to 11.5 per cent. by the end of the Third Plan and the rate of investment should be raised from 11 per cent. to 14 per cent. Now, agricultural production increased at an average rate of 3.8 per cent. during the Second Plan. It has to be

stepped up at a much higher rate, I think by 30 per cent. in the course of the five years, that is, on an average of about 6 per cent. per annum. Now, in connection with the programmes for agricultural production we have set before ourselves a very definite aim that our economy should become self-sufficient in the supply of food-grains at least. That is an indication, of our determination and our earnestness to accomplish things. Further large strides should be made in the course of Third Plan for the development of those industries which can help to make the economy self-sustaining such as steel, machine-building, fertilisers, coal, etc. The increase in coal production is to be of the order of 130 per cent and steel 183 per cent. I mention all these things knowing that I will be told what has been achieved during the years. But I myself put these figures down so that, the comparisons may be made in a proper manner.

Now, this picture has to be viewed in relation to a scheme of financing the Plan. After all, whatever we wish to achieve—the various programmes involving investments, etc.—it means a certain scheme of raising resources. There is a total Plan outlay of Rs. 7,500 crores in the public sector. But the actual physical programmes are estimated in excess of Rs. 8,000 crores. The total investment estimate both in the private sector and the public sector is 10,400 crores. That is the order of the effort that we are being called upon to make in the Third Plan.

Now, Sir, in this context, let us examine what the progress has been so far. Outlays at the Centre and in the States for the year 1961-62 were about Rs. 1,150 crores, that is 15.3 per cent of the Third Plan outlay. In 1962-63, it is proposed to spend about Rs. 1,473 crores, that is 19.6 per cent. of the total Third Plan outlay. Therefore, during the first two years we would have spent about 35 per cent of the entire Third Plan outlay. Now, so far as the out-turn from investments is concerned, as I mentioned

before, the most comprehensive indicator of economic change and progress is the national income. As far as we can judge from the preliminary information available, because final estimates are not before us, the national income in 1961-62 was probably about 3 per cent higher than in the previous year and this is to be set against 30 per cent. over the five-year period. Obviously, this is considerably short of what we should have achieved.

Now, connected with the total national income, there is the question of how we fare in the matter of agriculture because agriculture is still the dominant feature so far as the rate of growth is concerned. We have not got as yet, as I pointed out, final estimates but it appears that it could not be much more than 1 per cent during the last year. So far as the industrial production is concerned, the increase in 1961-62 was between 5 to 6 per cent. And the factors which might account for this slackening, so far as this rate of increase is concerned, I would like to indicate later on. But broadly, the position is that marginal increases have been there in traditional industries like cotton textiles. That industry itself depends upon what happens in the sphere of agriculture as the raw material comes from agriculture. So, this is, as might be obvious, not a record which could be described as something with which we can be satisfied at all. And at the same time we are faced with the emergence of certain bottle-necks, certain imbalances. I would, therefore, explain what has happened with regard to the slackening or slowing down of the rate of industrial progress.

Now, the fact is that when we think of a rate of growth, the very first thing to be kept in mind is that it is not that there is uniformity in the rate of acceleration, at least in our country. And we have not looked forward to it, the main reason being the fluctuations in agricultural production. Our achievement in regard to the increase in national income, during the last year of the Second

Plan, was over 7 per cent., and the year before that, it was less than 2 per cent. It has been fluctuating over the last ten years. The figure was 5 per cent in 1956-57 and minus 1 per cent in the following year. The main reason for the variations is that we are unable yet to exercise sufficient control over agricultural production and give it a direction so that we could obtain results as we would like to have at least a stable progress. Now, this is one of the main factors. Last year, so far as the weather conditions were concerned, it was an unfavourable year, and it may also be taken into consideration that the previous year was an exceptionally good year in the sense that whereas the original target in the Plan itself was 75 to 76 million tons of foodgrains, the actual achievement was 79 million tons. Therefore, it was more than the target and during the last year it was just at about that level or a little more than that. Therefore, it is not fair to compare that figure just for one year but if we take two or three years together, then we can arrive at some valid conclusions. I think this is the only way to get it—a moving average as to whether we are stepping up agricultural production as a sort of trend and I am quite sure that the trend does exist. It may not be adequate. It is because the previous year to the last was so very good that even though the output of the last year, that is, the first year of the Third Plan, in terms of the potentials, inputs etc. may not be very bad, it is only because there was much more achieved during 1960-61 that it looks as if we have not done well at all in 1961-62. This is a factor which should be borne in mind when we examine and consider all that concerns the rate of progress during this year.

There is another aspect and that is the impact of the Second Plan. Now, it might have been that if the Second Plan had somehow not had a difficult course and had not become subject to the need for reappraisal and a cut, our situation in the last year and the

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current year would have been very much better especially in the matter of power, transport, etc. What exactly happened in the Second Plan and all the factors which came into the picture, that information will be placed before the House shortly. A review is being prepared and in spite of all the deficiencies in the Second Plan—the shortfalls which occurred—we have also to see what new ground was broken and what things were attempted during the Second Plan of which there was no parallel in the First Plan and, therefore, it called for a new kind of endeavour. The experience gained is no doubt important. The other thing which has a bearing on what I am referring to is the question of difficulties faced by the Second Plan, which made us draw a sharp line between core and non-core projects. There were special difficulties particularly in the matter of power. The consequences of this reappraisal are still with us to some extent. The recent gap between the supply of power and expansion in needs is largely due to this circumstance. Similarly, the imbalance in relation to transport of coal might also have been of smaller dimensions. As regards steel plants, although the necessary capacities were established, the time needed for achieving production turned out to be longer than had been anticipated. This has been an important factor affecting the recent situation. In key areas of development, the need for a proper balance between different sectors is a question of primary importance. Any development which tends to upset the balance for which a well-knit Plan provided has both short-term and long-term effects. Action based on considerations which for the moment may be too pressing and unavoidable may in fact tend to weaken the sense of continuity in planning. These are mentioned as the lessons which we have to derive from the experience of the Second Plan. These lessons have to be borne in mind in the Third Plan and, therefore what we have done or not done in the last one and a half years has to be

judged in that relationship as to whether those lessons are being learnt. The realisations of targets in respect of vital projects in more than one sector could not have been affected at all by anything that we did or did not do in the last few months of the Third Plan. All that flowed from whatever the situation was at the end of the Second Plan or earlier because the consequences flowed into the Third Plan. Therefore, a sound judgment about what has happened in the course of the last one and a half years rests on this, whether in view of the situation that we faced at the end of the Second Plan—the consequences or the lessons of that—we have done all that was necessary and possible to see that such things do not recur again or that to the extent that is within our control at any rate we do not allow our deficiencies to persist.

I will come to another question which I had just hinted at as to what we have been going during this period of the Third Plan in the nature of remedial action so that these things do not recur. The Third Plan has been conceived in two dimensions, as hon. Members know. It is part of a long-term plan of development extending, at this stage, to 1975-76, the last year of the Fifth Plan. This has to be pursued in a connected manner so far as the industrial complex is concerned, which includes power, transport, technical education and scientific research. One of the limitations that may affect the progress of a Plan is financial resources, including both internal and external. Now, so far as internal resources are concerned, and this will apply to external resources also to an extent, we cannot think of them as something static. They can be much more than what we anticipate, they may be less also. The resources are not something static, they are in turn dependent on the physical progress that is achieved, on the institutional changes that take place, and the instruments that are fashioned for more effective planning. With the physical programmes before

us which are bigger than the financial size of the Plan, every effort has to be made to augment our capacity to find the necessary financial resources. At the present stage of our development, external assistance is essential, if we are to have all the foreign exchange resources needed, and such assistance will become available only from stage to stage. The main question, therefore, is, so far as internal resources are concerned, that actually we do not have any kind of misgiving about at least realising that level of resources which is related to the Plan of Rs. 7,500 crores in the public sector, may be somewhat larger. It is the foreign exchange element of it which will cause more concern and is a matter which does not lie entirely with us. Of course, it is not that it is entirely beyond our control because a good deal of effort can be made within the country so that our position regarding foreign exchange becomes easier.

In the course of the Third Plan we have made certain additions to which I would like to draw the attention of hon. Members. Since the Third Plan was formulated, the following are the main additions which have been made. Railways additional outlay of Rs. 145 crores of which Rs. 120 crores are for ensuring movements of coal in the Third Plan, Rs. 15 crores for line capacity works required early in the Fourth Plan for coal movements and Rs. 10 crores for line capacity work, related to the general goods traffic; Roads; Rs. 29 crores for additional road programmes assisted by loans from International Development Association;

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair].

Posts and Telegraphs: Rs. 11 crores; Power: Rs. 34 crores; Oil programmes: Rs. 18 crores; Agriculture: Rs. 50 crores for achieving 20 per cent. increase in the target of area benefited by minor irrigation and soil conservation and for special measures for increasing the production of cotton and oil-seeds; and Education and other Social Services: Rs. 20 crores.

The question of foreign aid, as I have mentioned, exercises our mind continuously. But so far as that component of the Plan which requires foreign or external assistance is concerned, the position as it has turned out now, is more manageable. In terms of foreign exchange, the requirements have gone up from Rs. 2,030 crores to Rs. 2,150 crores. The addition of Rs. 120 crores is on account of programmes for Power and Transport. These programmes have been augmented significantly so as to meet large and pressing requirements. When the foreign exchange requirements of the Third Plan were estimated as a minimum at Rs. 2,030 crores, payments were reckoned at Rs. 1,900 crores. This amount was required by way of aid. In addition, apart from PL 480, a further sum of Rs. 700 crores was proposed for aid—Rs. 200 crores being for import of components, intermediate products etc. for raising production of capital goods, and Rs. 500 crores for refinancing the external debt payments. Thus in all, the amount of foreign exchange required for the Third Plan by way of aid was placed at Rs. 2,600 crores. It was recognised that besides this amount, there would be need for a provision of Rs. 400 crores by way of spill-over to the Fourth Plan. The overall estimate of requirements for aid remains the same as in the Plan, namely, apart from the spill-over to the Fourth Plan, about Rs. 2,600 crores. Of this amount, according to the present estimates, the Plan targets would require about Rs. 2,150 crores. The cut will fall on imports for the maintenance of our economy. This puts on all parts of the administration and of industry a serious task. We have been taking various steps and one of them relates to imports substitution for which a high level expert technical panel has been set up. Great urgency, therefore, attaches to the work of this panel.

The availability of foreign exchange is of crucial importance in sectors which are vital for the growth of India's economy and the building

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up of a strong industrial and economic structure. It is, therefore, a matter of basic importance that such foreign exchange resources that we have, should be put to the best possible use, both in the public sector and in the private sector. This is the approach which the Government are adopting.

As things stand at present, the bulk of the programmes for power and a substantial proportion of the programme for transport, industry and minerals have already obtained or will shortly obtain the necessary foreign exchange. However, there are a number of programmes which are not at present fully covered by aid. There are also individual projects for the development of our economy which do not at present have the necessary foreign exchange such as the Bokaro Steel Plant and the Durgapur Tool and Alloy Steel Plant. Therefore, in the use of such further aid as may become available, we propose to give priority to these two groups of projects, other projects being considered for the allotment of foreign exchange after these needs have been met.

There is a serious apprehension which has been felt and expressed, namely that as it happened in the course of the Second Plan, the private sector would run away with a large chunk of the available resources, leaving some of the public sector projects in the lurch. The situation is not as bad as that. In the private sector, against the allocation of Rs. 450 crores in the Plan, grant of foreign exchange to the extent of a little over Rs. 200 crores has been already approved. There are still a number of important industries for which a much larger amount of foreign exchange must be allocated, if the targets set in the Third Plan are to be realised. It has, therefore, been recently decided that in the further allocations of foreign exchange in the private sector, the following should be regarded as the priority

industries: (1) alloy and special tool steels, (2) steel castings, (3) steel forgings, (4) heavy structurals including cranes, (5) railway wagons and other railway equipment, (6) industrial machinery for textiles, jute, tea, mining washeries, cement making and paper making, (7) machine tools, on a selective basis, (8) pig iron, (9) shovels and earth moving equipment, (10) fertilizers, (11) rayon grade pulp, (12) special refractories, (13) industrial explosives, (14) ferro-chrome, ferro-molybdenum and ferro-silicon, (15) modernizing steel re-rolling plants to enable them to manufacture wire-rods and special steel sections, and (16) cotton textile machinery particularly for use of short and medium staple cotton.

It is proposed that the requirements of each of these industries in relation to the expansion which has to be achieved in the Third Plan period should now be reassessed carefully and the existing programmes of development reviewed so as to put the available foreign exchange resources to the most economic and efficient use.

It is also essential that the resources made available by way of aid should be used speedily in accordance with the schedules in the Plan. This brings us to the problem of the speedy utilisation of the assistance we get. There has been some difficulty on account of the procedures and deficiencies of a technical organisational character on our side, both at the Centre and in the States, which have to some extent delayed the utilisation of the aid. Government are fully seized of this problem and various steps are being taken which should lead to more speedy utilisation.

Foreign aid, as I pointed out, covers today a major part or a substantial part of certain projects under the various heads. We expect that some of the remaining projects also will attract the necessary aid. It is not simply a question of getting foreign aid. It is a much larger problem. This is

causing us anxiety, I must acknowledge that fact. Our foreign exchange resources, that is to say, our external assets, have gone down and they have come to a point where there can be no question of taking any risk about it. Therefore, all the time we have to be very careful that every possible effort is made to augment our foreign exchange resources. What are the steps that are being taken? First of all, we try to conserve whatever foreign exchange resources are available. Secondly, we have a big programme to increase our export earnings. The question may be asked: You have set rather big targets, but are they realistic? Well, I have no doubt in my mind that if we do not take the necessary steps, the targets will not be realised. But there are certain measures which should be adopted to ensure that the targets are achieved. If the necessary effort is made, we can come up to that level and even exceed it. We have to do it because the targets set for the Third Plan are related only roughly to the physical programmes. The physical programmes are much more than the financial content shown in the Plan. That should be very clear. Therefore, efforts, both in the matter of internal resources and in securing foreign exchange, have to be made so that we may go beyond the present limits. I need not take the time of the House in explaining the various steps that are being taken for the purpose of improving our foreign exchange position. I have already mentioned this question of speed and efficient utilisation of the aid because it will help us to some extent. We will be able to realise more production which has a bearing on the question of foreign exchange resources. In the use of foreign credits, there are various complicated procedures involved. There are not only the difficulties which emanate from the procedures required by the aid-giving countries, but on our side also there are some lacunae. When we had a close look so far as the methods of utilisation of foreign aid are concerned, we found that it was rather an

unpleasant experience. I think we should have done better in this respect. There was the question of roads which should have been built more speedily than they have been actually built and the question of arrangements that had to be made in the private sector for collaboration and utilisation of foreign loans which were not quite satisfactory.

I might refer to certain steps that are being taken for the purpose of increasing our foreign exchange earnings. The difficulties are many. The countries which produce the primary commodities are at a great disadvantage because the terms of trade go against them and there are all kinds of restrictions. How are we going to pay back the loans and interest, which we certainly are going to, except by increasing our exports? On that plane, the Plan becomes a bigger one. On the side of exports, far-reaching decisions have been taken which are being implemented so that the levels of exports can be stepped up. Detailed plans are being made and each important commodity entering export trade has been studied in relation to its requirements abroad. If any legal action is needed for increasing export earnings, we will have to take that also, but export earnings depend on another very important factor and that is the competitive nature of the price. We must be in a position to sell the commodities abroad at a reasonable price. The question of quality also comes in. We are taking action so far as reduction in costs is concerned. Important commodities are being taken up for special studies including cement, jute, bicycles, electric motors, transformers and rayon. Cost studies in respect of seven industries will be undertaken shortly. These studies will disclose our weaknesses so that we can remedy them. I have taken up this aspect in other places too, for example, in the Indian Labour Conference where the employers, the workers and the Government representatives come together. On the last occasion, I was told that my speech was that of the Planning

[Shri Gulzarilal Nanda] Minister and not of the Labour Minister and I told them that I could do nothing for labour if planning did not succeed in the country. The level of wages, employment potential and the capacity to export all depend on the expansion of the economy. Therefore, the question of costs has to be faced by every section of the industry, workers, technicians. They have to be conscious of both the costs and the quality. These things are being dinned into their ears. The export targets of the Third Plan are fairly high and their achievement will need a great deal of effort and a measure of sacrifice. I have dealt with this question of foreign exchange and now I will come to another inter-related aspect and that is .

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVARGIYA (Madhya Pradesh) In view of the ECM will not our exports collapse?

SHRI C D PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) No, they will not

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA This is something about which I would not like to say anything definite (*Inter-ruption*) Of course, our exports will be affected, if it takes a wrong course, if we do not get terms which are suitable for us or if we are forced to reduce our exports of important commodities on which the Plan rests

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) But the whole scheme is still under consideration so far as Britain is concerned

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA I am not in a position to say anything more than what the Finance Minister has already disclosed and which is well known. Our deep concern is there about this aspect and we shall try to save our exports from any ill-effect coming from that source

Now, Madam, I will come to one or two vital questions concerning the success of the Plan. There is the

main question of the price policy about which I made a full statement in the Lok Sabha the other day. There is also the question of imbalances in the transport, coal and power. I have mentioned already that certain steps are being taken to remove the bottlenecks but there is a very serious imbalance between the availability of goods and the purchasing power available in the hands of the people. Here comes the question of price policy. This is a matter which has been viewed differently by divergent interests and several attitudes have been adopted about it. One attitude is that a steady rise in prices is inevitable when the level of investment is raised in the course of development because there is a long period of gestation, particularly in the kind of industrial structure which we have adopted with emphasis on the production of capital goods and relatively less attention being given to consumer goods.

We find that there is a measure of balance in the scheme of financial resources—how much will be drawn from taxation, loans and small savings and how much will remain to be covered by deficit financing. This has got to be realised. There is a balance envisaged in the Plan in relation to production, consumption and investments, and this is upset if there are agitations like the ones which have been on foot against additional taxation in some States. It is incongruous to say that prices should not rise and also to maintain that the Plan must not only be fulfilled but that much more should be done because of the special needs of backward areas and the presence of millions of people whose basic minimum has not been satisfied. All that is before us and, therefore, some people say that it should be a bigger Plan. While making the Plan bigger or achieving it in terms of its present size, if prices rise, then those very people or areas for which we have got so much solicitude, are going to suffer more than

anybody else. When more purchasing power is pumped into the system, if we do not withdraw it in the form of taxation or loans and small savings, then we are led to deficit financing in an increasing measure which again leads to all those consequences which make the execution of the Plan itself more difficult and the lot of so many people worse.

In any price policy what we have to keep in view is that production and productivity increase; that is, the relative price structure should be such that it enables the targets of production to be realised and also that the producers, particularly agricultural producers get a reasonable minimum price. Then there is the question of the consumers who are not all of one type. There are vulnerable sections while there are others who can bear the burden a little more and yet there are some others for whom we need not feel concerned at all. The condition and the situation of the fixed income group, particularly of low income group, has to be kept in view in considering the price policy. The wholesale price indices are available and it is pointed out very legitimately that it is not the wholesale price at which people buy their requirements of consumer articles. There is naturally a gap between the retail prices and wholesale prices but there is a feeling among large numbers of people that the middleman's margins are excessive, and that there is profiteering. When the Government employees get an increase in dearness allowance, the next day or possibly even before that, prices shoot up. It has happened in Delhi and in other places.

Therefore, even assuming that wholesale prices are reasonable and that nothing more has to be done, still there is the sore question of retail prices to be dealt with and the cost of living which is tied with it. To tackle this several things have got to be considered. We may consider the introduction of rationing which people do not seem to like at all and I hope

that we will not come to that position when we may have to impose rationing. We must, therefore, do two things. One is to increase production to the utmost extent possible and secondly to evolve some system of organisation, which is not too cumbersome and is not unacceptable to the people. The people want the prices to be stabilised at a reasonable level and in the statement which I made yesterday in the Lok Sabha indicated certain lines of action. Certain regulatory mechanisms have to be developed and strengthened and action at various points has to be taken. The object has been clearly stated that it is not that the price of every commodity is to be regulated. It is not necessary to do that. There are luxury articles which are within the reach of some people who have got the means and their prices may rise. On the other hand, there are the essential articles, which are essential from various points of view. For the agriculturist, there are certain things which go into his production and also certain articles which are of non-agricultural origin which he consumes. Then there are the urban consumers, particularly the people whose incomes are small. Some of the essential articles are things like coarse cloth, kerosene oil, salt, soap, paper, drugs, medicines, etc. But it shall be a manageable list of articles. The field may not be extended so wide that any action that we may take becomes ineffective. So, this action plus the steps to increase production, these are the things which we have to consider. While I mention this, I recall the fact that my valued colleague, Shri Krishnamachari, with whom I have had long ties, said in the course of the debate in Rajya Sabha last year:

"I attach great importance to a positive, carefully devised price policy. The approach in the Plan is general; naturally we cannot expect detailed proposals in the five year plan. I myself have no doubt that a great deal of more

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specific work should be done for the evolution of a careful price policy and that this policy should be carried out in a determined manner. A suitable price policy should be evolved and every effort should be made to hold the price line."

Madam, we are engaged in that process. The difficulties are enormous; the interests that are ranged against us in that effort are powerful and, therefore, powerful action has to be contemplated in order to deal with them.

I have dealt with the question generally about what has been achieved so far. I have also touched upon the lags and deficiencies and the steps taken in order to remedy the imbalances that have developed in the economy at various points. If I get consideration in the matter of time I would have liked to deal with the individual sectors of the economy to show what is being done in different directions. For example, there is the question of power. There has been during the year 1961-62 some shortage felt. The installed generating capacity to be added during 1961-62 was 0.6 million kws. This target was almost achieved and 0.58 million kws. of generating capacity was commissioned. Since the finalisation of the Third Plan certain modifications and additions to the power programme have been made to make up for certain delays anticipated in the execution of some of the approved projects and also to meet certain urgent demands. Since the Third Plan was finalised, a further programme for adding 500,000 kws. of installed capacity has been sanctioned. To meet the problems of West Bengal, additional generating capacity of about 140,000 kws. has been sanctioned. The progress of power generating schemes is under constant review. A scarcity situation in respect of power has developed. There were difficulties being experienced in collieries which

have now been more or less relieved. The power situation in D.V.C. and in the coal-fields have been carefully studied and steps have been taken to remedy the difficulties to the extent possible. For example, arrangements have been made to bring surplus power from the Rihand project to the D.V.C. and some supplies have been arranged from Hirakud project. Because of the slowing down of the power programme in the Second Plan as mentioned before, the addition of new generating capacity in the first three years of the Plan is expected to be about 2.4 million kws. and the balance of about 4.7 million kws. in the last two years of the Plan.

Now, we are hearing a great deal about the transport bottleneck. Actually, when we look at the figures of increase in the traffic carried by the Railways it appears to be very considerable but what has happened is that the needs are rising at a much larger rate. The increase in traffic in the current year as compared to 1960-61 is about 7 million tons. A number of steps have been taken to enable the Railways to carry the increased traffic. There has been a step-up in the wagon building programme of the Railways in recent years. Thus the programme for procurement of additional rolling stock and additions to line capacities . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How much more time would the Minister take?

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: I could close it now. If I have time I can go into the various sectors of the economy, including transport, employment, agriculture, etc. There are two ways. One is to give more time to the hon. Members so that they have their say and then I deal with all the sectors later on.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You could take as much time as you want. I would only like to know how much you would take.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: I was rather thinking of the hon. Members. The time that you have allocated can be better used possibly. Then, I shall continue for a little while later and afterwards we can decide on the ground I should cover now and how much should be covered in reply later.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The lunch hour is cut down by half an hour. The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

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

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : Madam, when I left off my speech at the close of the morning session, I was speaking about the situation in regard to transport in the country. I indicated some of the steps that have been taken already and are being taken to improve the position in this respect. To enable the Railways to carry the traffic from coal and other commodities more adequately than is being done at present, the five-year target of rolling stock has been raised by about 42 per cent. for wagons and about 19 per cent. for locomotives. Various steps have been initiated for increasing the utilisation of the available capacity of the railways through such measures as the organisation of movement of coal in bulk in full rakes of BOX wagons and four-wheelers and increased loading on Sundays and holidays. The overall turn-round of wagon stock is to be reduced from the present level of 11.2 days to 9.5 days and in the case of BOX wagons to 9 days. These additional measures should help to ease the shortage of transport. It should enable the Railways to provide the necessary service to the coal industry, State Governments and others.

Then, there is the question of industrial development, which I have dealt with in general terms. I would like to say just a few words more. I admit that the overall increase in industrial production in 1961-62 was not quite adequate and was less than last year. There are reasons for that. We should not, however, lose sight of the fact that in some industries, the progress was particularly satisfactory. For instance, during 1961-62 the production of machine tools went up by 17.4 per cent., of industrial boilers by 115 per cent., of railway wagons by about 62 per cent., of jeeps by about 33 per cent., of electric transformers by about 42 per cent., electric motors about 18 per cent., nitrogenous fertilisers 44 per cent., phosphatic fertilisers 26 per cent., sulphuric acid 20 per cent., caustic soda 27 per cent. and soda ash 29 per cent. On the other hand, cement production went up by about 5 per cent. only, of aluminium by less than 7 per cent. and of sugar mill machinery by about 9 per cent. This is the record of growth purely in terms of percentages. But I would request the hon. Members to keep it in mind that what is equally relevant or probably more important is the structure that is being strengthened from year to year, i.e., the new products that are being turned out, the new levels of skill and productivity that are being attained. It happens that the index of industrial production at the moment does not reflect all this new progress. The production of new commodities to which greater attention is being given and which are progressing more rapidly than the traditional ones do not find a place in the index which is being revised in order that it may reflect the actual progress more precisely than is possible at present.

I said something briefly about agriculture. We did not fare quite well in agriculture and we have, therefore, been applying our minds to the circumstances which are responsible

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for this situation. Apart from the seasons and climatic factors, there are certain things which we can do ourselves better. There are certain deficiencies which we can look into more closely. In the first place, more has to be done for minor irrigation and soil conservation. Efforts at the village level in respect of minor irrigation and utilisation of major irrigation have to be intensified. Secondly, there are two crops which are particularly vital both for internal consumption and for export viz., cotton and oilseeds. There is another direction in which we have been feeling that the urgency and importance in the interest of stepping up agricultural production has not been recognised in the States. Certainly the situation is somewhat better, but we feel that more has to be done to strengthen the Agricultural Departments specially in the matter of personnel. Finally, it has been noticed that whereas the use of fertilisers and other measures—irrigation and improved seed—lead to higher production, a stage may arise where all the efforts of the grower may not bear any fruits. The crop may be destroyed or damaged because of pests, and, therefore, I believe that much more has to be done in the direction of plant protection than has been accomplished so far. This programme should be considerably intensified. Action is being taken in all these directions.

It has been decided to raise the target of area to be benefited from minor irrigation and soil conservation by 20 per cent. and an additional allocation of Rs. 50 crores has been made available. For the programme of increasing the production of cotton and oilseeds, a series of new measures are being taken in hand. These include the strengthening and expansion of plant protection, intensification of cultivation of cotton and oilseeds in certain selected areas on the basis of "package" programmes, larger sup-

plies of fertilisers and steps to divert an increased proportion of irrigation, especially new irrigation, to the growing of cotton and oilseeds. There are also other measures for crops like castor and groundnut. The importance of fertilisers is being now appreciated by the cultivator himself more and more and the demand is increasing. It is a matter of very crucial importance for agriculture that this demand should be met. The supply of nitrogenous fertilisers has been raised over the past two years from about two hundred thousand tons in terms of nitrogen to about four hundred thousand tons. Every effort is being made to reach the Plan target for the production of eight hundred thousand tons in terms of nitrogen and for one million tons of capacity.

Madam, I shall say just a few words about employment, because it would naturally be of interest to all the Members. The facts are fairly well known. We found that as a result of the 1961 census data, a fresh appraisal of the targets was necessary. We had to cope with a much larger number of new entrants into the labour force and the task became more formidable. In all about 17 million additional jobs were required, against which the Plan itself was estimated to provide 14 million. We, therefore, took up two new programmes chiefly. One is the rural works programme which will give by the end of the Third Plan work in the slack agricultural season to 2.5 million persons. These works have been already taken up in 228 development blocks and will be extended fourfold early next year. For this the necessary preparations are being made. Secondly, we have also initiated a rural industries programme. Forty-six projects are being taken up in the first instance. The aim of this programme is to build up a reasonably balanced and diversified economy in the selected areas. The programme will be steadily expanded on the basis of our actual experience. Both these programmes, in view of their far-reaching significance, are

bing looked after directly in the Planning Commission.

Madam, I thought that instead of giving details about various individual programmes in various sectors, I would, if it became necessary, deal with any points that might arise when I have the opportunity to make a reply. I will just say only something about a very important matter which is now being considered in relation to its place in planning, and that is the preparation of the long-term plan. As I indicated earlier, much of what is going to be achieved in the Third Plan is dependent upon what was done or could not be done during the Second Plan. In the same way what we really are able to accomplish in the course of the Third Plan has to be judged in greater relation to the fourth Plan. A still longer view beyond the Fourth Plan has to be taken, because considering the period of preparation and the gestation period of various projects—long periods are involved—attention has to be given to various aspects in order that there is co-ordinated development. A composite view has to be taken of the “industrial complex” including industries like power, transport, technical and managerial personnel, and so on that we cannot expect to reach full results unless we move in a co-ordinated manner, so that there are no bottle-necks, nor an excess capacity created. So, it is very necessary that we ensure not only continuous planning but also appropriate advance action. This is one of the things which have been brought home to us in a very forceful manner because of our experience of the Second Plan, and this year too, we have been giving a great deal of thought and taking preparatory action in this direction.

With regard to the Fourth Plan, work has already begun in a number of fields. Planning groups have been or are being presently constituted for steel, coal, power, machine-building, fertilisers, basic chemicals, transport

and technical education. The Planning Commission has suggested that each Ministry at the Centre should set up its own cell for long-term planning. This cell should be supported on an adequate scale by technical personnel located in the enterprises and also drawn from other sources. Our past experience has stressed the importance of adequate technical study, prior to seeking approval for projects even in principle. The position, Madam, is that when we look at some of the projects which have been included in the Third Plan, it could not be said that they were in a stage where they could be accepted as projects on which work could be started soon. A great deal of preparation still remained, and that is going on now, which should probably have been completed much earlier in order that no delays took place in the course of the Third Plan. So, that defect or deficiency has been noticed. We have considered the need and urgency of giving proper attention to this matter so that these defects which lead to delays from which we have suffered in the past do not arise again. This does not concern only the Third Plan but action has also to be taken in respect of the later stages of the long-term plan regarding which I am now in a position to say something. In the course of another year or so we will have given the targets, which are given in general terms in the Third Plan document, more clear shape so that action in concrete terms can be taken. It is not possible in the course of a short period to satisfy all the interests and the needs of all the regions. It is only when we look ahead, and not at what we can do now in the course of two years or even five years, that a clear picture emerges of the future. The pattern that we are going to create for the future which may take ten or fifteen years to materialise at least ensures that these imbalances, the regional imbalances are removed to a large extent and also that conditions are created so that the minimum basic needs of every one, in respect

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of food, clothing, housing, education and health are met. It is this goal to which attention has to be directed because it is not possible to give a complete or satisfactory answer to this question in two, three or even five years. It cannot be a short-term solution. Therefore, the scrutiny of a Plan, of the work that is being undertaken in the course of a five year plan, has to be in relation to the consequences, and the impact over the future years. I assure the hon. Members that that the long-term aspect is being taken very seriously into consideration, and I hope that the Third Plan will give a good account of itself in terms of the contribution it can make to the tasks of development in the future.

Even regarding the Third Plan itself, I may say in conclusion that whatever may be the problems before us, basing ourselves on the figures of progress which have emerged in regard to the first year of the Third Plan, the situation is certainly much more promising. The temporary fluctuations of one year or so should not dim the prospects of achieving the essential vital objectives and targets of the Third Plan. The possibilities exist in a large measure and all the means that are necessary, the measures that have to be taken, in order to ensure the achievement of the targets and social objectives are being adopted.

Madam, I would conclude my opening remarks with an expression of hope and confidence that, not simply because there is a Plan, not only because the requisite resources are being raised, but because we are all becoming more plan-conscious and the nation will be made conscious of its rights as well as its responsibilities and the sacrifices that are involved in this great endeavour, that the Plan will succeed.

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, I beg to move:

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

'and having considered the same, this House views with concern that the tempo of development generally and in a number of vital sectors such as steel, coal, power, transport and agriculture is very slow and discouraging even though the two Five Year Plans are over and the Third Plan is in its second year.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern that the rate of growth even in the Third Five Year Plan remains not only extremely slow but is far behind even the meagre target of the annual 5 per cent., the rise of national income in the first year of the current Plan being only 3 per cent.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that Government do not fully realise the implications of this slow rate of growth and the uncertainties in this matter of national income when by all computations the rate of growth should be at least 6-7 per cent. in order to maintain the population at the existing level of living taking into account the growth of population at the rate of 2 per cent.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that instead of drawing correct lessons and formulating remedial mea-

asures and reforms in our economy to ensure rapid growth of national income, the Planning Commission tried to explain the situation away by reference to vagaries of weather and the like."

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes that if the present slow trend of growth in the national income which is only nominal continues, there will be little prospects of rise in investments, more especially when the rising prices go on restricting the savings of the masses'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the rate of growth in the economy cannot be stepped up without re-organising our agriculture, without radically changing the industrial and the economic policies of the Government, without coming to grips with growing unemployment problem and harnessing India's vast manpower to production'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that unless immediate steps are taken to accelerate the growth of economy and increase in the national income, it may be difficult to even keep abreast with the growth in population and maintain the standard of living at the existing levels'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the present policy of Government in regard to domestic saving is misconceived, biased in

favour of the rich and is not at all in conformity with either the requirements of the Plan or with its declared social objectives'"

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

and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that if the present policies with regard to domestic savings are not radically altered, the rate of domestic saving is likely to increase only nominally, thus restricting the prospects of economic development'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House cannot but note with concern that as a result of certain policies of the Government, designed to carry out the Plan through imposing economic burdens on the working people, particularly through inflation, high prices and increased tax loads on the masses, there is lack of both incentive and enthusiasm among the masses for the Plan'"

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

'and having considered the same this House notes that the absence of any systematic measures to increase the earnings of the workers, peasants and office employees and other sections of the working people has contributed to the lack of enthusiasm for the Plan'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes that neither the Planning Commission nor Government recognises the

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importance of providing material incentive to the working people and constantly raising their standard of living for the success of planned development''

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes the failure of Government to arrest the growth of unemployment and formulate correct policies and measures for creating far greater employment opportunities than as at present and thus lessening the negative economic and social impact of the growing unemployment''

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes that the economic policies of Government have, instead of bringing down prices, continued to maintain them at high levels and even boost them upwards''

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

'and having considered the same, this House takes serious view of the fact that as a result of Government's bias in favour of the Capitalist class and the exploiters, it has completely failed to evolve a price policy which is essential for planning and is most urgently called for in order to lessen the economic burdens of the people''

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with surprise that the Government is now

trying to make out that high prices are a sign of prosperity and that in a developing economy, the rise in prices is inevitable''

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret that in the matter of prices Government has failed to implement even the decision of the National Development Council which entrusted some Central Ministers as well as the Chief Ministers of the States to formulate and evolve a correct price policy to hold the price line''

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

'and having considered the same, this House further notes with regret that despite this decision of the National Development Council for a meeting of the Chief Ministers to evolve a price policy, no such meeting was even once held''

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the failure to evolve a correct price policy is not fortuitous and that it arises from the fact that Government and the Planning Commission put the interests of the exploiting classes before that of the working people and the nation as a whole.'''

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that Government and the Planning Commission should seriously

take note of the following major factors which have given rise to the rising prices and which are fraught with grave consequences for the entire economy.

(i) The monopolists, bankers, landlords, speculators and similar other private profiteering interests dominate the decisive spheres of our economy, particularly the vast sectors of production and distribution, including commodities affecting the basic needs of the people.

(ii) The deficit financing, expansion of bank credit to facilitate speculation, indirect taxes, heavy excise duties and sales-tax, absence of any effective control on profits and prices

(iii) The tremendous control of the private banking over our entire economy

(iv) Failure to enforce the Essential Commodities Act and devise other anti-monopoly and anti-profiteering measures.”

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

‘and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Planning Commission and Government not only ignored the negative and deleterious role of the foreign private capital in our economy but even tried to offer justification for the continuance of foreign exploitation and even for new penetration of foreign private capital.’”

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

‘and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Government does not realise that the positions which the foreign private capital enjoy in our econo-

my mean on the one hand exploitation of our resources by foreign elements and at the same time, obstacles in the formation of national capital on account of heavy remittances and other earnings by these foreigners abroad.’”

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

‘and having considered the same, this House rejects the thesis that foreign private capital involving such exploitation is essential for building a self-reliant economy.’”

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

‘and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that full economic independence cannot be attained unless all forms of exploitation by foreign monopoly capital are eliminated and thus a dreadful legacy of the British rule is made a thing of the past.’”

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

‘and having considered the same, this House rejects the Government argument that in order to secure equipments and necessary assistance for our economic development, it is essential to allow the foreign private capital to continue its exploitation and freshly penetrate into our economy.’”

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

‘and having considered the same, this House draws the attention of the Government that in the changed world of today,

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with the world socialist system notably the Soviet Union, being in a position to render increasing economic assistance to the under-developed countries, it is no longer necessary to submit to the terms of the foreign private capital.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House records its disapproval that while the country is passing through shortage in foreign exchange and other difficulties in regard to resources, the foreign companies and investors in India and their foreign business personnel should have been allowed to remit Rs. 30-40 crores annually abroad, thus depriving our economy of these substantial resources.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Planning Commission and the Government do not draw the proper conclusions from the recent moves of the U.K. to join the European Economic Community or from the decision of the so-called Aid India Club to postpone the fulfilment of its commitment for economic assistance to our country.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that adequate steps are not being taken to re-organise and diversify India's foreign trade and bring it increasingly under the State sector in order to meet the situation arising out of:

(i) the consolidation of the European Economic Community and Britain's entry into the Common Market; and

(ii) the present trends of world capitalist economy.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that instead of offering concessions to the monopolists in the name of export promotion, the Government should increasingly enter the field of export and import trade.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is in particular of the opinion that there is no justification for allowing the foreign interests to dominate in any manner our external trade and that it is essential in the interests of national economy that the foreign trade which is in their control should be promptly nationalised.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that no effective measures have been taken even in the Third Plan to weaken the economic power of the monopolists and reduce concentration of wealth, with the result that the monopolists are becoming stronger and the concentration of economic power continues to increase.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that des-

pite the appointment of the Mahalanobis Committee to investigate into the distribution of national income, etc. no concrete results have followed in evolving remedial measures, much less in implementing them.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern that the latest trends in the Government are to give more concessions to the monopolist elements in the name of providing them incentives, although such concessions run counter to the socialist objectives of the Plan and the needs of balanced economic growth.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House disapproves of the handing over of a number of heavy engineering, chemical and fertilizer projects to the private sector instead of undertaking them in the public sector.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House disapproves of the present policy of the Government in giving undue economic assistance to the monopolists in the private sector through Government and semi-Government credit institutions, such as the Industrial Finance Corporation, Life Insurance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, National Industrial Development Corporation and Re-Finance Corporation, without taking into account the vast internal resources that the private con-

cerns under the monopolists today control and what is more in disregard in some cases of even priorities.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House disapproves the decision of the Government not to recover the loans amounting to Rs. 20 crores which were given by the Government to the Tata Iron and Steel Co. and the Indian Iron and Steel Co. although these companies have not only carried out their expansion with the help of these loans but are making enormous profits as a result thereof.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Government do not take due note of the economic and social implications of the fact that a few big multimillionaire business houses control India's banking today which contribute in no small measure to the growth of monopoly capital.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret that the agrarian measures so far taken have not resulted in land passing into the hands of the tillers of the soil with the result that the agrarian economy remains still in the grip of landlord interests and production of food-grains and other agricultural products continue to suffer.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes that even the measures to reduce rents which have been passed by various States have not in fact resulted in any substantial reduction in rents.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret that the agriculturists such as jute growers are not guaranteed a minimum fair price for their products and that they are subjected to the manipulations of wholesalers, speculators and other exploiting classes.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes that despite some increase in the volume of agricultural credit, the agricultural indebtedness has not been significantly relieved and the peasants continue to suffer in the hands of money-lenders and speculators.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that unless radical agrarian reforms are carried out in the interests of the peasantry, there are not going to be material changes in our agrarian economy.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that at the present rate, even the target of 100 million tons under the Third Five Year Plan is not likely to be attained.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the Government does not take adequate note of the growth of rural unemployment and all its harmful impact on the entire economy of the country.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the co-operatives are still not organised on a wide scale and on a democratic basis, eliminating from them the exploiting interests and making them truly popular agencies in the services of the masses in the countryside.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that it is time the Government and the Planning Commission gave up their subjective approaches towards the Community Development projects and realised once for all that, despite heavy expenditure, they have failed to produce the promised results.'

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the experience of the com-

munity projects emphasises all the more the need for radical agrarian reforms in order that such arrangements as community projects may really become successful in the promotion of the good social and economic objectives' "

49 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely —

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern that the taxation policy of the Government is highly regressive and these taxation measures have generally been weighted in favour of the richer sections of the people, have imposed heavy and unbearable burdens on the poorer sections and have led to widespread discontent and fierce popular resistance to the oppressive burdens foisted on the common masses' "

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with concern the successive tax concessions granted in budget after budget to foreign private capital' "

51 "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'and having considered the same, this House disapproves the progressive lowering of taxes on Corporations in the name of incentives to capital formation and the recent further tax and other fiscal measures in favour of industrialists in the name of export promotion' "

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

'and having considered the same, this House disapproves the

persistent pressure put by the Planning Commission and Central Government on the State Governments to increase the tax burdens on the people' "

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

'and having considered the same, this House views with serious concern the enormous growth of all-pervading corruption, inefficiency and maladministration and the failure of Government to arrest the steep decline in administrative morals and standards of efficiency' "

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

'and having considered the same, this House views with serious concern that even at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, the constitutional obligation of implementing the provision regarding universal, compulsory elementary education up to the age of 14 years for all children will not have been carried out' "

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that the failure of the Government to guarantee tolerably decent salaries, security of service and other working and living conditions to teachers in both Government and private schools has contributed to the steep fall in educational standards' "

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of the opinion that public education system

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should be so reorganised as to equip the children with a modern scientifically orientated education so that they can contribute their mite for the creation of a technologically mature economy.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that despite some improvement in the tackling of such scourges as malaria, small-pox, cholera, etc. the general standard of health of the masses, especially of the working people has not registered any appreciable rise and they are still prey to very many dangerous ailments, especially such wasting diseases as tuberculosis, etc.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that the problem of providing clean, fresh drinking water to our towns and rural areas has not been seriously tackled.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Government has failed to tackle energetically the problem of medical facilities in the rural areas.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House notes with regret that the problem of urban housing and slum clearance has assumed alarming proportions and the measures taken by the Government have not only not solved the problem, but have not

been enough even to arrest further deterioration of the situation.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House views with serious concern that the Central and State Governments have failed to provide sufficient housing even to their own employees.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House views with concern that the problem of rural housing has not been even properly sized up.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Industrial House Scheme has been a failure due to the reluctance of the Government to force the employees to carry out their obligations under the scheme.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is firmly of the opinion that adequate resources for the Plan can be raised without placing new economic burdens on the masses and by taking the following steps:

(i) Nationalisation of the large number of high-profit-yielding foreign-owned industries and business concerns.

(ii) Pending such nationalisation, as an immediate step, curbs on the remittances of interest, dividends, royalties, payment for patents, and other remittances abroad by foreign firms.

(iii) Curbing of the high salaries, allowances and other perquisites of the foreign technical and managerial personnel of foreign firms.

(iv) Nationalisation of foreign trade and rapid expansion of State trading in internal market.

(v) Nationalisation of banking, general insurance, iron and steel, coal and other mining, oil, sugar, jute, tea plantations under foreign control.

(vi) Tapping of the reserves and accumulations with the companies, business houses and financiers to the maximum possible extent by necessary fiscal and other measures.

(vii) Mobilisation of the gold hoards in the hands of the wealthy sections of the community, especially, the gold held in bullion.

(viii) Cancellation of the privy purses of the former princes or at least freezing of future payments of the same to them.

(ix) The tapping of foreign assets held by former princes, industrialists and others in foreign countries by compelling them on pain of imprisonment to declare all their foreign assets in whatever forms.

(x) Increase in the wealth tax and estate duty on the higher income brackets and the reintroduction of the expenditure tax.

(xi) Stringent measures against evasion and avoidance of taxes especially by the higher income groups, including measures to prevent such evasion and avoidance through fictitious arrangements by the assesseees.

(xii) Publication of the names of all those whose assessed income is more than Rs. 50,000 annually thus giving the people an opportunity to spot out cases of under-assessment, evasion and avoidance.

(xiii) Punitive measures to recover arrears of income and other taxes from the higher income brackets.

(xiv) Cancellation of all important concessions, rebates and refunds given lately to the industrialists and businessmen.

(xv) The rapid development of Indian shipping with a view to saving resources on account of freight charges.

(xvi) Reduction of non-developmental expenditure to the maximum possible extent.

(xvii) Cutting down of conspicuous consumption by the rich.

(xviii) Drastic measures, both legislative as well as socio-economic, against corruption, inefficiency and maladministration.

(xix) Review of the present system of contracts through which Government's development works are done with a view to effecting economy and preventing waste, corruption and delay.

(xx) Setting up of increasing numbers of profit-yielding undertakings by the States and the grant of initial financial assistance by the Centre to them."

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

'and having considered the same, this House is further of the opinion that the immediate and pressing problem of price rise can be tackled effectively, if the Government implement the following programme:

(i) Supply by the Government of rice, millets and wheat through a wide network of fair price shops at the rate of one shop for every 500 families. Similar arrangement to be made in rural areas also wherever necessary at rates within the reach of the poor and middle class people. Government to procure foodgrains from landlords and hoarders

(ii) Prices of all essential articles of consumption to be fixed by Government and these articles to be supplied from the cheap price shops to the people.

(iii) Minimum price for the agricultural produce to be fixed and ensured to the peasants by Government undertaking to purchase them at the price whenever offered by the peasants at convenient places.

(iv) With a view to encourage the peasants to grow more food, Government should assist them by supply of agricultural implements and fertilisers at even subsidised rates and by provision of cheap credit for agricultural families. All big landlord families to be denied such Government assistance.

(v) Abolition of taxes on foodgrains and other essential articles of consumption by common people."

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY
(Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I move:—

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government has failed to achieve balanced regional development to enable the country to reap long-term economic benefits.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that Government has failed to restrict the growth of concentration of wealth in a few hands.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that in spite of the objectives, stated in the 'Third Five Year Plan', the practical implementation of planning is guided by the outmoded economic theory and practice.'"

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

'and having considered the same, this House regrets that Government has failed to create national consciousness in favour of the objectives of the Third Five Year Plan for the purpose of enlisting the co-operation of the people at large.'"

The questions were proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, we are having an opportunity to discuss the Plan by

way of reviewing the progress of the Third Five Year Plan. But if you ask a man in the street or in the factory or in the office or in the field, you will immediately find that he is not very much enthused about the Plan. Now, I am saying this thing because it is an undeniable fact. If hon. Members think it to be otherwise, let them say so. Why is it so? This is the big question that we must answer. You remember that we discussed the Plan for the first time in this House some ten years ago. And we were told that by the time we should be reaching the Third Plan the tempo of production would have risen so high that we would be on the point of what was called "take-off". Now, we do not use this expression because we seem to be stuck up in the mud. Now, to find an answer to the lack of popular enthusiasm, if not apathy in many cases, is to find the key to the understanding of the problems that are there. What we need is a very self-critical and searching approach.

It is not enough to have projects, industries and so on. In the capitalist countries, in the 19th century and in the 20th century we had such things. Quantitative additions, important as they are, are not enough to judge the Plan progress. We must see how we are solving the problems of poverty, hunger, unemployment and backwardness of the masses of our people. This is very very important because the people understand Plans not in terms of the speeches that we make or the pamphlets that we issue through our propaganda department but in terms of their life. They want to see the blessings of better housing, better education of their children, better medical care, lesser cost of living, better clothing and indeed a better promise of the future, not something which is very very distant but which brightens up day after day before them. That means that we have to improve the standard of living of the

people. Improvement in the standard of living of the people becomes, then, a most vital part of the Plan. No Plan can be understood, much less promoted, if we do not take into account the problems of the living standards of the masses. After all it is they who produce the wealth of the nation. There we have failed. This is the main point that I wish to make and I am sure that when the Mahalanobis Committee's Report comes out, the point that I am making out here will be substantiated by the statistical finding of that Committee.

Now, let me start with the question of the growth of our economy, a vital question. And you will see that in the first year of the Plan, the national income went up by only 3 per cent and there is no knowing what will be the increase in the national income in the coming year or in the future. We leave it to the future. The Planning Commission has failed here. Why? It is because the agrarian sector of our economy which accounts for nearly 50 per cent of our national income is not taken into account in the way it should have been. And uncertainties are there. Stagnation or semi-stagnation is there. And what is more, the manpower there is not being fully utilised. If the agrarian sector of our economy is not looked after if something goes wrong in the agrarian sector, nothing is well with our economy, whatever we may say. Time and again, stress is laid on this problem but as yet there is no attempt on the part of the Planning Commission to come to grips with the problem in the manner in which it should have been tackled.

The tempo is slow. Not only is the tempo slow, but here you find that in some sectors there is a decline in the Third Plan period, when the development of the country after the two Plans should have gathered momentum. There is a decline in the production of cotton by about 8 lakh bales. There is a negligible increase

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in foodgrains production. We have increased it in the first year of the Plan by only one million tons—previously it was 79 million tons, now we have 80 million tons—although the annual average should be four million tons, and we are short of three million tons annually on an average. Cement is behind the target by a million ton. Steel is 2.9 million tons as against the original Second Plan target of 4.6 million tons. And oil-seeds have not yet reached the target set out in the Second Plan. I can increase the list of such things but this is only an indication. In regard to foodgrains again—rice as well as sugar-cane—you find them showing a decline. Certainly these do not make an encouraging picture. The tempo is slow.

Now, we have increased our national income, according to the latest computation, by about 48 per cent. in the last decade. This is exceedingly slow. We have increased it only by 18 per cent. In a number of countries even without planning they have a larger rate of growth. And the economists have pointed out that in order to solve the problem of unemployment, it is necessary to step up the rate of growth from 5 per cent to 10 per cent annually. This is what should have been today but we are not even fulfilling the target—the meagre target, that we have set.

Then again, the national income sector is unstable. This instability is caused mainly by the uncertainties in the agricultural sector but also to some extent—to a lesser extent, of course—in the industrial sector. Our industrial production has gone down. There was an increase of about 5 per cent last year. It looks as though in the coming year it may be even less. Anyhow, there is no certainty about it. The industrial sector is not also looking up, taking it as a whole. It is not enough to say that in certain

heavy machine-building industries we have registered considerable increase. It is important to take the industrial sector as a whole and find out how we are advancing.

Now, are we to be satisfied with it? This is the question. If we are not satisfied with it, as many people are not, then we must go to the roots of the problem and find out what the remedial measures are. But clearly one can say straightway that unless we bring about radical agrarian reforms which give land to the tillers of the soil, we are not going to materially alter the picture in our agriculture sector and hence, we are not going to materially alter the picture of the tempo of development because we cannot foresee immediately a situation when a big chunk of our national income will come from the industrial sector. We are not such an industrialised country. But today in order to push ahead, we must look after agriculture. Government should look into this aspect. But it does not take measures. Here, it is not merely a question of more food, it is a question of capital formation in that sector of the economy which accounts for almost 50 per cent. of the national income. Are we having capital formations there? No. We are not having any capital formation there and the result has been that despite our expenditure of a thousand crores or more in the agrarian sector, not counting the expenditure incurred in the Community Development Projects and so on, we do not have self-sufficiency even in foodgrains. And what is more, 80 per cent of the land under plough is still without irrigation. Now, major irrigation projects are there, but they have not produced the results commensurate with the expenditure. Imagine what could have happened if the peasantry should have been given proper incentives and provided with lands. And in that context, if we would have started minor irrigation projects. But we have not utilised

the vast labour power in the countryside and saved expenditure on that account, in order to bring about a much better performance in the sphere of irrigation. Now, we have not done that. There again we should go into this question a little more deeply.

Now, I take up the problem of investments; I am not discussing the question of distribution of national income; to that I shall come a little later. Take the question of investments. Domestic savings are important. It was 8 per cent; actually it was 7 per cent in the Second Five Year Plan as against the expectation of 11 per cent or so, and we made up that 11 per cent by drawing upon external assistance of the order of 3-4 per cent. Now, can we bring about a big tempo of development with so small an investment in our economy? Economists will say: "No". Then the question arises, how to find the resources.

Here again we must face the problem in order to bring about domestic savings. It is not enough to rely on conventional methods. It is essential to create a situation which generates savings, a situation which generates savings among the people and which helps the Government to tap the sources where resources and accumulations lie. But we are failing on both counts. In the first instance we are not in a position to mobilise fully the resources that are lying with the rich. There is Mr. R. Gupta sitting on this side and there are other friends here on that side also. At the same time we are not improving the condition of the people so that their accumulations come. Therefore, you see the picture that small savings are not reaching their target of Rs. 100 crores a year. Except for one year never did we reach that target during the entire period of the Second Plan. On the contrary, the middle class and the poorer sections of the community have been forced, as a result of high taxes and

rising prices, to exhaust their savings with the post offices, and so on. On the other hand, we had the accumulations in the richer classes. The multimillionaires are becoming richer every day. Even the Mahalanobis Report, I am sure, will tell you how the rich are becoming richer today. This is disputed by Mr. Morarji Desai, but the multimillionaire class never disputes it. Ask Mr. G. D. Birla when you go to him, for example if you have a good daughter to give in marriage to Mr. Birla's son, and Mr. Birla will tell you in private conversations what a fine rich bridegroom you are going after. That is how goes all our money, and so on. But it is not yet realized. Therefore, on both the scores we have failed. The result is, domestic savings are far short of the requirement, and I do not expect that Nandaji will be attaining the target of 17 or 18 per cent of the national income in the form of domestic savings at the present rate. And where are the policies for it? He says powerful measures are needed. Then take powerful measures. Tax the money of the richer sections of the people, and this is what is needed. But there we have failed. The result is dependence on external assistance; we rely on external assistance to the extent of one quarter of our requirements, 25 per cent or so. Now, what happens? If it is the Kashmir question or the Goa question, then somebody will move his little finger there and things will get stuck up somewhere. Moneys do not come, and if the moneys do not come, then the entire scheme of the Plan depending on that foreign assistance is stuck up, and the whole chain suffers, not merely the projects that are immediately to benefit by this kind of external assistance, and we are in that position. Therefore, I say that the Second Five Year Plan gave a warning against too much reliance on external assistance and it said that exertion must be made to improve the resources. But we do not do so.

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Export promotion we talk about, but export promotion is becoming a convenient cover for the multimillionaire class to wrest concessions out of the Government and they take the money. Imagine we are giving a subsidy of about Rs. 12 crores and excise rebates and other things. We subsidise their sugar exports in order to earn foreign exchange of about Rs. 13 crores or so. Now, we pay the rich and ask them to take the money and sell the thing and earn some foreign exchange for us. But where the subsidy comes from? It comes from the common man. Where the excise duty comes from? It comes from the common man. Where the profits by exports go? They go to the multimillionaire class. Well, you may have the foreign exchange advantage of it but the money goes to the multimillionaire class. This is the point.

Here again is a typical example of how they are handling the affairs of planning. I shall give one example in this connection, to show how on the oil question we went wrong, and when we talk about the foreign exchange, we should keep that in mind. Under the agreement dated July 15, 1960, India was to receive 1.38 lakh tons of oil in 1960 and 3.22 lakh tons of oil in 1961 from the Soviet Union. In fact, before August 1, 1961, the Indian authorities received only 1.2 lakh tons including 22,000 tons in 1960, and 98,000 tons in 1961. As a result of the fact that Soviet oil products were received only partly, India lost about Rs. 50 lakhs. These facts cannot be disputed by anybody. This is how we are handling our affairs.

How can you solve the foreign exchange problem unless there is a gradual shift in the emphasis from loans and aid, to trade? That is the crux of the matter, because we cannot go on like that, merely relying on—important as they are—the loans and assistance that we are getting.

We must organise our trade in such a manner that more and more we are able to pay for our essential imports. But what is the position today? Whatever the Government may say, our exports today, at the current level, are not adequate enough even to service our imports, let alone the additional imports that we have to have from abroad as the Plan proceeds further.

The result has been that our trade deficit went up from Rs. 318 crores in the First Plan to over Rs. 2,000 crores now, and we exhausted our foreign exchange reserves in the course of the Second Plan, of the order of Rs. 600 crores, and we are running after the World Bank the International Monetary Fund and so on, somehow or other to save the situation. Now today can you think that we can go in for loans in this manner? A little crisis in the world market will stop the entire thing, will bring your entire Plan to a halt. You saw what happened in Wall Street. Fortunately, it did not last long, but suppose this crisis had lasted a little longer, and suppose its repercussions were a little more than was immediately felt, what would happen? Therefore, that is wrong—the approach here. Export promotion should go on, but not in the way the Government is doing. In the first place there should be diversification of trade. There should be better trade and that by the Government but not relying on the millionaire class in the manner in which they are doing it today. But that is not being done. The result is, you are not progressing materially very far. We remain more or less what we were. How is it that after ten years of planning we could not make very big strides in the field of exports? What has happened? It is not so, nobody will say. The trade deficit is going to increase. I need not dilate on this; I am only touching some salient points. I can give you very many examples how we are suffering on this score, but here I must tell you that it is not true that

we are spending more money on importing capital goods as Government sometimes makes out. I can tell you how much we spent in the last year. Well, I am taking the figures from Birla sources. I am talking about imports. We imported Rs. 1070 crores worth of goods in 1960-61. Capital goods accounted for only Rs. 153 crores; intermediate goods—note it please—accounted for Rs. 503 crores, and consumer goods Rs. 200 crores. It is because the foreign collaborators have created such a situation; it is because the foreign collaborators insist on bringing the intermediate goods rather than finding the intermediate goods within our own country, and what is most regrettable is that even some Indian capitalists go in for intermediate goods from abroad rather than find them from within the country. That is why you see that the goods on capital account are very small compared to the consumer goods and the intermediate goods. This is another aspect of the melancholy picture as far as our import structure is concerned. Therefore, it is not true to say that more imports mean more capital goods and more industrialisation. While imports are necessary, the ratio should be changed in favour of importing capital goods more and more and reducing the imports of the intermediaries by finding ways and means of meeting the requirements of the intermediaries from within the internal sources of our country. Are we doing it? No, we are not doing it. Then, what are you doing? Where is the change being made? Changes are called for in the situation.

Then, you come to the question of attitude towards the private sector. In this period there has been a definite leaning on the part of the Government to give more concessions to the private sector, monopolist element—handing over of 1800 sq. miles of area to the Burmah Oil Co. for oil exploration; private participation in the manufacture of heavy electrical goods

has been allowed which should not have been allowed. Then fertiliser projects have been handed over to them. The Third Plan put the target of 2 lakh tons to be given to the private sector but they have decided to give 3 lakh tons, with an additional promise of some more. How generous of them? Trivandrum Titanium Products are being handed over to the Tatas.

Here, again, you find that there have been 388 cases of foreign collaboration in 1960 as compared to 24 in 1950 and most of them are in the private sector which involve foreign exchange, intermediate goods, profits, remittances, high salaries and so on. Such is the picture.

Recently, the Finance Ministry published a note in which they showed how the corporate sector profits went up by 33·5 per cent in 1959 compared to 1958 and dividend went up in this period by 36·7 per cent. According to a study of 400 joint stock companies, profits of the corporate sector went up by 12·7 per cent in 1960 compared with 1959 and dividends by 14·2 per cent. This is the picture.

As against that, you see the monthly pre-tax income at the end of the First Plan. I think you will get it in the Mahalanobis Report. It is as follows:—

- 25 per cent of the population—
under Rs. 10.
- 44 per cent of the population—
between Rs. 10 and 19.
- 17 per cent of the population—
between Rs. 20 and 29.
- 3 per cent of the population—
between Rs. 40 and 49.
- 1 per cent of the population—bet-
ween Rs. 75 and 99.
- 0.3 per cent of the population—
Rs. 200 and above.

Such is the structure at the time of the Second Plan. High taxes have

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depressed it further hitting worst the living standards of most of the people. That is what I say. In the agriculture sector also you see the same thing. As against that, what happens in the joint stock companies in the same period? Whereas the number of companies was 28,532 in 1950-51, it was 26,108 in 1960-61. This shows while the paid-up capital has more than doubled, the number of companies has decreased. From Rs. 775.4 crores paid-up capital in 1950-51, it has gone up to Rs. 1,724.7 crores. That is, concentration of wealth is taking place. This, I say, the Government should take note of. And what are the remedial measures? Nothing.

As far as the resources are concerned, all I see is that 80 per cent. of the resources of the Plan are met from three sources. Public debts for which you have to pay and service it by annual payment; taxation and deficit financing. The hon. Minister is opposed to our opposition to certain types of taxes. Well, Madam, everybody says that indirect taxation leads to inflationary pressures. It boosts up the prices and you cannot think of controlling the prices. While you stick to this policy of indirect taxation, today per capita sales tax in the country, taken all the States together, varies between Rs. 3 and 6, according to the Government and Finance Ministry's calculation, leave alone all the other taxes. While the sales tax was Rs. 50 crores, today it is Rs. 140 crores. Now, this certainly leads to inflationary pressures and rising prices. It is not as if they are restricting the prices from going up. With every dose of indirect taxation there is an upward rise in prices. This is the crux of the problem. And this has been pointed out by the United Nations Economic Survey and almost every intelligent economist in the country; still the Government does not see as to why the taxes of this nature should be reduced and other forms of resources should be explored.

I need not go into this. The figures are already there.

Madam, there is a bias in favour of the rich. The rich are being given concessions. How many tax concessions have we given to the rich in the course of the last three years? We have given them rebate, exemption, tax holiday and various other forms of exemptions for their family and so on. Certain types of their wealth we do not even touch. Why can we not ask the millionaires to part with all their foreign accumulation and place it at the disposal of the Government as loans and so on. Even that is not being done. Therefore, I tell you that this is a wrong approach.

In this connection I say that the fixed income group has suffered very badly. The latest research has shown that Government employees in the States have suffered badly. Their income has gone down. They are the worst sufferers. I will give you some samples. In 1961 the minimum in West Bengal was Rs. 42.5. In Orissa it was Rs. 43, in Andhra it was Rs. 56 and the highest minimum was Rs. 75 per month in Maharashtra. You will find that in some places the minimum in respect of fixed income has come down from 100 points to 87.27. Such is the position. These are the problems. Fixed income in real terms is going down. Agricultural workers are not getting a fair deal. A larger share of the income should go to the producers of wealth. Do not give it to intermediaries and profiteers.

What is the use of asking people to sacrifice for the Plan? Are we to sacrifice so that the rich may become richer? The question that is being posed before the nation is "Plan for whom?" Plan for the rich so that they can have more factories to become millionaires overnight, or should it be a Plan for the poorer sections of the people so that there is a rise in their natural and cultural standards? This is the crux of the pro-

blem and there is no proper solution to the problem found by the Government yet. This question has to be tackled Tomorrow, if not today, it has to be gone into.

Madam, unemployment is rising. In the First Plan we promised that it would be reduced. Today in the Third Plan it is already of the order of ten million or one crore. The actual figure is much higher. Every year 35 million people seek jobs in the labour market and we are not in a position to provide jobs even to 15 million, leaving every year a backlog of more than 2 million or so. *Multiplying unemployment is the picture* that emerges from the present scheme of things. How are you going to tackle this problem? For that you require radical measures. Industrial and agricultural reforms are needed. What is needed is creation of employment opportunities all along the line by starting not only what industries are being built in the country, small, medium-scale and cottage industries have an important part to play in an economy like ours apart from the reorganisation of agriculture. Where is the promise of it? I do not wish to dilate upon it. Other colleagues will deal with it.

As far as the question of resources is concerned, I have given a suggestion in my amendment No 64 containing twenty items. Thereby you will have plenty of resources and maybe, even something to spare. In amendment No 65 I have suggested five items for controlling the prices. Implement them and you shall see that the prices come down.

In conclusion, I would like only to say that the time has come for serious rethinking, for the formulation of policies from the point of view of the people for modification of the policies. I must tell you, Madam Deputy Chairman, that more and more the social objectives of the Plan are coming in contradiction and clash with the policies that are pursued in order

to put them through. This is the tragedy of our planning. The policy of taxation, the policy of prices, the policy of denial of wages to the working classes, fair prices to the agriculturists, fair wages or fair earnings to the Government employees and others, these policies, contradict again and again the social objectives of the Plan. They mock at the social objectives of the Plan in the sense that they are discarded. In these policies we do not find any trace of the socialist objective. It is the exploiting classes who have the better of the situation. I hope the Planning Minister will consider this thing from this angle and work out ways and means for the future so that we can really come to grips with the crux of the problem. I know that he can always give us statistics of advance, some projects here or there, some quantitative additions here and there. We are concerned with the qualitative turning of the point in the entire scheme of our economy. Are we going to have it? This is what we are asking. People ask: "When shall the Plan mean a better life or blessing for us? When shall the Plans bring smiles on the emaciated faces of the toiling people?" This is the question. Otherwise, it all looks patronising and moralising to the people when we ask them to sacrifice. They will sacrifice. They give their contribution to the making of our nation through their labour. Utilise the labour force, but we are not really utilising it; we are turning them unemployed. The richer classes must make sacrifices by parting with their accumulated, ill-gotten gains so that the nation can go forward. These are the two crucial issues. Let us decide them in favour of the people rather than in favour of the richer classes and if we do so, all will be well. If we do not do so, there will be crises, dislocation and contradiction and we shall all suffer.

Thank you

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Shri Sri Rama Reddy. Only fifteen minutes.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore). Madam, we have heard through an orator who spoke eloquently of the performance of the Third Plan in the first year particularly and also of the performance of the Plan generally. Now, it is true that the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. Certainly, the performance in the first year of the Third Plan has not been as satisfactory as it ought to have been. Of course, it is explained by our hon. Minister for Planning that the causes contributing towards the shortfall in the economic growth of the country have been far beyond his control and the weather conditions, the climatic conditions etc. have contributed to these shortfalls. Therefore, I ask, who has the greater say in the matter of planning and execution? Planning is intended only to get over all the difficulties of either climate, natural resources or otherwise and to produce effects. Year after year we are having the weather difficulties, we are having floods, we are having failures of monsoon. These are not anything new but if our failure has got to be explained in the terms of the failure of monsoons, floods, etc. I think the progress that we have to make will have to be conditioned for all times to come with the disadvantages of this nature. One naturally expects by planning that efforts would be made to get over all circumstances and still produce the required results. That is the essential feature of planning. Therefore, if the agricultural performance has been very bad, the rate of growth being as low as 3 per cent, it will certainly be a sorry spectacle.

Of course, I wanted to speak a lot about various things but now I cannot do so because you have allotted me only fifteen minutes. Therefore, I would like to speak with particular reference to our performance in the agricultural sector. Now, regarding the increase in the consumption, for maintaining the present level of increase in the consumption of food

grains and other agricultural commodities, a normal growth of 4 per cent is necessary but our performance even according to our Minister is that we have kept up only 3.8 per cent. That means to say that we are going to stay where we are or even to go a few steps behind so far as the performance of the agricultural sector is concerned. When are we getting over this trouble? The position, according to me, in the agricultural sector, has remained the same. Though we can show an increase from 50 million tons of cereal production to something like 80 million tons of foodgrains—we may show an increase of 30 million tons—in relation to the consumption in the country, we have not made any progress. We have been importing. As I said in my opening sentence, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. We had been importing 4 million tons of foodgrains in 1950. We are just now doing the same thing or probably we may continue to do the same. Of course, we are assured that this 4 million tons of foodgrains will be imported annually into this country and to that extent it is made to look that the food problem in the country has been solved but really it is not so. It has remained where it was. The causes contributing to the failure of the agricultural production I have already enumerated in this House while speaking on the President's Address.

The agricultural production programmes as envisaged in the Third Plan are excellent. They are complete but the question of implementation has been far from satisfactory. It is not that we have not been spending any money. We have been spending enormous money. Year after year our expenditure on agricultural production, on irrigation, agriculture, community development and allied things which go to make the production increase has been considerable. We have been spending a lot of money. I was just analysing the figures both on capital and

revenue accounts regarding agriculture, irrigation, community development, etc. We had spent in 1950-51 Rs. 88.69 crores whereas in 1961-62 the figure has risen to Rs. 345.68 crores. Similarly, in the industrial sector we had spent Rs. 46.90 crores in 1950-51 and in 1961-62 we have spent Rs. 246.64 crores. In terms of percentage increase, in the agricultural sector the expenditure has increased now by 400 per cent. In the industrial sector it has increased by 526 per cent. Thus the expenditure has been mounting but has this mounting expenditure any relation to the increase in production? The overall increase in agricultural production has just been, according to the Minister, 38 per cent. or so or an annual increase of 3.8 per cent during the ten years or during the decade of two 3 P.M. plans. Thus you see the expenditure that we have been incurring on these programmes of improved production is increasing and is disproportionate to the results obtained in the field. Generally, of course, there is a lot of disparity between our expenditure and the targets attained. Therefore, it is to this side of the picture that the particular attention of our Minister has got to be drawn. Of course, these can easily be explained. They can explain away these disparities. The other day when I put a question to the Agriculture Minister, he said: "It is not I who implement all these plans. It is somebody else. They have got to do it. I do not go with a plough in hand and plough the land. I do not feed the cow to make it give more milk". Of course, such explanations were given at the Consultative Committee and I was myself not satisfied. I am just inviting the attention of the hon. Minister to the great disparity that exists between our Plan programmes and the implementation of those programmes.

Madam, the crux of the problem in the country with regard to agricultural production is our approach

to the manure problem. The other day when I spoke on the manurial problem, our Minister of Planning was not here. I am happy he is here now and I hope my appeal will reach his good ears. Madam, recently I had the opportunity to tour in U.P. It was recently, just about 20 days back, and on my enquiry I found that in every village almost 100 per cent. of the dung from their farmyards is burnt away. We toured in three districts—it was a Parliamentary Committee touring those districts—and in every village of all those three districts, dung ranging from 80 to 100 per cent. was being burnt away. Well, that seems to be the case throughout the entire North. In the South they do not burn away so much of dung. That is my personal experience, though they also burn it to a considerable extent. What a waste of natural nitrogen! The total nitrogen available in this potential source is enormous. Just to manufacture one million tons of nitrogen in the form of ammonium sulphate the planners are spending crores and crores. Some Rs. 260 crores or so have been set apart for the manufacture of this one million tons of nitrogen. But what is the quantity of nitrogen that is being wasted in this way? I have also written to the Agriculture Ministry saying that nearly 16.5 million tons of nitrogen is available only in the form of farmyard manure that is produced in our country through our domestic livestock. And 16.5 million tons of nitrogen is burnt away. How can we expect our agricultural production to rise? Our Planning Minister, I would say, is searching for an article that he has lost, not at the place where it has been lost, but he is searching for that article somewhere else. That exactly is the defect of the entire planning and the approach. You waste away this 16.5 million tons of nitrogen. And that is what we get only through our cattle. Through human sources there is another 4 million tons of natural nitrogen. That makes a total of 20 million tons of natural nitrogen. All that is wasted. I had written to the Ministry and I

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have also received a reply to say that I have exaggerated the position a little. They have accepted the position, but say that I have exaggerated it a little. I have claimed that 25 million tons of nitrogen is being wasted and we collect only 1 million tons of this enormous quantity of nitrogen. At this rate how are we going to solve our agricultural problem? Not until we conserve the entire natural nitrogen, and other natural resources of the country that are allowed to be wasted, can this problem be solved. The position remains stagnant where it was, though progress may be shown here and there.

Even in individual performance, in the first year of the Third Plan there is a 16 per cent. fall in cotton and also another 16 per cent. fall in *jawar*. The crux of the agricultural problem is that the per acre production or yield must be increased. But you have just not done it. So far as cotton and *jawar* are concerned, Madam, it is well known that these are grown only in black cotton soil and in dry tracts. And in these dry areas the per acre production has not increased and there is this 16 per cent. fall this year. This is not due to any floods.

Therefore, what I would like to submit to the hon. Minister is that the agricultural problem will remain a menacing problem in this country. And what is going to happen if there is a conflagration as a result of the international situation? Are we to starve? But look at the type of personnel you have put on the field. I have toured fairly extensively and I have seen that people who have absolutely no knowledge of agriculture, are put as workers. You may probably have 30,000 village workers or you may call them multi-purpose workers or by any other good name. But such a man is absolutely incapable of tackling a single agricultural problem as it arises, because he is just an S.S.L.C. passed boy who has absolutely no knowledge of agricul-

ture whatsoever. And you want him to do all this multi-purpose work. I assure you, Madam, and through you, this House, that those little boys that you have put in as field workers cannot do the job. You will please excuse me if I make a personal reference. I am myself an agriculture graduate who passed out some 30 years ago. I found that when I went back to my land after graduation, for nearly 5 years I had to learn real agriculture. And with all that I was a gold medallist in agriculture, if you will excuse me for saying it here. With all that experience when I went back home to my land in 1933, only then did I start learning agriculture. What is called the science and technology of it I had learnt, but I started learning real agriculture only after my taking my degree and after working actually on the land. If this is the fate of a gold medallist and an agriculture graduate of 1933, how do you expect the ordinary village worker who has only passed the S.S.L.C. examination, to do this work? By means of your various kinds of training, you are trying to make him do it, but he is just not capable of doing the job. Then what is the remedy? It is no use only criticising. What is the remedy? The remedy is to remove those boys and put them as clerks. You select farmers, intelligent farmers, farmers who have worked on the field for ten or twelve years. Such a man will be able to do the job.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have to go back.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I am prepared. In any case, I have done it, Madam. I have done agriculture for 30 years. Therefore, Madam, I want an agriculturist to be put to do the job of agriculture. After all, every government servant wants security of service. He wants promotion. He wants leave benefits and so many other things. But to these poor agriculturists you do not want to give anything. You want him to toil all day. Is it not your duty to recognise him? I would like to ask whether it

is not your bounden duty to recognise the intelligent farmer and put him on this job. Make him the village worker and tell him he is going to be the Development Commissioner one day, if not the Planning Minister, by virtue of his work. Let him start as a village worker. He can do the job better.

I may give an illustration. I am afraid I am taking a lot of time, but I may give an example to illustrate what I mean. Some time back there was a ragi blast, some three years back, I think, and I asked the village worker there: "Can you do something?" He said, "No. What can be done? Nothing." The farmers also said the same thing. He also said the same thing. But there is such a thing as pesticide which, if applied in time could have prevented that blast. But nobody had done it and this village worker also did not know about it.

Madam, there are hundreds of such small things. The science and technology of agriculture is not a big thing. It is a small science. Similar is the case of technology. You should use this technology to increase production. At the Agricultural Exhibition here, in the International Agricultural Exhibition that was held here some years back, I saw a device for transplantation. It was a very good thing, for mechanical transplantation of paddy. On dry land this transplantation results in increased production and for ragi the increase is as much as 50 per cent. It was a very small thing with which on dry land you could do this transplantation. It was a small implement. I wrote to the Ministry and they wrote to me saying that they had asked the Chinese for the implement but that the Chinese had refused to give. We want such technology, not huge technology like the tractor and the bulldozer.

I am off the track anyway; I wanted to say something and I am saying something else. What is the fate of the agricultural population? Let us classify them. There are what are called

jagirdars, land owning cultivators, tenants, the tractor cultivators have also entered the field to save their land, the cultivators and the landless labourers. These are the five categories of people and let us see how these people have been benefited by our agricultural policies. Of course, the jagirdars have gone out of the field and so, let us not consider them. The land-owning class has certainly benefited thanks to the policy of the Planning Minister. They are the beneficiaries in the game and they get all the credit because they get all the facilities and they have improved their lot considerably. Let me not go into how far they have progressed because they certainly have progressed. Their number is not very great. Let us see the position of the tenants. There has absolutely been no effect on them of the application of the tenancy laws and the old system is going on and the tenants have remained where they were while, on the other hand, the number of tenants evicted from their lands is very great, and this is a hardship to this class which is also increasing because of our agricultural policy and the land legislation. Benefits have not accrued to them and they remain where they were and they have become landless labourers today. Then there are the landless labourers who constitute a big chunk of our population.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Reddy, please wind up.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: There are millions of them. What is their fate? Their fate is much worse than it could have been otherwise under our planning. They are quite helpless. Of course, the Minister said that he was going to start 200 pilot projects for securing work for these landless people. What is two hundred? It is only a drop in the ocean. The landless labourers are in a very, very, very bad plight. How do you reduce the disparity and inequality and improve the conditions and the standard of living and all these things that are copiously talked of? When I think of these peo-

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ple, I get despaired. There is another set of people.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I thought you were winding up but now you are going to another section.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: Thank you, Madam. The tractor cultivators are improving and they have got big surpluses to sell in the market. They are prospering very well. This section of our agricultural population which has received benefits on account of our Plan is very, very small and those that are suffering account for a larger number. How this great disparity that exists in the social life of the agricultural population is going to be solved is for the Minister to consider, Thank you.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, from the speeches which the hon. Minister for Planning made in this House and in the other House and from a perusal of the note which has been circulated to us regarding the progress that has been made in the Third Five Year Plan and the various statements of the Government and the Planning Commission, I have a feeling that the Government of India is trying to assuage the feeling of dissatisfaction in the country through promises of bright future, promises of better efforts and a general promise that everything is going to turn out all right and that there need not be any fear or anxiety in the country. Madam, while saying this, I realise that the country has made certain progress in the development of our economy during the last decade. Industrial production has increased, agricultural production has increased, the productive capacity has been built up and we have also got employment opportunities being created. Above all, we have gained valuable experience in the development of our economy, especially in planning, and these are all to the credit side of the Plan. Unfortunately, Madam, the price that we have paid for this progress is rather heavy. The imbalances

that we have created are likely to go out of control unless definite steps are taken to see that the imbalances are corrected at the earliest opportunity.

The problem of the distribution of income that is generated as a result of the developmental efforts in the country is a perennial question and comes up again and again in one form or the other before this House and though I realise that no definite opinion is possible unless we have got some authoritative data and analysis on the subject, there is clear indication of the fact that if not economic wealth at least economic power is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. If one were to examine the figures that are already available, the authenticated figures, because they come from official sources, clearly establish that some of the important houses in our country are getting more and more companies under their control and even the new expansion that takes place is mostly and primarily under their aegis, the result being that these important houses are today controlling the economic activity in our country in a manner which was never there before and which was certainly not the case before we started the planned development of our economy. This particular fact cannot be gainsaid because there are figures to prove it. I have got before me the figures of only two big houses which I would like to share with the House, namely, that of Tatas and Birlas. The paid-up capital that they are controlling today is Rs. 290 crores as far as the Tatas are concerned and Rs. 291 crores as far as the Birlas are concerned and when we note that the paid-up capital in the country is of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores, the enormity of the situation should be before the mind of anyone who wants to study this question in terms of the objective of achievement of a socialist pattern of society. As long as economic power is concentrated in such few hands it will not be possible for us to develop in the manner in which we like, whatever may be our regulatory and con-

trol apparatus, whatever may be our policy, whatever may be the objectives that we place before the country.

Similarly, the imbalance between the rural and the urban sector is also increasing. I do not know whether in the rural area some income has been pumped in as a result of our planned development. It is possible that the well-to-do peasants, the richer peasants, might have benefited as a result of our economic development but as far as the rural area as a whole is concerned and the urban area as a whole is concerned, the disparity and imbalance is definitely growing and that is also a matter of concern. The very fact that urbanisation takes place at such a rapid rate in our country is visible proof that the imbalance has been growing with the result that neither the urban areas nor the rural areas are today in a position to live the life that they were living before our planned developmental efforts started. Now, there is over-congestion in the urban areas; the civic amenities are all on the point of breaking down and they continuously break down with the slightest accident here or there. The slums are increasing at a rapid rate and unemployment is increasing. And whatever may be the figures regarding crimes etc. that may be published by the Government, there is a definite impression in the country that the crime situation is also deteriorating. That is because of the congestion in the urban areas. Because of the difficulties due to lack of resources they are unable to deal with the problems that arise as a result of this over-congestion and the problem of law and order becomes more acute as a result of this urbanisation.

Thirdly, the question of unemployment has also taken a rather serious turn and when the Government spokesman addresses homilies to others regarding the agitation against high prices and higher taxes, they completely forget that year by year one earner has to support more and more people and we have got the authority of no less a person than the Planning Minis-

ter himself to say that the real income of the earner, at least in the lower income groups, has not risen and in spite of that that earner has to support larger and larger number of dependants. There is so much dissatisfaction in the country that people are clamouring against rising prices and rising taxes. The Planning Minister has given us a frank picture regarding what has happened in the first year of the Third Plan period and we are very grateful to him for this frank picture. The figures that he has cited have given us a clear idea of what is happening to our economy at the present moment. But after giving that picture, he has tried to strike a note of optimism, of courage. He has tried to explain—I do not say explain away but he has rightly tried to explain—the reasons that are responsible for this state of affairs and he has also indicated that the Planning Commission is conscious of all these drawbacks in our economy and that efforts are being made to correct the mistakes which were already made. I am, however, Madam, not quite satisfied with the approach that the Planning Commission has made so far.

I will take only one instance. We have got the agricultural production rising at a very slow pace. We have got only one per cent. increase, I think, as has been indicated by the Planning Minister, during the last year as far as agricultural production is concerned. Having given this figure the Planning Minister tried to explain this fact by saying that it was a matter of monsoon, that the monsoon was not quite good last year. It was not so good as in the year before last and that perhaps explains why agricultural production rose only by one per cent. But if one were to examine the figures more closely perhaps a different picture arises. I have before me, Madam, an article which has been contributed by the Planning Commission staff in which certain figures are given. As regards agriculture, we are told that while the foodgrains rose only by one million tons, from 79 million tons to

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80 million tons, as far as jute bales are concerned they rose from 40 lakh bales to 62 lakh bales, that is, 22 lakh bales in one year. To my mind, here is the real crux of the problem that while the increase in food production is only one million tons we have got jute bales rising by almost 60 per cent. From 40 lakh bales they rose to 62 lakh bales. Why? The simple reason for this is that the jute prices were attractive to the farmers and, therefore, the farmers shifted from food production to jute production as a result of which we have got such a phenomenal increase as far as jute production is concerned. A similar position is also noticeable with regard to oil seeds and certain other agricultural produce. While on the one hand we have got almost negligible increase in production as far as foodgrains are concerned, as far as what is known as the money crops are concerned, the production is rising faster except in the case of cotton where the production is going down.

The crux of the whole matter, therefore, is the inability on the part of the Government to manipulate the prices in a manner whereby it may be possible to achieve crop planning in order to achieve the desired results. As long as this price structure is allowed to move in the manner in which it is moving today, whatever may be the policy of the Government, howsoever much credit they may pump into the agricultural sector, whatever the amenities they may give to the agriculturists, it will not be possible for us to achieve the targets in the manner in which we want to achieve. I would have been satisfied if as a result of this increased agricultural production the farmer was better off. But we find that whenever there is increased production in response to higher prices the markets slump down so heavily that ultimately the farmer stands to lose instead of to gain. Therefore, the farmer loses both ways and the country also loses. The farmer puts in more money, more resources, in the production of crops for which he expects higher returns and he loses all

that money because the prices are not rising to his expectations and instead the prices fall down rather precipitously and the country is also losing because there is a very uneven development of agriculture. Therefore, the crux of the whole problem is not just to hold the price-line or just to see that blackmarketing is avoided. That is only one part of the job, a very important part of the price policy and that has got to be kept in mind. I am not against it; in fact I am all for it and I blame the Government for not being able to do it so far but this is another aspect of the price policy to which the Planning Commission, it seems to me, has not applied its mind properly so far, namely, the use of price policy, as an instrument of crop planning and as long as that particular tool is not utilised for this objective it will not be possible for us to have a planned development of our economy.

Then, Madam, there is the question of incentives. We are now told every time that unless incentives are given it will not be possible for us to develop our economy. We are hearing every day about export promotion and almost every day when you open your paper you read that some incentive is being given to the exporters in order to export their goods in one industry or another. Now, the problem of incentives also has to be viewed in terms of the objective of the development of a socialist economy in our country and not just from the point of view of earning more and more foreign balances. I am not in any way belittling the problem of foreign balances, but ultimately the problem of foreign balances has significance and meaning only in terms of the objectives that the Third Plan has set before it. Therefore, when we are talking of incentives in order to earn more foreign balances, we have also to think of incentives in terms of achieving the objectives that we have got in mind.

I was, therefore, disappointed to read the speech of the Planning Minister, as he said as the Planning Minister, at the Indian Labour Conference, in

which he seems to have indicated a new approach to the problem of wages. His approach has passed through three stages. In the first stage, just after the general election, the Planning Minister came out with a statement that he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the way in which the wage structure had developed and that he meant to do something about it. He categorically stated that the real wages had not increased because of intransigence of the management and he further stated that he wanted to do something about it. Then, there came about a discussion as to what could be done and all the industrialists themselves and the financial newspapers in this country came out with the theory that wages could be increased only if productivity is increased and, therefore, wages should be linked with productivity. That was the second stage, viz., increase productivity and wages will be increased. That was the slogan or that was the principle which was accepted even by the industrialists. But what do we find in the speech of the Planning Minister to the Indian Labour Conference? There he says that even if productivity increases, the first charge will be in respect of projects which are meant for further employment or creation of more employment opportunities. That means even if productivity increases, it is not that the workers will immediately benefit in terms of higher wages so that it may be possible for them to improve their standard of living a little bit. Even if productivity rises, the fruits of productivity will go to schemes for creating further employment opportunities in the country. Now, how long are the workers to wait and what exactly will be the stage at which it can be stated that now enough employment opportunities have been created and, therefore, the stage has come for increased wages? The Planning Minister, perhaps as the Labour Minister at that stage, has stated that as far as amenities to workers are concerned, that will be the first charge on the earning of the industrial unit. That much concession he had given. But those amenities are defined only in

terms of some of the social amenities to which any citizen in a socialist society is automatically entitled to. It does not in any way mean any significant increase in the standard of living of the worker. Therefore, that concession does not go far enough and I strongly protest against this new departure in his policy regarding wages, namely, even after productivity rises, an immediate case for a rise in wages would not have been established.

In this connection I would also point out that once we have accepted the policy of productivity as the measure—irrespective of the correctness or otherwise of the case—for increased wages, there has to be some objective standard of measuring productivity. I tried to find out in a Consultative Committee, where this question of productivity was being discussed and the Director of the Productivity Council was present there, by asking the simple question: "Has any objective or scientific standard been already established whereby it would be possible to measure productivity?" The answer given was that some rudimentary attempts have been made so far, but no scientific formula has been devised so far. I would earnestly urge upon the Planning Commission or the Labour Ministry, as the case may be, to evolve a scientific formula to measure productivity at an early stage. It may be an *ad hoc* formula to start with. It may not have all the precision that is necessary for a scientific concept of the measurement of productivity. But some objective standard has to be established whereby it will be possible for us to know whether productivity is increasing or not increasing, so that it may be possible to determine any claim to higher wages on a scientific and objective basis.

It has been suggested now that industrial relations are going to be governed more and more by the principle of arbitration and through the intervention of the State Government and the Central Government, so that industrial peace could be maintained,

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so that justice could be done, so that the workers might feel that all that is possible is being done to ameliorate their conditions. If arbitration is going to be the central principle governing industrial relations, it is absolutely necessary that we should have certain objective and well-defined standards, in terms of which the arbitration machinery could function. Otherwise, it would be just a case of subjective reaction to the case that may be put forward by the workers and the employers before an arbitrator. And it will not be possible for us to have justice done and to convince people that justice has been done.

There is one more point to which I would like to refer before I sit down and that is the machinery that we have created in order to see that scientific planning takes place, that scientifically well-conceived plans are before the country and also that those plans are implemented. The Planning Commission is today devising certain plans in terms of the objectives and in terms of certain assumptions that they formulate and now they have thought of not only the Five Year Plan, but also of perspective planning whereby the targets and the various assumptions are being carried forward over a longer period. Now, this is only one aspect of planning. Another and a more important aspect is the experience that one gathers as the Plan is in operation. Some objective evaluation of the experience that we have got during the economic development of the country is necessary. The evaluation machinery of the Planning Commission works only *ad hoc*, only in certain cases and in terms of certain projects. As far as the economy of the whole country is concerned and as far as the question of implementation and the experience that has been gathered is concerned, the progress reports are the only guides that we have got in order to find out exactly what we have achieved and how we have achieved it. To my mind a machinery is necessary to keep a close watch from day

to day on the question of the working of the Plan after the Plan has already been adopted and put into operation. The Planning Commission should not be saddled with this additional duty, because as it is the Planning Commission's hands are full. Now, they are thinking in terms of Annual Plans, Five Year Plans, Fifteen Year Plans, Twenty Year Plans, and so on, and that itself requires a large amount of work, attention and concentration. Therefore, a new body with sufficiently high powers is necessary to see that the working of the Plan is also being looked after from day to day, and whenever any shortfalls occur, whenever any imbalances are detected, whenever there are any indications that the Plan is going out of gear, immediate steps might be taken and recommended to see that the Plan is brought back to the right path which has been chalked out for it. This is true especially in the case of the plans that we have got regarding the rural development in our country. The question of employment, the question of imbalance between the rural and urban sectors, the question of raising our agricultural productivity, the question of establishing a socialist pattern of society, all these hedge round the rural development programmes, how far these programmes can be successfully implemented. Unfortunately, so far we have not got any machinery which could deal with the implementation of the rural development programmes and to keep an eye on this development from day to day. At times we hear the Planning Minister complaining about the apathy of the State Governments, at times we hear about the failure of the monsoons, at times we hear about the foreign exchange difficulties, at times we hear that the production of fertilisers could not be increased, and at times we hear about so much of the productive capacity of village industries lying idle because of marketing difficulties. But no one is there to find out what should be done in order to correct these mistakes or these deficiencies that have been detected, how these deficiencies could be corrected.

I have before me a report on the subject of intensive development of small industries in rural areas, which has been published by the Planning Commission, the Rural Industries Planning Committee. I went through the report rather carefully, and in the last part of the report indications are there regarding the programme that is going to be followed and the policy that is going to be followed in order to develop these rural industries. I do not find a single paragraph as far as the programme and policy are concerned on protection of the rural industries against competition from the urban industries. As far as the needs are concerned, as far as the situation is concerned, there is a reference to that in terms of the principal lessons to be drawn. As for the lessons to be drawn, on page 4 we have got the eighth lesson which definitely says that necessary measures should be taken to avoid the difficulties of marketing of the products of small industries vis-a-vis those of large industries. But when they come to the programme and policy, when they come to what is recommended to be done here and now in the 46th scheme, to which the Planning Minister has made a reference, there is absolutely no mention regarding any protective measures to be taken in order to see that the products of the rural industries become marketable and that those products are able to withstand the competition from the more organised sector of the economy. It is these little things that come in the way of the ultimate development of the economy on proper lines, and it is these little things that require to be looked into by an agency which is charged purely with the investigation and correction of the difficulties that might arise as a result of the implementation of the Plan year after year. I thank you, Madam.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण (महाराष्ट्र) :
आदरणीया उपमन्त्रि जी, प्लान की प्रोग्रेस को नापने के लिये कोई खास फिजिकल टार्गेट्स के यार्ड स्टिक की ही जरूरत नहीं है।

हाँ, वह एक यार्ड स्टिक हो सकती है, परन्तु Physical targets are not an end in themselves फिजिकल टार्गेट्स हमारे साध्य नहीं हैं, साधन हैं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY) in the Chair]

हमारे प्लान के उद्देश्य इस देश में बेहतरी लाना, एक गुड सोसाइटी पैदा करना, इस देश में जो करोड़ों भूखे हैं उनकी दमिदता को दूर करना, विषमता निकालना, लिविंग स्टैंडर्ड बढ़ाना, ये तमाम बातें हैं। जब हम प्लान की प्रोग्रेस पर विचार करते हैं तो हमें देखना चाहिये कि जिन उद्देश्यों से ये प्लान हमने बनाये, हमारे वे उद्देश्य कहाँ तक सफल हो रहे हैं? क्या करोड़ों लोगों को दो वक्त पहले से कुछ अधिक खाने को मिलता है? क्या हमारी आपस की विषमता दूर हो रही है? क्या देहात और शहर में जो विषमता है वह कम होती जा रही है? ये तमाम बातें हमें देखनी चाहियें। मैं जानता हूँ कि ये तमाम बातें किसी यार्ड स्टिक से सहज में नापी नहीं जा सकतीं जिस तरह से फिजिकल टार्गेट्स नापे जा सकते हैं। गरीबी कहाँ तक दूर हुई, विषमता कहाँ तक निकली, यह जानना मुश्किल है। फिर भी मैं जानता हूँ कि हम देख सकते हैं कि हम कहाँ तक इसमें कामयाब हुये। इन्हीं प्रश्नों के उत्तर में हमारी सच्ची कामयाबी की झलक मिल सकती है। आज जब हमारे आदरणीय मंत्री जी बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने शुरू में यह कहा कि यहाँ प्लानिंग कमिशन में क्या काम हो रहा है, कितना काम हो रहा है इससे इसका महत्व नहीं समझा जा सकता है, बल्कि देश के लाखों करोड़ों लोग किस उत्साह में, किस दृष्टि से और किस सीमा तक इसमें हिस्सा लेते हैं, इसमें इसको समझना चाहिये। बात सच है और इसी हिसाब से मैं आदरणीय मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस काम में आप कहाँ तक कामयाब हुये।

[श्री देवकीनन्दन 'नारायण']

आपकी जितनी रिपोर्ट्स निकलती है उनमें यही लिखा मिलता है कि इतने लाख आदमी काम पर लगाये गये, इतना उत्पादन हुआ, इतने करोड़ रुपये नेशनल इनकम में बढे। सब कुछ हुआ, मगर जब हम देहात में जाते हैं तो यह लगता है कि कागज में तो यों और कुनबा डूबा क्यों। नेशनल इनकम बढ़ी, परकैपिटल इनकम बढ़ी—परन्तु जैसा कि एक बड़े महानुभाव ने कहा था कि नेशनल इनकम बढ़ी है, पर परकैपिटल एक्वेज करेक्टर गिर गया है। जब हम इन बातों को देखते हैं, प्लान की प्रोग्रेस को देखते हैं तो साथ साथ हमें यह भी देखना चाहिये कि इस समय आर्थिक समस्याओं के लिये जो हमारे प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं, उन प्रयत्नों से हमारी नैतिकता कितनी बढ़ रही है, हमारी प्रामाणिकता कितनी बढ़ रही है और राष्ट्रीय एकात्मकता कितनी बढ़ रही है। आज आप जिधर देखिये, उधर सुनाई देगा करप्शन, ब्लैकमार्केटिंग एडल्टरेशन और जाने क्या क्या शब्द आपको सुनाई देंगे।

तो मैं यह कहूँगा कि जब आप इस प्रोग्रेस को देखते हैं तो ऊपर की जो श्रेणी है, उद्योगपति हैं या बड़े मालदार हैं उनकी निगाह में नहीं देखे बल्कि जो ८२ टका लोग हमारे देहातों में बसते हैं उनकी निगाह से आप देखें। उनकी निगाह से आप देखियेगा तो आपको पता चलेगा कि सच्ची क्या हालत है। यह मेरे हाथ में एक रिपोर्ट है।

“welfare of the weaker sections of the Village Communities”

इस रिपोर्ट में यह लिखा है —

“About 80 per cent of the rural households have an income of less than Rs 1,000 per annum and 50 per cent who form the lower rung of the ladder have an income of less than Rs 500 per annum. This lower rung comprises agricultural labourers and cultivators who have got very small land-holdings, artisans and small craftsmen, and at the lowest level destitutes with no means of livelihood at all.”

हमारे देश की समस्या है कि आज ८२ टका हाउसहोल्ड्स ऐसे हैं—खास कर इस देश के देहातों में—जिनकी साल की पैदाश एक हजार रुपये से नीचे है और २५ टका ऐसे हैं जिनकी वार्षिक आमदनी २५० रुपये से कम है। तो मैं यह जानना चाहूँगा कि आप जो कुछ खेती के लिये कर रहे हैं, उद्योगों के लिये कर रहे हैं वह कहाँ तक इन गरीबों को मदद पहुँचाता है।

आपने देखा होगा कि दिन ब दिन बेकारी बढ़ रही है। आपके प्लान का एक मकसद यह भी रहा है कि बेकारी को कम करेंगे, अन-इम्प्लायमेंट को दिन पर दिन कम करेंगे, इम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ावेंगे मगर क्या यह हुआ? जिस तेजी से आपका इंडस्ट्रियलायजेशन बढ़ा उसी तेजी से अनइम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ा। फर्स्ट फाइव ईयर प्लान के बाद जो बैंकलाग था उससे ज्यादा सेकंड फाइव ईयर प्लान के अन्त में हुआ। सेकंड फाइव ईयर प्लान जब खत्म हुआ तब ६० लाख आदमी बेकार थे और थर्ड फाइव ईयर प्लान में न्यू इंटेंट्स १७० लाख होंगे, यानी २६० लाख बेकार होंगे। अब आप थर्ड फाइव ईयर प्लान में कहते हैं कि २६० लाख में से १४० लाख को हम काम दे सकेंगे, यानी फिर १२० लाख लोगों का बैंक लाग रह जायगा। यह सेक्विण्ड प्लान से अधिक होगा। इस तरह से एक तरफ आप हजारों करोड़ रुपया नये-नये उद्योगों में लगा रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ रही है, यह कंट्रिडिक्शन आप किस तरह से तय करना चाहते हैं यह मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ। डाक्टर गाडगिल ने “Approach to Indian Planning” में लिखा है। —

“The result of continued operation of present trends will be unrestrained growth of metropolitan centres, continued disintegration of rural communities and stagnancy in many agricultural areas and buoyancy and rapid growth in industries producing luxury or semi-luxury goods.”

यह आपका रवैया है। आगे वह कहने हैं :

"There seem at present to be two contradictory processes in motion. On the one side is the effort to develop the rural communities; on the other, present industrial development is preparing for their disintegration. On the one hand, again, a bold attempt is being made to accomplish political decentralisation; on the other, there is a growing trend towards concentration of capital resources and economic power in a small number of hands."

तो यह आपका रवैया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि ये दो कांस्ट्रिक्शंस किस तरह से आगे चल सकती हैं। आप देखियेगा कि गत दस वर्षों में बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रियों को खोल कर आपने कितने आदमियों को काम दिया। ६ लाख ३० हजार को दिया लेकिन इन फैक्ट्रियों से पैदाइश कितनी हुई? काम मिला अधिक २२ टका लोगों को और पैदाइश हुई पहले से १४४ टका ज्यादा। तो यह एक डिमैरिटो का उदाहरण है। कितने थोड़े लोग कितना अधिक पैसा कमा सकते हैं और अधिक पैसा कमाने पर उस का डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन किस तरह से होता है वह भी आप देख रहे हैं। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आपको जो यह इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन की पालिसी है इसको बदलना होगा, इसको आप जब तक नहीं बदलेंगे तब तक बेकारी का, अनइम्प्लायमेंट का सवाल तय होने वाला नहीं है। इस सम्बन्ध में डा० वो० के० आर० बी० राव ने एक जगह कहा है।—

"This shows that industrial development of the type we are emphasising is not likely to give any material aid to the solution of the large and growing unemployment that is faced by the country."

अर्थशास्त्रज्ञ भी इस बात को कहते हैं, डा० गाडगिल कहते हैं, डा० राव कहते हैं कि जिस पालिसी को आप अख्तियार कर रहे हैं उस पालिसी से हिन्दुस्तान में अनइम्प्लायमेंट का प्रबलम तय होने वाला नहीं है।

एक तरफ आपका इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन चल रहा है और दूसरी तरफ खेती की ओर आप देखियेगा? जिस परिमाण में इंडस्ट्रीज में आपकी प्रगति हो रही है उस परिमाण में खेती आगे नहीं बढ़ रही है। इंडस्ट्रीज के लिये तो पैसा है, साइंस है, टेक्नालाजी है ये तमाम बातें हैं मगर जब कोई दिक्कत आ जाती है और आपका खेती के मामले में टार्गेट पूरा नहीं होता है तो आप निसर्ग की तरफ, आसमान की तरफ हाथ दिखला देने हैं और कहते हैं कि साहब क्या करे Climatic conditions have changed and this is the reason. Nature was unfavourable. क्या कारण है कि करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करने के बाद भी खेती का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ रहा है? इसको आपको सोचना चाहिये कि यह क्यों नहीं बढ़ रहा है। क्या किसान अधिक पैसा नहीं कर सकता है? किसान अधिक पैसा कर सकता है परन्तु उस सम्बन्ध में यह है कि आपकी जो प्राइस पालिसी है वह ठीक नहीं है। हमने नागपुर कांग्रेस में यह प्रस्ताव किया था कि हर एक बोने के सीजन के पहले हम कीमत जाहिर करेंगे।

We shall announce the price before the every sowing season. उसके बाद

यही बात इस सदन में भी दुहराई परन्तु आज चार वर्ष हो गये हैं और अभी तक यह नहीं हुआ और यह कीमतें जाहिर नहीं होती हैं। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि बेचारा किसान एक तरह से गेम्बलिंग खेलता है, एक तरह से जुए के वातावरण में रहता है। अब की बार इस चीज का भाव बढ़ गया तो उसने वह ज्यादा बो दिया और अगर उसका भाव कम हो गया तो उसने वह कम कर दिया। जब तक किसान को पहले से यह विश्वास पैदा नहीं होगा कि उसे कीमत मिलने का है तब तक उसमें आत्म विश्वास पैदा नहीं होगा और आप जो चाहेंगे वह बोयेगा नहीं।

कहा गया कि हिन्दुस्तान की बेरोजगारी कम करने के लिये अब एक नया प्रोग्राम निहाला गया है, Rural Development Works, जिस पर कहते हैं पांच वर्षों

[श्री देवकी नन्दन नारायण]

में १५० करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा। अब इस प्रोग्राम की ओर आप देखियेगा। कहते हैं कि इससे बहुतों को रोजगार मिलेगा, मजदूरी मिलेगी—रोजगार मिलेगा यह बात गलत है, मजदूरी मिलेगी और मेरी शिकायत यही है कि इन लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा मजदूरी मिलेगी, जो काम आप इनसे कराना चाहते हैं वह रिलीफ वर्क के नाते कराना चाहते हैं और रिलीफ वर्क रोजगार नहीं बन सकता। रोजगार के लिये आपको दूर की सोचना होगा और दूर की सोचने के बाद ही आप रोजगार पैदा कर सकते हैं। मुझे डर है कि आप इस प्रोग्राम से देहात में एक डुम्रल सोसाइटी पैदा करने जा रहे हैं। एक वह मजदूर होंगे, वह छोटे छोटे किसान होंगे जो कि यूजफुल वर्क यानी उपयोगी काम करेंगे और अपनी इज्जत और रोजी पायेंगे

4 P. M. और दूसरे वे होंगे जो रिलीज वर्क करेंगे और चैरिटी वेज पायेंगे। आप सोचिए कि इससे देहातों में क्या भाव पैदा होंगे। इन में न्यूनगण्यता, जिसको इन्फोरियोरिटी कम्प्लेक्स कहते हैं, पैदा होगी। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि आप इस बात को सोचिए और देखिए कि देहातों में एक ड्यूम्रल सोसाइटी न पैदा हो और इस चैरिटी या रिलीफ वर्क की बजाय आप जिस तरह से स्थायी रोजगार पैदा हों उस तरह से पैदा करने की कोशिश करें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You have to close now.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: I shall finish in two minutes.

इस के बाद, मैं मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद दूँगा कि उन्होंने रूरल इन्डस्ट्रीज प्लानिंग कमेटी कायम की है। परन्तु रूरल इन्डस्ट्रीज प्लानिंग कमेटी के सम्बन्ध में भी मुझे कहना होगा कि आप इन रूरल इन्डस्ट्रीज को,

स्माल इन्डस्ट्रीज को, शहरों की बड़ी-बड़ी इन्डस्ट्रीज से किस तरह बचाना चाहते हैं? क्या आप मार्केटिंग की तर्बीज करने वाले हैं? क्या आप यही तय करेंगे कि जहां पैदा हो वहीं बिके? इस तरह आज को जमाने में हो नहीं सकता। इसलिये रूरल इन्डस्ट्रीज और स्माल इन्डस्ट्रीज की बातें जब आप सोचते हैं तो साथ ही, जो बाहर से होने वाली कम्पटीशन है उस को भी आप पहले मद्देनजर रखें और देखें कि यह कहां तक और कैसे सफल हो सकता है।

आखिर में मैं यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि हमारे इन तमाम प्रयत्नों का एक ही उद्देश्य हो सकता है। वह यह है कि इस देश के हरेक मनुष्य की जो मिनिमम बेसिक नेसेसिटीज हैं, जरूरतें हैं, वे मिलने की व्यवस्था जल्द से जल्द हो। जैसाकि आज माननीय मंत्री, श्री नंदा जी ने कहा सब से पहले हर एक मनुष्य की पांच "नोड्स" पूरी होनी चाहियें—फूड, क्लोदिंग, शेल्टर, एजुकेशन एन्ड हेल्थ। यदि ये पांच चीजें इस देश के लोगों को जल्दी से जल्दी नहीं मिल सकीं तो आप चाहे कितना ही प्रयत्न करें, इस देश में शांति नहीं ला सकेंगे, यह मैं आप से नम्रतापूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ। पन्द्रह वर्ष हो गये हमारी आजादी को, फिर भी लाखों आदमी ऐसे हैं जिन्हें पेट भर अन्न नहीं मिलता है, जिन के अंग पर वस्त्र नहीं है, रहा कः घर नहीं है। इसलिये जब तक आप ये पांच चीजें—फूड, क्लोदिंग, शेल्टर, एजुकेशन और हेल्थ—हर एक के लिये पर्याप्त में दे नहीं सकते हैं, या अपनी परस्पेक्टिव्ह प्लानिंग में इस बात को आप सिद्ध नहीं करते हैं कि हम इतने वर्षों में यह बात पैदा कर सकेंगे, हर एक को ये पांच चीजें दे सकेंगे, तब तक आप जनता में विश्वास पैदा नहीं कर सकते हैं और धीरे धीरे आप जनता का विश्वास खो बैठेंगे। आज आप भूखी जनता जो है उस को शाब्दिक वायदे का पोस्ट डेटेड चेक देते हैं। उन भूखे और बेरोजगारों से कह रहे हैं कि ठहरिये, पन्द्रह बीस वर्ष बाद जब हमारा डेवलपमेंट

पूरा हो जायगा तब आप के लिये व्यवस्था होगी। इस से काम नहीं चलने वाला है। यदि आप अन्डरप्लाइड लोगों को, गरीब लोगों को शांति से रहने देना चाहते हैं और इस देश को समाधान में रखना चाहते हैं, तो आप से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि साफ साफ योजना बतलाइये कि इतने वर्षों में और इस प्रकार ऐसी हालत पैदा होने वाली है कि जब हर एक को ये पांच चीजें प्राप्त हो जायेंगी।

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the hon. Minister for Planning has been pleased to refer to the question of regional planning and the efforts of the Planning Commission to maintain regional balance in terms of economic development of the various States in this country. In this context, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I may state that if for some reasons, political, social or otherwise the regional imbalance or the uneven economic development of the States is left as it is, it would generate a kind of social base pregnant with discontent and subterranean agony which would ultimately lead to a growth of organisations with separatist slogans, like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, which is only a symptom of an existing social situation which, if we do not take proper care, may develop into a volcano. To borrow a phrase from medical science, this type of malignancy may be called the first stage of cancer, and if it once reaches the third stage, any amount of treatment is not going to cure the patient.

In this context, Sir, I may mention how the Southern Zone and how the other Zones are being treated and, in particular reference, how the State of Andhra Pradesh is being treated, not even as a step-child but only as an orphan child. I may illustrate my point with reference to the various statistics available, because these are days of statistics. The statistics do not exactly represent the nature of the situation, nor do they represent the stark realities of the situation, but still these statistics would clearly in-

dicate the tendency a particular situation is developing. The country is divided here into five Zones, Northern, Central, Eastern, Western and Southern and these were their incomes in 1955-56: Northern—Rs. 1064.94 crores; Central—Rs. 2039.96 crores; Eastern—Rs. 2171.40 crores; Western—Rs. 1585.10 crores, and Southern—Rs. 2310.57 crores, and the figures, respectively, stood as follows in the year 1960-61: Rs. 1413.80 crores, Rs. 2379.15 crores, Rs. 2696.29 crores, Rs. 1947.51 crores and Rs. 2740.36 crores. And in relation to *per capita* income in 1960-61, the respective figures are as follows: Rs. 330, Rs. 230, Rs. 260, Rs. 331 and Rs. 241, and here the percentage increase, compared to 1955-56, is respectively as follows: 18.63, 6.97, 14.58, 9.97 and 7.08, and as far as the percentage increase is concerned, the Southern Zone is practically at the bottom of development.

Now, power is one of the basic raw materials for the development of any State—it has been said by Lenin and it has been repeated by our own Prime Minister; it does not need any evidence to prove it, and as far as that power consumption is concerned, if we take the figures, as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, it is the lowest, and here are the figures as they stood by the end of the Second Plan period: Andhra—15; Madras—60; Kerala—30; Mysore—35 and All India 50. Then the *per capita* consumption by the end of the Third Plan period is contemplated as follows: Andhra—40; Madras—100; Kerala—60; Mysore—60, and All India—84. Therefore, when compared to other standards, probably Andhra and Kerala are at the lowest rung of the ladder.

I only appeal to the Planning Commission and to the Ministry to remember that there is a State called Andhra Pradesh on the map of India and that in the Southern Zone it is not only Tamil Nad that exists but there are also other States called Andhra Pradesh and Kerala and some other States which deserve to be looked after. I wish all good luck to my

[Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy.]
Madras friends including the hon. the Deputy Minister, my friend Mr. Pattabhi Raman, but still I would only appeal to the Government to note that there exists a State called Andhra Pradesh also on the map of India and that it should not be forgotten. Once it used to be known as forming part of the State of Madras, but now we have got separate existence, and at least the fact of separate existence may be taken notice of. What I am expressing here may be construed as the lone voice of an independent Member of this august House, but I have no doubt, Sir, that I voice the feelings of all the Members who come from Andhra and who represent Andhra here, and also the Government of Andhra Pradesh certainly would support my views and share my views. And I am certain I am fortified with their support while I express these views. There cannot be any difference of opinion based on political denominations or party affiliations.

In this context, Sir, the Planning Commission has been thinking in terms of erecting a steel factory. It is a good augury and I congratulate the Madras people for having got one of the steel factories which is shortly going to be located there. As far as this is concerned, as far back as 1957 the Kanhaya Lal Committee recommended that a coal washery should be located in Kothagudam for the purpose of separating coal with greater ash content so that coal with less ash content can be used by the Railways and the rest of it can be used for the purpose of producing electricity.

As you know, low-shaft-blast furnace, which has become the favourite of the Planning Commission and the Government, is one of the most uneconomic units planned anywhere in the world. It is for the experts of the Planning Commission to note it. It has been found to be one of the most uneconomic units, and anywhere in the world it is being subsidised by governmental funds. In relation to

this if we concentrate on using coal in relation to steel industry, the steel industry will have to be a power-based steel industry and Kothagudam is a very suitable place for starting it. Coal is available there and it can be cured by the coal washery. Out of that, 75 per cent. can be used for the purpose of producing electricity. Even 1,000 megawatts of electricity can be produced from the coal available there, according to the estimates of the Singareni mines, which means 5½ million tons which you are going to produce in the course of the Third Five Year Plan. That is the total production which are able to achieve per year. If this total quantity of coal is used, it can be useful for producing even 1,000 megawatts of electricity, and this can be used for the purpose of installing an alloy steel factory there. The kind of steel factory which you have got under contemplation is going to be an uneconomic unit and it will not work. The best thing is to start an alloy steel factory, the components of which are available in India except tungsten and some other raw materials which can be imported from some of the African countries which have recently become independent or from Canada. Once you start an alloy steel factory, a number of subsidiary metallurgical industries can be started around it and that means not only the unemployment problem but also the question of basic capital industries being started can be solved in that part of the country.

Secondly, the Nagarjunasagar project is one of the basic irrigation projects which Andhra Pradesh is trying to construct. About Rs. 50 crores are to be spent on that project from the State's budget. In this connection I may state that the Planning Commission is suffering under the influence of quantitative theory of money in economics which is one of the outmoded theories and which was found to be a useless theory. Their entire outlook is merely in terms of budgeting and money. They have not gone even to

the extent of the theory of savings and investment. Their theory is not in any way a revolutionary theory. They have not gone even to the extent of Keynesian theory—its applications. Viewed in this context, if they wholly aim at deficit finance in relation to the price and limit it, the only alternative would be to consider everything in terms of taxation. In certain States we are reaching a point where any more taxation is going to be treated as a great burden and the people may not be able to tolerate it. If the Nagarjunasagar Project is to be financed, if a sum of Rs. 50 crores is to be spent from the State's budget, the State will have to be forced to resort sometimes to a higher burden of taxation by way of land revenue and others. If the projects are to be financed in this way, I am afraid, they cannot be developed properly. Hence I appeal to the Central Government to take up the Nagarjunasagar Project, as far as the financing part of it is concerned, and meet the entire expenditure in connection with the second phase of the project.

Viewed in this context, there is a very urgent need of revolution in our own thinking in relation to the economic theory as well as its practice. I am afraid, if we do not solve the problems of regional imbalance, the cancer would reach the third stage and no doctor will be able to cure it.

श्री भग त नारायण भार्गव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे सामने जो प्रश्न है वह बड़े महत्व का है विशेषतः इसलिये कि हमारा देश इस समय संसार के प्रायः सभी देशों से पिछड़ा हुआ है। हम लोग प्रगति की ओर जा रहे हैं और हमारे देश में हर पांच वर्ष के लिये एक पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई जाती है। हमारी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के दो मंतव्य हैं और इसका उल्लेख रिपोर्ट के पृष्ठ ३४२ पर दिया हुआ है। उस का जो शीर्षक है वह इस प्रकार से है "वीकर सेक्शन आफ दी सोसाइटी"। एक मंतव्य तो यह है दूसरा यह कि जो "लैस डेवलप्ड

एरियाज" हैं, पिछड़े प्रदेश हैं, उन पर ज्यादा खर्च किया जाना चाहिये। उनका स्तर हमें ऊंचा उठाना है। इन दो बातों के सम्बंध में मैं कुछ शब्द सदन के सामने कहना चाहता हूँ।

हमारे देश में कौन सा वर्ग वीकर है, समाज में कौन सा वर्ग निर्बल है, इसका निश्चय अभी तक सरकार नहीं कर सकी है। इस रिपोर्ट के ३४२ पृष्ठ में उन्होंने कहा है :

"Weaker sections and the problem of Employment: From time to time evaluation reports on the Community Development programme have drawn attention to the fact that the benefits did not reach the less privileged section of the village community in adequate measure."

इसके बाद उन्होंने उस स्टडी ग्रुप का जिक्र किया है जो श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण जी के सभापतित्व में बनाई गई थी और यह विचार प्रकट किये हैं :—

"The main weakness of the present village economy are low income, low productivity and lack of continuous employment."

इसके संबंध में मैं गवर्नमेंट से कई महीनों से पत्र व्यवहार करता रहा और जो उत्तर २० अगस्त तक मेरे पास आये हैं उनमें उन्होंने इस बात का जिक्र किया है कि अभी तक हम इस बात को तय नहीं कर सके कि "वीकर सेक्शन आफ दी सोसाइटी" की क्या परिभाषा की जाय। एक पत्र में उन्होंने लिखा है :

"Certain recommendations for defining the term 'weaker section of the community' have been made by the Study Group on the welfare of the weaker section of the community, headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narain. No decisions on this recommendation have so far been taken."

हमारे प्लानिंग कमिशन ने, जो मुख्य मंतव्य है, उसके बारे में यह कहा है कि हमारे समाज में जो निर्बल वर्ग है उसकी ओर ज्यादा

[श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव]

ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन जब तक हम यह निर्णय नहीं कर लेते कि समाज में "निर्बल वर्ग" कौन सा है तब तक हम किस की सहायता कर सकते हैं और किस के फायदे के लिये काम कर सकते हैं? हमें इस बात का खयाल रखना चाहिये कि हमारे देश में जो प्रति व्यक्ति आमदनी बढ़ रही है, इस तरह की जो बात कही जाती है, वह केवल भ्रम मात्र है। हमारे यहां एक आदमी की आमदनी २॥ करोड़ रुपया सालाना होती है और दूसरे आदमी की आमदनी २५० रुपया सालाना होती है। इस तरह से जितने बड़ी बड़ी आमदनी वाले और न्यूनतम आय वाले हैं उन सब की आमदनी के जोड़ में जन संख्या का भाग दे कर प्रति व्यक्ति *per capita* आमदनी निकाली जाती है तो कहा जाता है कि देश की परकैपिटा इन्कम बढ़ रही है, जो केवल भ्रम मात्र है। हमारे समाज में ऐसे लोग भी हैं जिनकी आमदनी १५ रुपया महीने से भी कम है। ऐसे भी आदमी लाखों की तादाद में मिल जायेंगे जिन्हें खाने को नहीं मिलता, न कड़े पहिने को न रहने को मकान मिलता है और जो भीख मांगते हैं। मैं तो यह कहता हूं कि अगर हमें योजना की सफलता को देखना है तो हमें इस बात का खयाल करना चाहिये कि हमारे समाज में ऐसे लोग न हों जिन्हें मजबूरन अपना पेट भरने के लिये दर-दर भीख मांगनी पड़े और हमारी बहनों को पेट भरने के लिये वेश्यावृत्ति की शरण लेनी पड़े। ये इस तरह की बातें हैं जिनको सुन कर हमारे हृदयों में महान दुःख होता है। हमें ज्यादा ध्यान इस बात पर देना चाहिये कि हमारे समाज का "निर्बल वर्ग" कौन है, कहां है और किस तरह से वह रहता है और कैसे उसकी दशा में, उस के जीवन-स्तर में सुधार हो। हमें सबसे पहले जो विशेष काम करना है वह यह है कि इस वर्ग के बारे में आंकड़े प्राप्त किये जायें। सब से अच्छा यह होता कि जब सन् १९६१ में जनगणना हुई थी तब यह जानने का प्रयास किया जाता

कि कम से कम आमदनी वाले या निर्बल वर्ग वाले आदमी कितने हैं, किन लोगों के पास पैसा नहीं है, कोई आमदनी नहीं है वे कहां रहते हैं, और किस हालत में रहते हैं। अभी हमारे देवकोनन्दन नारायण जो ने देहाता की बात कही। मैं कहता हूं कि दिल्ली जैसे बड़े शहर में ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास रहने के लिये मकान नहीं है। अगर मकान है भी तो उस मकान में एक खाट बिछाने की जगह नहीं है। मैं कल हो कुछ ऐसे मकान देख करके आया हूं। तो हमें इस और विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना है और गवर्नमेंट इन सब बातों के आंकड़े इकट्ठा करवाये, सर्वेक्षण करवाये। जब सब बातों का ठीक ठीक पता होगा, सब मंटीरियल होगा तब उस पर अच्छी तरह से विचार हो सकता है।

इसी सिलसिले में जा ग्रन्थ प्लानिंग कमिशन की तरफ से दिया गया है, उसमें उन्होंने यह बताया है :

"Within the States themselves larger provisions are proposed to be made for the comparatively less-developed areas."

इण्डस्ट्रियल के सम्बन्ध में जैसा उन्होंने कहा है उसका पालन नहीं हो रहा है। यही कारण है कि आज इण्डस्ट्रियल बढ़ने पर भी देहाता में हमारे उद्योगों का उन्नति बिल्कुल नहीं हो रही है। उन्होंने पृष्ठ १४६ पर यह कहा है :

"Industrial Policy Resolution visualised that facilities such as power, water-supply, transport, etc. should be made available in areas which are at present lagging behind in industry."

इन मन्तव्यों का संचालन अधिकतर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स के हाथ में छोड़ दिया गया है। मैं थोड़ा सा उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। जो तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना है उसमें पेज ५५२ पर यह कहा गया है :

"Within the States themselves larger provisions are proposed to be made for the comparatively less-developed areas, as for example, Bundelkhand and the hill areas of U.P."

मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश बजट का बड़ा अच्छी तरह से देखा है। उनमें बैकवर्ड एरियाज के लिये जो कुछ प्राविधान उन्हीं किया है वह हिल एरियाज और ईस्टर्न डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स के लिये किया है। बुंदेलखण्ड के सम्बन्ध में औद्योगिक प्लांट्स में जहां कि बैकवर्ड एरियाज का जिक्र है, कोई जिक्र नहीं है। हमारा गवर्नमेंट ने ही इस प्लान में इस बात का जिक्र किया है कि बुंदेलखण्ड का खास ऐसा क्षेत्र है जो बहुत गिरा हुआ हालत में है और वहां विशेष रूप से ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन मैं दुख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस क्षेत्र की ओर बहुत कम ध्यान दिया गया है।

बुंदेलखण्ड में ५० वर्ष पहले इतने उद्योग थे कि उनकी पैदावार सारे देश में भेजी जाती थी। वहां पर कालीन, तांबे और पालतू के बर्तन, ऊन के कपड़े इत्यादि इतनी संख्या में बनते थे कि बाहर भेजे जाते थे। परन्तु ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के जमाने में ग्रामोद्योगों का इतनी उपेक्षा की गई कि वे धीरे धीरे खत्म हो गये। जब प्लान बन रहा था तब मैंने नन्दा जी का भी ध्यान इस ओर दिलाया था और उनको मैंने अपने सब सुझाव भेजे थे। परन्तु उन्होंने उसका यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट के पास भेज दिया और उसने ऊपर कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। आज बुंदेलखण्ड में, जहां चार पूरे जिले हैं, इण्डस्ट्रियल इस्टेट की चर्चा बहुत कम सुनाई देती है। वहां उसका अभाव सा ही है। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि गवर्नमेंट को वहां हर जिले में इंडस्ट्रियल इस्टेट बनाना चाहिये पर बना करके ही सन्तोष नहीं कर लेना चाहिये। जैसे और प्रदेशों में बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज गवर्नमेंट कायम कर रही है, वैसे ही कोई इंडस्ट्री वहां के लिये भी सोची जानी चाहिये। इंडस्ट्रीज का जो कुछ भी काम वहां इस समय

हो रहा है, उसने सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह निवेदन है कि वहां पावर की इतनी कमी है, इलेक्ट्रो-सिटी की इतनी कमी है कि इस विषय में उन्नति हो नहीं सकती। देहातो का कहना ही क्या है। देहातों में तो कहीं बिजली का नाम नहीं है। शहरों तक में बिजली की बड़ी मुश्किल हो रहा है। मेरे मित्र हाफिज मुहम्मद इब्राहिम साहब बांदा गये थे। उन्होंने वहां की सब बातें देखी थी और उनको मालूम होगा कि वहां लोगों को कितनी तकलीफें हैं। वहां गमियों में इस कदर तकलीफें होती रही कि बिजली घंटों गायब रहती है। मशानों गवर्नमेंट का लगा हुआ है, इंजन गवर्नमेंट के लगे हुये हैं, परन्तु वहां कोई आराम जनता को नहीं है।

झांसी बुंदेलखण्ड का सबसे बड़ा शहर है। वहां जो बिजली का रेट इस समय है, मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद हिन्दुस्तान भर में उतना ज्यादा रेट कहीं नहीं होगा। जब इतना ज्यादा रेट होता जा छूटे-माटे उद्योग वहां शुरू किये गये हैं वे अच्छी तरह से काम चलाये जा सकते हैं। वास्तव में वह इतना गरीब प्रदेश है कि वहां जब लोगों को साधारण खाने पीने का मुश्किल पड़ती है तो वे उद्योगों को बिना सरकार की सहायता के कैसे चला सकते हैं।

जहां तक कृषि का सम्बन्ध है, वहां कन्सालिडेशन आफ हॉल्डिंग के बारे में कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है, कोऑपरेटिव फार्मिंग के बारे में कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं है, स्वायत्त कजर्वेशन के बारे में कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया है। इतने बड़े प्रदेश में कृषि के प्रशिक्षण के वास्ते कोई एक भी कालेज नहीं है। वेटेरिनरी की शिक्षा देने के लिये कोई संस्था वहां पर नहीं है। मेरे कुछ मित्र शायद यह कहें कि आप यहाँ सेटर में एक छोटे प्रदेश की बात ला रहे हैं। लेकिन मेरा उनसे यह निवेदन है कि यह बात मैं यहाँ इसलिए ला रहा हूँ कि नवंबर थर्ड फाइव ईयर प्लान में बुंदेलखण्ड का जिक्र है। विस्तृत ऊसर भूमि को उपजाऊ बनाने की कोई योजना नहीं है। शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में अगर थोड़े स

[श्री भागवत नारायण भार्गव]

प्राइमरी स्कूल या जूनियर या सेकेंडरी स्कूल बढ़ा दिये गये, ता इससे शिक्षा को उन्नति नहीं हो सकती। लोगों को वहाँ ऊँचो टेक्नीकल तथा कॉमिशनल ट्रेनिंग देने के लिये इंस्टिट्यूशन्स हाने चाहिये। साइंस के ऊपर, विज्ञान की शिक्षा के ऊपर हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री जो और अन्य नेता लोग बड़ा जोर देते हैं। परन्तु बुंदेलखंड में विज्ञान की शिक्षा के लिये पर्याप्त प्रबन्ध नहीं है। वहाँ विशेषकर लड़कियों के बास्ते बहुत हो कम वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध है। जहाँ तक मेडिकल एंड और पब्लिक हेल्थ का ताल्लुक है, वहाँ पर सब से अधिक आवश्यकता बैड्स का होता है। वहाँ के अस्पतालों में क्लिनिकल जांच के यन्त्र और ब्रेड्स की संख्या का इतना कमो है कि वहाँ के लोगों को पूरा लाभ उनसे नहीं होता। स्त्रियों के लिये तो वहाँ पर कोई अस्पताल है ही नहीं।

कुछ वर्ष पहले जो विन्ध्य प्रदेश था, जो अब मध्य प्रदेश में मिला दिया गया है, उस विन्ध्य प्रदेश की भी हालत वैसी ही है जैसी कि बुंदेलखंड की है। मध्य प्रदेश ने भी विन्ध्य प्रदेश की ओर कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया है। यद्यपि कुछ सड़कें बनाने का प्रोग्राम यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट और मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट दोनों ने बनाया है, परन्तु किसी प्रकार के बड़े उद्योगों को खोलने के लिए या कृषि की उन्नति के साधनों को उपलब्ध कराने के लिए कोई विशेष प्रयत्न नहीं किया जा रहा है। कोआपरेटिव फार्मिंग और कंसालिडेशन आफ होल्डिंग की जैसी हालत बुंदेलखंड में है, वही हालत मध्य प्रदेश के उस भाग में है जो पहले विन्ध्य प्रदेश कहलाता था।

इन दोनों प्रदेशों में जो रेलवे की स्थिति है, उसके सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ ऐसे बड़े बड़े ट्रेक्ट्स पड़े हुए हैं जहाँ कभी रेलवे के विषय में विचार ही नहीं किया गया। ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के समय में तो ऐसे पिछड़े हुए प्रदेशों की उपेक्षा होती ही रही, परन्तु

आज भी यदि उनकी उपेक्षा हो तो यह दुःख की बात है। इसके सम्बन्ध में मैंने सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को लिखा था और जो मैंने स्वयं योजना बनाई थी उसको भी मैंने यहाँ भेजा था। परन्तु उसके ऊपर भी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। वहाँ पर उद्योग और व्यापार की कई ऐसी बड़ी बड़ी मंडियाँ हैं कि अगर वहाँ रेलवे मंत्रालय सर्वेक्षण करवाये और नई रेलवे लाइन डालने का यत्न करे तो उससे गवर्नमेंट को भी बहुत लाभ हो सकता है और वहाँ की जनता को भी लाभ हो सकता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि बुंदेलखंड की उन्नति के लिये सरकार विशेष ध्यान देगी।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it seems to me that the planners in our country start with a wrong presumption that a call from the ramparts of the Red Fort will enthuse the mass. Instead of the mass being taken into confidence the Central . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Mass of what?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mass of Indians.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: You mean masses.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mass also indicates masses.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: No, it does not.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): All right. You go on.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: By mass I mean masses.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: You say what you mean.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You have to understand what I mean.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: We understand only what you say.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Unless the people in the country are taken into confidence, no plan, howsoever bright it may look on the floor of Parliament or to the Prime Minister, will appeal to the people and it will not be implemented. Therefore, each man must have confidence in the Plan before he is asked to willingly take it up. A set of bright persons who arrogate to themselves the power of omniscience, build the plan and naturally, therefore, before the structure is complete, even in the stage of the blueprint, cracks appear. That is why we have not been able to make the Plan successful to the extent we have been desiring.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, planning is not an end in itself. There are objectives which are to be achieved. The objectives set out in the Plan are: Abolition of poverty, liquidation of unemployment, speeding up of industrialisation and attainment of the socialistic pattern of society. As one of the previous speakers said, the test of the pudding lies in the eating. So, we must evaluate the work done and see how far we have been able to achieve any or all of these objectives.

The fundamental mistake that has been made and which is seen when one looks at the Plan is that the planners have put the cart before the horse. If we go into the history of other nations, we find that agricultural revolutions have preceded industrial revolutions, that light industries have preceded heavy industries, that the training of technicians have preceded the installing of industries. But in our country, we have started from the wrong end. We have started industries and we are now saying that we are running short of technicians. We did not pay any heed to agriculture, but we have been setting up industries. There too, instead of having small-scale industries, consumer goods industries, we have been setting up heavy industries. That is because there is now a slogan which has almost grown into a fad, to nationalise things. Unless heavy industries are nationalised—in

fact any industry that looks lucrative—many in the House and many in the ruling party think that nationalisation has not been successful.

Now, in the path of industrialisation the biggest hurdle has been found to be power—electricity.

AN HON. MEMBER: Not political power?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: No, not political power. I mean electricity. Electricity is supposed to be the king-pin of economic growth. We had a target of about 13 million kilowatts for the Third Plan which has subsequently been raised to 14 million kilowatts. But even though we have now entered into almost the second year of the Plan, no firm orders have been placed for the necessary machinery. If we take such a long time even to place the orders for this machinery, it is but natural that we should fall short of electricity target. Many States are going without their normal supply of electric power. Uttar Pradesh is going without its normal supply of electricity. Bihar is going without its normal supply of electricity. Mysore is going without it and perhaps, West Bengal also is getting only short supply. Many other States also are getting short supplies. State Governments have been given the instructions that any industry which requires more than 2,000 kw. should not be given the licence. Is this industrialisation of the country? You will not industrialise the country by putting restrictions because of the short supply of power. Therefore, some dynamic personnel are necessary for improving the position regarding electricity.

Then again the industrial sector is not acting up to the schedule. There have been sizeable shortfalls in finished steel and aluminium, industrial machinery, caustic soda, soda ash, cement, fertilizers etc. About the public sector there may be the explanation from the ruling party that they are having teething troubles. But

[Shri Lokanath Misra.]

many of them have gone beyond the stage of teething troubles. For that they come out with another name and call it is the gestation period. But I may point out that improvising different names or giving the thing good names will not solve the real problem. Some real effort should be made to cope up with the necessities. If it is only a question of giving names, then it is a different matter. But the country needs achievements and without real achievements no amount of pre-text can work as a substitute.

During the discussion on the Appropriation Bill, the public sector undertakings were discussed. The Minister was good enough to reply that it is not all the public undertakings that are giving a return of only 0.3 per cent, but that there are some undertakings which give a much higher percentage of profits. But about 72 such undertakings have been giving a return of only 0.3 per cent. Wherever there is a public sector it is a monopoly. Government has monopoly in the public sector and a monopoly is supposed to make profit immediately it gets into production. So, it is because they have not been able to produce things that there is no profit. There cannot be any other explanation for it.

Now, I come to another point. The country at times is confused regarding this Plan. The Prime Minister advocates that there should be mixed economy. But we have in our State the Chief Minister saying that mixed economy is an unmixed evil. That statement he made in reply to the Budget discussion there. If the Prime Minister speaks in one tone and the Chief Minister who is supposed to be the head of the Government gives another impression to the people, the people, naturally, get confused, and that confusion also comes in the way of advancement of industries.

This planning which is centralised, gives the permit-quota-licence-control raj, and that opens the flood-gates of corruption.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): What is the use of making such a reference here? He is not present here.

SHRI LAKANATH MISRA: Because of the permit raj, because of the control raj, these things come.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): You can make a general statement without bringing in the Deputy Minister or the son of a Minister.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What I say is that he has been promoted as a Minister, not that he is not given a seat.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): We are not here concerned with it.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL AND HEAVY INDUSTRIES (SHRI P. C. SETHI): That person is not here to explain. He is making a personal insinuation. May I ask the hon. Member for the source of his information?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Order, order. It is very unfair to criticise any person who is not present here to defend himself. So, you please continue.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): May I propose, Sir, that these remarks be expunged?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Yes, I think so. They will be expunged.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I shall say a few words about failure of prohibition. Last time also I mentioned something about prohibition. In this regard, I shall read out for the in-

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

formation of this House the version given in the Assembly by the present Chief Minister of Orissa:

"Sir, I also fully agree with the Raja Bahadur of Khallikote, a friend of mine, that prohibition should be scrapped. I and Raja Bahadur of Khallikote are a company of persons who proclaim that prohibition should be scrapped. I have the courage and conviction to feel that the provision made in the Constitution in this regard is wrong and outmoded. If any of my friends is of the opinion that it was in the Congress manifesto, I admit that it is a mistake which is not beyond correction. This has been tried in various other countries and has failed. It may be a social stigma. Let us not make a law to regulate it. Let the people drink."

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: That is the opinion of the Chief Minister of Orissa.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I want to know whether the party in power has given any subsidy to the Orissa Government for enforcing prohibition. It has, because if prohibition is introduced in any State then the Centre has to give a subsidy and a Minister with this conviction is enforcing prohibition in the State of Orissa.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Do you follow his policy?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please do not interrupt him. He has only two minutes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I do not have to follow it; you have to follow it. The enforcement of prohibition is entrusted to a man with this conviction and he is one of the Chief Ministers of the ruling Congress party.

Then he makes another reference regarding the Planning Commission. It is not the Swatantra Party making a complaint about the Planning Commission but here is one person who is the head of the Government in Orissa who is complaining. He said that since the Central Planning Commission exists as an independent body many difficulties crop up in the implementation of the plan proposal by them. The first hurdle is in the Ministry of Finance. At times, the Commission itself is the cause of the delay. It is now being felt that the Planning Commission is a superfluous and unnecessary body.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: When did he say so?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I shall place it on the Table of the House, if you so desire, for the information of the Members. It is published in a newspaper owned by the Peoples of India Society and an ex-Minister of the Congress Party, Shri Radhanath Rath, is the Editor of this paper. I am prepared to place it on the Table of the House for the information of the Minister and the Members of the ruling party.

The Swatantra Party is not opposed to planning because no reasonable man can be against it but the party is opposed to the type of political planning after the Soviet pattern to perpetuate the party in power, where no attempt is made to check corruption and the rising prices, which fails to fix a minimum wage for the worker, which takes away all incentives and encroaches on the fundamental rights of the people.

श्री गोपीकृष्ण द्विजयद्वर्गीय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्लानिंग के विषय में इस सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव है, वह बहुत उपयोगी है और हमको समय-समय पर अपनी योजनाओं के ऊपर विचार करना चाहिये। खास करके आज जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है उस पर हमको अवश्य ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय]

जो तीसरी योजना हमारी चल रही है वह १०,४०० करोड़ की है। इस में पहले वर्ष में और दूसरे वर्ष में जो कुछ प्रगति हुई, वह एक तरह से कहा जा सकता है कि उतनी संतोषजनक नहीं है जितनी होनी चाहिये। इसलिये सारे देश की जनता का इस पर ध्यान जाने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे योजना मंत्री, श्री नन्दा जी का भाषण ठीक हुआ और जो कठिनाइयां उन्होंने बतलाई वे सामने हैं, इस में कोई शक नहीं। कुछ कठिनाइयां ऐसी आई हैं, जैसे कृषि सम्बन्धी उत्पादन ठीक नहीं हुआ है तो वह एक प्राकृतिक कारण है, बारिश ठीक नहीं हुई, बरसात ठीक नहीं हुई, इससे उतना पैदा नहीं हुआ जितना चाहिये था। लेकिन फिर भी मैं यह कहूंगा कि इतना मामूली सा संतोष करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। जब कि हम आबपाशी को उन्नति कर रहे हैं, खेतों के लिये फर्टिलाइजर वगैरह की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं तो उत्पादन सामान्यतः अच्छा होना चाहिये और छोटी-मोटी कृषियों से हम अपने को क्यों पिछड़ा समझे। इसी तरह से खेती में जो इंडस्ट्रियल क्रॉप्स हैं, जैसे काटन है, उसमें बड़ी भारी कमी हुई है, आइल सीड्स भी थोड़े कम हुए हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि इंडस्ट्रियल सेक्टर में थोड़ी बहुत उन्नति हुई है उसके मुकाबले में एग्रिकल्चर सेक्टर में उन्नति उतनी संतोषजनक नहीं है। तो मैं आज ज्यादातर ध्यान इस बात पर देना चाहता हूं कि कठिनाइयां तो सब ने बतलाई और कुछ लोगों ने तो बहुत ज्यादा निराशा व्यक्त की है कि हमारा प्लान तो मुश्किल में फंस गया है, लेकिन इतनी निराशा की जरूरत नहीं है। फिर भी चिन्ता का विषय अवश्य है और हमारा और सारे राष्ट्र के लोगों का कर्तव्य है कि हम इस बात के लिये प्रयत्न करें कि हमारी योजना सफल हो।

हमारे एक्सपोर्ट्स, जिनके ऊपर हम बहुत ज्यादा जोर दे रहे हैं, यूरोपियन कामन मार्केट के कारण, उस पर एक तरह से बहुत

ही संकट पड़ा हुआ है। अगर ब्रिटेन यूरोपियन कामन मार्केट में शामिल होता है तो हिन्दुस्तान का विदेशों के साथ व्यापार ज्यादा तकलीफ में पड़ जायेगा, शायद वह बहुत ही घाटे का होगा। तो ऐसी परिस्थितियों में कुछ मूलभूत बातों पर विचार करने की जरूरत है। अगर हम उन बुनियादी बातों पर विचार नहीं करेंगे तो हमारी यह प्लान की गाड़ी जो काफी मुश्किलों में है इसके सामने बड़ी-बड़ी दीवारें खड़ी हो जायेंगी और उन दीवारों से हमारा मुकाबला नहीं हो सकेगा। इसलिये मैं मिनिस्टर साहब का ध्यान इसी बात पर खींचना चाहता हूं कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट इस बात पर ध्यान दे कि जो कठिनाइयां हैं और आ रही हैं उनको दरअसल किस तरह से दूर किया जाना चाहिये।

सब से पहली बात जिस पर बार बार जोर दिया जाना है यह है कि जनता का उत्साह नहीं बढ़ता और जनता को तकलीफें आती हैं, तो इसके लिये हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को सुधारने की सब से पहली जरूरत है। मैं प्रायः हर साल इस बात पर जोर देता आया हूं कि हमको अपने शासन की हालत को सुधारना चाहिये, उस में से करप्शन मिटाना चाहिये, उसमें से सुस्ती या स्लैकेनेस जो है उसको दूर करना चाहिये। इसका उपाय क्या है? उपाय भी अक्सर मैंने अपने भाषण में पहले कई बार बतलाया है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि बहुत मामलों में हमारे भारतवर्ष का कांस्टीट्यूशन बहुत अच्छा है। लेकिन इसमें जो आर्टिकल ३११ है यह मुझे बहुत ही नापसंद है। इस में आर्टिकल ३११ को मुनासिब ढंग से संशोधित करना चाहिये। मुझे मालूम हुआ है, गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान इधर गया है। आर्टिकल ३११ में संशोधन करने के लिये होम मिनिस्ट्री कुछ कोशिश कर रही है लेकिन जो मालूम हुआ वह बहुत नाकाफी कोशिश है। आर्टिकल ३११ में यह है कि किसी कर्मचारी को हम हटा नहीं सकते, चाहे वह कितना ही मुस्त हो, कर्प्ट हो, अप्रष्टाचारी हो, जब तक

कि उसे दो दफा अपना एक्मप्ले-
नशन देने का मौका न दिया जाय।

तो मैं यह सोच रहा था कि हमारे सर्विसेज को जो दो दफा या एक दफा मौका देने का सवाल है, उसको बन्द किया जाना चाहिये। दुनिया के किसी मुल्क में सर्विसेज को इतनी पावर और इतनी मिक्थोरिटी प्राप्त नहीं है जितनी कि भारतवर्ष में है। इसलिए हमें इस नियम के बारे में जड़-मूल से परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। सर्विसेज को यूनिनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन और कोर्ट में अपील करने की छूट दी हुई है। लेकिन हमने कास्टीट्यूशन द्वारा जो अधिकार उनको दे दिया है और अपने हाथ पैर काट लिये हैं, उसमें सुधार किया जाना चाहिये। कास्टीट्यूशन में जो आर्टिकल ३११ है उसको तबदील करने की जरूरत है और उसको जस्टीसिएबिल नहीं रहने दिया जाना चाहिये। अगर कोई भी आदमी किसी तरह का कसूर करता है और उसको कोई सजा दी जाती है तो वह कोर्ट में चला जाता है और वहां पर कसूर साबित करना मुश्किल हो जाता है। इस अर्थ में उसको सस्पेन्ड कर दिया जाता है जिसमें उसे तनख्वाह और छुट्टी भी मिलती है। हालांकि वह आदमी कसूर करता है लेकिन कोर्ट में साबित करना बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाता है। इसलिए उसको जस्टीसिएबिल रखना ठीक नहीं है। जहां तक मेरा ख्याल है इस मामले के बारे में कांग्रेस पार्टी में भी एक दफा विचार किया गया था और जो कुछ इस विषय में कहा गया था मुझे आशा है माननीय मंत्री जी उस पर निगाह रखेंगे।

इसके अलावा मुझे यह भी कहना है कि इस धारा को बदलने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा बल्कि हर स्टेट्स में कर्मचारियों के

लिए जो डिमिप्लिनरी रूल्स बनाये गये हैं उनमें भी परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है। अगर किसी स्टेट में कोई कर्मचारी कसूर करता है, स्लेकनेस दिखलाता है तो उस पर अच्छी तरह से डिमिप्लिनरी ऐक्शन नहीं लिया जा सकता है क्योंकि रूल्स इस तरह से बनाये गये हैं जिसे उनके ऊपर अच्छी तरह से ऐक्शन नहीं लिया जा सकता है। मुझे इस बात का तजुर्बा है जब कि मैं मध्य भारत का चीफ मिनिस्टर था। मैं इस बात को जानता हूं कि बहुत से ऐसे कसूरवार कर्मचारी होते हैं जो कसूर करते हैं लेकिन उसका असर मिनिस्टर्स के मिर पर आ जाता है और उनको बचाना पड़ता है। इसलिये इस चीज का कोई न कोई इलाज किया जाना चाहिये और वह यह है कि जब तक डिमिप्लिनरी रूल्स नहीं बदले जाते हैं, आर्टिकल ३११ को नहीं बदला जाता, तब तक हम इसमें कामयाब नहीं हो सकते हैं। हमें इस तरह का कानून बनाना चाहिये कि जो कर्मचारी कसूरवार होगा उसको सजा दी जायेगी।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी जो पंचवर्षीय योजना है वह इस समय कीचड़ में फंस गई है और उसके सामने एक जबर्दस्त दीवार खड़ी हो गई है जो उसके आगे का रास्ता रोकें हुए है। हमारे देश में प्राइवेट सेक्टर वाले और व्यक्तिगत पूजीवादी जो लोग हैं वह हमारे प्लान में अड़गा डाल रहे हैं और उसको कामयाब नहीं होने देना चाहते हैं। इस समय हमारे देश में बहुत सी पार्टियां खड़ी हो गई हैं जो आजादी के नाम पर, लिबर्टी के नाम पर जनता को लूट रही हैं। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि कुछ पूजीवादी लोग इस लिबर्टी के नाम पर जनता को एक्सप्लॉइट कर रहे हैं और मालो-माल बन रहे हैं। हमारे कास्टीट्यूशन में यह दिया गया है कि हम डिमिप्लिनरी को कम करें। सोशलिज्म का जो ध्येय हमने अख्तियार किया है उसका मतलब भी यही है कि हमारे देश में सब लोग समान हों। हमारे देश में

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय]

जो गरीब हैं वे ज्यादा गरीब न हों और सब लोग इकानामिकली बराबर हों। लेकिन इन दिनों प्लान की जो आलोचना हुई है और जो बातें हमारे सामने आई हैं उनसे यह मालूम होता है कि हमारे देश की जो नेशनल इनकम बढ़ी है उसमें मालदारों को ही ज्यादा फायदा पहुंचा है। नेशनल इनकम में जो प्राफिट्स हुए हैं उसका सबसे ज्यादा फायदा कारखानेदारों तथा दूसरे उद्योगपतियों को ही हुआ है।

हमारे सदन के एक सदस्य श्री खंडूभाई देसाई हर साल बजट के अवसर पर कहते हैं कि हमारे देश के जो पंजीपति हैं, इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट हैं, उन्हें काफी प्राफिट होता है और सरकार को उनके ऊपर एक्सेसिव्ह प्राफिट टैक्स लगाना चाहिये। इन लोगों के ऊपर जो ज्यादा कमा रहे हैं, आमदनी कर रहे हैं उन पर ज्यादा टैक्स लगाया जाना चाहिये और गरीबों पर टैक्स का भार कम किया जाना चाहिये। इस समय देश में टैक्स के खिलाफ जो आन्दोलन हो रहा है उसका मैं समर्थन नहीं कर रहा हूं। इस समय जो आन्दोलन विरोधी पार्टियों द्वारा देश में चलाया जा रहा है वह सिर्फ कांग्रेस पार्टी को बदनाम करने के लिये किया जा रहा है। लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि ज्यादा टैक्स का बोझ उन लोगों पर पड़ना चाहिये जो इस समय ज्यादा मुनाफा कमा रहे हैं, उन उद्योगों पर पड़ना चाहिये जो काफी प्राफिट उठा रहे हैं और गरीबों के ऊपर टैक्स का बोझ कम होना चाहिये। ये पार्टियां लेसे फ्रेअर के उसूल पर एक आइडियालाजी कायम करना चाहती हैं कि हमको इस तरह से मालदार होने की छूट होनी चाहिये। हमें भारतवर्ष को एक प्लाड इकानोमी के आधार पर चलाना चाहिये। इस समय हम एक ऐसे स्टेज पर पहुंच गये हैं जहां पर हमारा प्लानिंग का काम एक चौखट पर खड़ा हो गया है, या तो हमें आगे बढ़ना है या हमें

पीछे धकेल दिया जायेगा। इसलिये हमारे देश में जो बड़े बड़े प्राइवेट सेक्टर वाले हैं, व्यक्तिगत पूंजीवादी सिद्धान्त वाले हैं, ये सब हमारे प्लानिंग के काम को रोके हुए हैं और अड़गा लगाये हुए हैं। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि इन्होंने ज़रूर दीवार खड़ी कर दी है उसको तोड़ना आवश्यक है। हमारे देश में प्लानिंग का काम इस स्टेज पर पहुंच गया है जहाँ पर उसको आगे बढ़ाने के लिये पोलिटिकल इलाज करने की आवश्यकता है ताकि हमारा देश दृढ़ता के साथ समाजवाद की ओर बढ़ता चला जाय। जहाँ तक अड़गे की बातें हैं, व्यक्तिगत पूंजीवाद तथा व्यापार की बातें हैं, इन सब को हमें दूर करना होगा। इन सब बातों के ऊपर सोच विचार करके सरकार को एक मजबूत कदम उठाना चाहिये ताकि हमारा देश दृढ़ता के साथ समाजवाद की ओर बढ़ता चला जाय।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Please resume your seat for a moment. I would like to know if the House is prepared to sit a little longer. There is a long list of speakers. If the House is prepared to sit for half an hour more we can accommodate two more speakers.

Hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): Then we shall sit till 5-30.

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : मैं इस विषय के बारे में दूसरे हाउस का तो ज्यादा जिक्र करना नहीं चाहता हूँ लेकिन हमारे नेता श्री डेबर जी ने लोकसभा में जो भाषण दिया उसके बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने प्लानिंग के सम्बन्ध में जो भाषण दिया था उसमें उन्होंने यह कहा कि हमारी सरकार इण्डस्ट्री की ओर बहुत ज्यादा ध्यान दे रही है लेकिन खेती और लैण्ड रिफार्म की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं दे रही है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि सरकार को

पशु पालन, एफारेस्टेशन साइल कन्जरवेशन और रूरल इकोनोमी की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। जब तक हम देहातों की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं देंगे, खेती की उन्नति की ओर ध्यान नहीं देंगे और उसके रास्ते में जो चस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट खड़े हो गये हैं उन्हें दूर नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम अपने काम में कामयाब नहीं हो सकते हैं। इस समय हम देखते हैं कि गाँवों में भी निहित स्वार्थ वाले खड़े हो गये हैं जो खेती के काम में रोड़ा अटक रहे हैं। इसी तरह से देहातों में जमीन के मामले में ज्यादा तरक्की नहीं हो रही है और प्रान्तीय सरकारें हिम्मत के साथ काम नहीं कर रही हैं। ग्राम पंचायत के बारे में धीरे धीरे ऐक्ट पास हो रहे हैं और सीलिंग के कानून पर सब जगह पर अच्छी तरह से अमल नहीं हो पा रहा है। इस समय बहुत से काम जो देहातों में होने चाहिये वे नहीं हो रहे हैं और इसमें सर्विसेज तथा प्रान्तीय सरकार का भी कसूर है। प्रान्तीय सरकार उनके सामने अच्छा नमूना पेश नहीं कर पाई है कि अच्छी तरह से कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियाँ, मल्टी परपज कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियाँ किस तरह से चलाई जानी चाहियें। हमें इस काम में देहात की जनता का कोऑप्रेशन लेना चाहिये। हम सब लोग जानते हैं कि कुछ निहित स्वार्थ वाले इस काम में रोड़ा अटक रहे हैं, कुछ वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट वाले हैं जो हमारे कामों को आगे बढ़ने नहीं देना चाहते हैं। इसलिये सरकार का यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि इन सब चीजों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये उसे कोई मजबूत पालिसी अख्तियार करना होगी और देश में उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये बड़े संजोदगी से इस काम को करना होगा।

मैं सिर्फ एक बात कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगा। मैं चीन की यहाँ पर तारोफ करना नहीं चाहता हूँ। और न ही हमको चीन से कुछ लेना है। चीन हमारे लिये आदर्श के रूप में भी नहीं हो सकता है लेकिन जहाँ तक व्यापार का सम्बन्ध है उसमें इस सम्बन्ध में जो नीति अख्तियार की है, उसके बारे में

मैं सदन से कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। चीन के व्यापारियों ने जब चीन की सरकार को सहयोग नहीं दिया तो चीन की सरकार ने बहुत सी कम्पनियों को अपना साझीदार बना लिया उसने उनके साथ ज्वाइंट फर्म्स कायम कर लिये जिसमें गवर्नमेंट के भी शेयर थे और दूसरी कम्पनियों के भी शेयर थे। इस तरह से उसने इन कम्पनियों को अपने मैनेजमेंट में कर लिया और फर्म्स के लोगों को ही मैनेजर और डिप्टी मैनेजर बना दिया। इस तरह से वहाँ की सरकार ने व्यापार पर पूरी तरह से कण्ट्रोल कर लिया। मेरा मतलब कहने का यह है कि सरकार भी इस तरह की कम्पनियों को अपने अधिकार में कर ले और उनके शेयर खरीद ले। यह काम सरकार कानून बनाकर भी कर सकती है। इस तरह से जो हमारे प्लान विफल हो रहे हैं वे नहीं होंगे। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि इस तरह की कम्पनियों को सरकार अपने अधिकार में ले ले और उन के शेयर भी खरीद ले। सभी कम्पनियों को सरकार कानून द्वारा अपने कण्ट्रोल में कर ले। और उनके शेयर खरीद ले ताकि वे ज्यादा मुनाफा न ले सकें। अगर सरकार ने इस तरह की कार्यवाही की तो हमारी योजनाएँ सफलता के साथ पूरी हो सकती हैं। मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियाँ हैं उन्हें साल में पाँच और छः प्रतिशत से ज्यादा मुनाफा लेने की इजाजत नहीं होनी चाहिये। हमें इस तरह का कोई कानून बनाना चाहिये जिसके जरिये कोई भी पूँजीपति ज्यादा मुनाफा न ले सके। अगर सरकार इस तरह से व्यापार पर कण्ट्रोल करेगी तब हमारा काम आगे चल सकता है। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय हमारे प्लान के सामने जो दीवार खड़ी हो गई है, व्यक्तिगत पूँजीपतियों का जो प्रभाव आ गया है, उसको दृढ़ता के साथ दूर किया जाय ताकि हम समाजवाद की ओर आगे बढ़ने चले जायें।

5 P.M.

SHRI S. C. DEB (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, our Planning Minister was saying that exactly a

[Shri S. C. Deb.]

year ago, that is, on the 28th August 1961, the Third Five Year Plan was discussed in this House and just after a year, on the very day of 28th August we are discussing it. So, it may be said that it is the anniversary day of the Third Plan. However, many Members took part in the debate and criticism was offered. I am also critical of the Third Plan, the way in which it is being proceeded with. Our planning means economic development of human society in India and we must see to what extent the social and economic levels of the common man have improved by planning and from that point of view we should judge how the Plan is successful. Unless the economic lot of the common man is improved, we cannot say that there is good planning and there are good development programmes. Now, we are going ahead with our industrial programme whereby big industries are being developed and the work is proceeding in full swing. But how far the common people are getting benefit from this industrialisation is the question before the country. Now, so far as the unemployment question is concerned, so far as the educated unemployed are concerned, so far as agriculture is concerned, we do not find that it is going towards that end. Now, we are talking of development of small scale industries and village industries. Our Prime Minister is very sorry that in the Plan itself there is not enough planning for power generation. Unless power is there, how can you develop your small industry and village industry? Unless we have a programme for that, how can you expect common people to get the benefit of having any small industry in their area?

You say that in the Third Five Year Plan the programme for the development of backward area will be taken up in right earnest. I come from a backward area, Cachar district. The other backward areas are Manipur and Tripura. What is the plan there—I ask our Minister hum-

bly—to develop that backward area? It is because of partition that area is undeveloped, that area is backward. So, unless the Central Government brings forward a bold plan to develop that area and communication and other things are developed, how can you expect the people of that area to benefit by planning and industrial development and other things? How can you expect the people to have a better way of life in that particular area? Not only that. Border trouble is going on every now and then. Infiltration is going on every now and then. Unless a well thought-out plan is chalked out for that area, that area cannot be developed and you cannot expect better things from there. So, the people there are laying their claim on our Government that a well thought-out plan for that area should be taken up in hand immediately. For power generation I am saying always, why do you not take up small projects for developing power from small rivers, turbulent rivers also? You can have some project to develop power there. Thermal power can be developed there and small industry can be developed there. By that the particular area can be developed. This is the only way not only of serving the backward area, but also of removing unemployment. There are many economists who say that unless unemployment is removed, unless it is given the first priority, people cannot say that we are progressing well and our country is going ahead well with our Plan.

After saying this, I would like to come to my State. You know that there are great floods in Assam. It is a very sad thing for the people of that area that the Brahmaputra, the most turbulent river in India I should like to say, is there and it is not possible for the State alone to control that river. What measures have you taken to control that river during these years? Has any action been taken or is there any master plan to control that turbulent river? Unless the Centre takes up that pro-

gramme, nothing will happen. I have heard that our Prime Minister has urged upon our Government and the Planning Commission that a further plan should be there to control the Brahmaputra river. And there was a suggestion to connect the Brahmaputra and the Ganges in the upper reaches, so that the floods could be controlled there. A long-term programme should be taken in hand immediately to control floods in Assam. It should be taken up by the Centre. The State cannot do it. They have neither the capacity nor the technical manpower. Our hon. Minister was there last time when there were floods. Some thoughts were given to it, but actually no programme was drawn up. And this time a terrible thing is happening in Assam because of the turbulent river. So, I beseech the Government to take in hand a definite plan not only to control the Brahmaputra but also to control floods in Assam.

Then, I come to the small note that we have been supplied with. I do not find anything about tea in it. I come from a tea area and where I reside the tea industry is the only economic stability of the people. And it is fast deteriorating. The European concerns are selling their estates to Indians and those Indians who are there are having no programmes for the development, renovation or improvement of the industry. Low grade tea and uneconomic gardens are there. Proper care should be taken of the industry. You know, Sir, that tea is the greatest foreign exchange earner. That being so, this industry should be developed. A programme should be drawn up for the development of that area as well as the tea industry.

A decision was taken long ago, just after partition, to connect Shillong with Agartala by road. Road was constructed and money was given by the Centre, but still it is not an all-weather road. Some major bridges are still to be constructed. Why is the programme going so slowly? Why

should not Shillong be connected with Agartala by a proper road? It is a very important route. This is the only road connection from Shillong to Agartala and for all practical purposes to the rest of India. Connection from Shillong to Agartala by road is the only road connection for Agartala in Tripura.

A programme should be taken up for connecting Silchar with Imphal. Priority should be given to this problem and the road should be constructed, and this road should be an all-weather road also. I hear that it will be constructed during the Third Plan. Whether this will be an all-weather road I do not know. I do not understand why it should take so much time, twelve years or fifteen years. When we take a decision, when we take up a programme, why should we lag behind like a tortoise?

Now the Assam Government is asking the Centre to make the railway line from Katihar to Tinsukia into a broad gauge line or a double line track. It is a metre gauge line with a single track. Development of so many projects, oil industries, and other things are going on there, and it is strategically a very important route. So, the Assam Government is asking the Centre to prepare a programme for the laying of double lines from Katihar to Tinsukia or otherwise making the whole line broad gauge. Proper attention should be given to this question and a planned programme should be taken up for this.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in the beginning we should all welcome the opportunity that the Government has provided us for discussing about the Third Plan. As we all know, the planning to which this country has now committed itself is democratic planning, which means participation

[Shri Vijay Singh.]
of the people in it. Shri Nandaji was quite right today when he said in the morning that the main problem before us is that we should get the response of the millions, and in order that we could get the response of the millions it is better that from time to time we discuss about the Plan, its implications and our responsibilities and duties. !

Sir, we are engaged in planning since the last ten or eleven years. India is faced with many problems. Today when I got the business papers of the Rajya Sabha, I saw the various amendments that had been put forward by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. There are 65 amendments in which he has made various suggestions. We cannot quarrel with him on that. Some of these things we do want. We must bear in mind that the problems that we are facing are gigantic. The time and resources at our disposal are limited. I am reminded, Sir, of a book that has just been published—"India changes" by Taya Zinkin who was formerly a correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Economist". He says that with one sweep India is undergoing all the revolutions which have taken two centuries in the rest of the world. The problems are so gigantic, and no doubt we want improvement in several sectors and there are shortfalls in several sectors, but we must bear in mind the vast problems that are before us and the resources that are at our disposal. In such circumstances, Sir, it is no doubt our duty to voice our criticisms, but our greater duty is to put our shoulder to the wheel for the purpose of achieving the goals that are before the country. We must bear in mind one thing, and that is that the democratic way of life that we have come to adopt in our Constitution will not remain there if within the next fifteen years or so we are not able to provide the basic necessities like food, cloth, shelter, etc. This is the problem and it is in this spirit

that we have to approach this question. I do not know whether in the few minutes that are at my disposal I can do any justice to it, and it is not necessary also to speak in detail. We can only take some aspects and point them out.

Sir, we are talking about the Third Plan. Before that we had two Plans, the First Plan and the Second Plan, and it will not be out of place if we just review in brief what these two Plans have done, and if I may say so, in both these Plans we have by and large succeeded. I will just quote a few figures to show what I have just said. Our total outlay was Rs. 6,869 crores, and our actual expenditure was Rs. 6,500 crores. We very nearly achieved the targets in the First and Second Plans. When we think of the external assistance, we estimated that we would get Rs. 1,321 crores by way of external assistance. Our actuals were Rs. 1,278 crores. We achieved our target very nearly in that. Then regarding deficit financing about which doubts were expressed here and there and great concern was also felt, we estimated it at Rs. 1,490 crores. It actually came to Rs. 1,378 crores. That means that our achievement in this respect was slightly better than what we anticipated. I have quoted these three sets of figures to show India has attained maturity so far as planning is concerned. We planned certain things and we achieved the target. It shows that we have got the maturity. It should give us confidence that we can achieve the goals that lie before us. In this respect I heartily commend the idea that has been put before us by Shri Nandaji that we are embarking now on perspective planning. It is but right and proper that we think about perspective planning now. The knowledge that we have been able to get in these years will surely be of great help to us.

This is the overall picture that I have just placed before you, but if

we go into details, we will find that there are several shortfalls. I will now give them in brief. We have got our agricultural sector and we have got our industrial sector, and by and large we have achieved the greatest progress in the industrial sector. Some of the Members who have spoken from this side of the House or that side have complained that we have not been able to progress in the industrial sector so well. But I will just say that if they look into the various Reports that the Planning Commission has presented before us, they will come to know that our industrial sector has done quite well in these years. We can say that our agricultural sector has also done quite well, but not as well as the industrial sector, though we say that the agricultural sector is our main problem and we have to show a good deal of efficiency and do a good deal of work in this sector also. But according to me, the greatest weakness is the transport sector. It is in the transport sector—railways, roads, communications, etc.—that there is a bottle-neck, which is not so much in the agricultural sector or in the industrial sector. When I say that we lag behind in our transport sector, I do not minimise the importance of the other two sectors. Therefore, the Planning Commission would do well to solve the transport bottle-neck. We are daily experiencing the shortage of coal and other things. We have, therefore, to be very careful about transport and solve the problems. Otherwise, how are we going to transport all the goods that we are producing and make them available to the people? Things are produced and if there are no transport facilities, they lie idle. This is, therefore, a very important consideration which, I think, the Planning Commission would bear in mind.

Now, planning, as we all know, is not only the joining together of the physical targets. Planning in India, as elsewhere, is planning with persons, with the vast manpower that

we have got in India. It is this vast manpower that must be enthused. What are we doing about it? In this respect, I may say that there is a good deal of responsibility on the Planning Commission. In spite of the planned development that has taken place in India, still much remains to be done. I may just point out to the House that when we say that there is only paper propaganda, it is not altogether right. I come from Rajasthan, a desert area, where the canals are now being constructed, the Rajasthan Canal and the Bhakra Canal. We have only to go in that area and see now the villager feels about the actual development that is taking place. We talk about paper propaganda and criticise the Government on the basis of newspaper reports and magazine reports that we read. It is true that the country is vast and we have not been able to make all-round development. But development has taken place in certain places and we cannot shut our eyes to that. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind the human factor in India. And I would like to make a reference to the problem of unemployment.

When we started the Third Five Year Plan, our unemployment situation was to the extent of about three million people. Now, at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan, this figure is about eight or nine millions. No doubt, a sufficient number of jobs have been created and we have given employment to millions. But, nevertheless, the fact that our population is also increasing at a faster rate make it incumbent on us to provide employment for the vast number of people. We must bear in mind that there are eight or nine million people who have no employment opportunities and, therefore, they really feel it and their feelings are generated and those feelings count in the implementation of the Plan. Therefore, we have to think of that.

[Shri Vijay Singh.]

In the same way, we have also to see that in the economic development that has taken place in the country, what is the component of our national income. Broadly speaking, there are four sectors—profits, interest and rent, salaries and wages—where improvement has taken place. But the corresponding improvement that has taken place in wages and salaries is offset by the rise in prices. It is not so in profits and interest. Therefore, we see that the vast number of people who are wage-earners or salary-earners, do not feel the impact of planned development as they ought to, because of the rise in prices. Now, we have got this unemployment, and we have got this vast number of people who suffer because of the rise in prices. That is a human factor and we have to plan keeping in view this vast background.

Another point that I would like to put before the House is that we are increasingly becoming too much dependent on external aid. It is good, as we say, that we get foreign aid, and we must really be thankful to the countries which give us foreign aid. We must not be ungrateful. But it is for us to see how far it is justified for us to take foreign aid. I was just looking into these figures and I will not take undue time of the House in quoting that in the First Plan period, out of our total financial outlay in the public sector, 10 per cent. was from external aid. In the Second Plan period, this figure rose to 24 per cent. and in the Third Plan period, I think it will be something like 35 to 40 per cent. So, we see that we are becoming more and more dependent upon external aid. Especially, we are developing a wrong type of mentality in the country. A few days before, when news came that we would not get external aid, there was some sort of a panic in the country, and when we were assured that we would get foreign aid, there was a sense of relief. This

is not a healthy sign. Ultimately, we must depend upon our own resources. It is just possible that we may have to cut our wants here and there but that does not matter. We must be independent. Gandhiji taught us the doctrine of Swadeshi. The doctrine of Swadeshi means that we must be satisfied with the things that are immediately round about us. Therefore, Sir, in order to make our Plans a success and in order that we may really become independent, independent not only in the political sense but also in the economic sense, we must see that we become less and less dependent on external aid.

Well, Sir, there is only one item to which I want to draw attention and that is that so far as the Plan is concerned, we have to bear one thing in mind that the toning up of the administrative machinery is most essential. There is not much dispute about what we plan for and what targets we put before the country but how we implement it is very important. Time is very short and, therefore, I will only say what has been said at one place about this aspect of the Plan, and I will sit down. This is a quotation from some magazine—

"In this sense, planning is basically a problem of administration. But the general reaction of the public about the administration is that it is not quite up to the mark. Much of the criticism may be without basis but the very fact that the administration is suspect is in itself sufficiently deplorable. By and large, the administration is believed to be corrupt. Such corruption need not always be in terms of money. Failure to render a full account of public money is a bigger corruption."

I hope that our Minister of Planning and the entire Government will pay attention to this fact.

One sentence more and I will sit down. Fissiparous tendencies are appearing in the country. All the plans

that we have for development will come to naught if political unity and integrity of the country is not there. Therefore, Plan or no Plan, we must lay great stress on the integrity and unity of the country. It is only then that India can progress. After all, we must know that the progress of India is not only for ourselves but for one-seventh of the whole human race. There is a great responsibility on us and I hope, Sir, that we will be able to discharge it.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at half-past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 29th August, 1962.