

## RESULTS OF ELECTIONS

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Kumari Shanta Vasisht being the only candidate nominated for election to the Central Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India, she is declared duly elected to be a member of the said Committee.

## CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CADET CORPS

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru being the only candidate nominated for election to the Central Advisory Committee of the National Cadet Corps, he is declared duly elected to be a member of the said Committee.

MOTION RE. THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—*continued*.

SHRI V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have had many interesting and informative speeches on different aspects of the Plan. In the short time I have, I propose to deal with the broad general issues connected with it.

In 1951 when the Plan was formulated, the country accepted the objective of doubling the *per capita* national income by about 1975-76. The objective was that in that year the *per capita* income would rise to about Rs. 540. Quite recently this objective has been reaffirmed in the Third Plan after a reappraisal which has been occasioned by increase in the estimated net growth of the population. The objective now is that we seek to attain the same rate of growth in the national income by the same period in spite of the fact that recent appraisals have shown that the rate of population growth is larger than was originally envisaged. This means that the country has to get a much

larger proportion of its national income as domestic savings but it must also secure an annual increment of a little over 6 per cent. a year of the national income in the Third Plan. We must agree that this objective of reaching a *per capita* national income of about Rs. 540 by about 1975 is a modest one. There are very few countries at the present moment with that national income; that is very few countries now have a national income which we are aiming at producing in 1975. That is a very modest objective we have placed before the country.

Our Third Plan is a very important stage in the process by which we seek to achieve this increase of national income which we have placed before ourselves as our goal. The size therefore of the Third Plan is pre-determined for us by our objectives, as the hon. Member, Pandit Kunzru, said yesterday, it is not a matter of choice. It is a matter of necessity that we should have a Plan of this size. This is the compulsion of forces at work in our society. There can be no doubt about it that we must aim at carrying out a Plan of this size.

Then I come to the patterns of development. There has been some discussion here, in fact a great deal of discussion, on the patterns of development embodied in our Plans. Even here in spite of minor differences there is a large measure of agreement. In the first place the highest priority should be given to education. After all the aim of all planning is to improve the quality of life of men and women in the country. I am very glad that it has been decided in the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans to carry out the directive in the Constitution that there should be free and compulsory education for boys and girls up to the age of 14. I do hope that effect will be given fully to this directive in the next ten years. Nothing can be more important than this, and I am

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confident, as our hon. friend, Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar, suggested yesterday, that no financial considerations will be allowed to stand in the way of achievement of this. It is important that in this we must take the whole nation with us. The communities concerned should regard this movement for free and compulsory education as their own, should accept the schools as part of their life and as their most cherished possession. We must take the community with us in working the movement especially with regard to compulsory education for girls. I have no doubt that this is a vital reform to which the highest priority must be attached. In this there should be no backward or advanced state. There must be uniform advance all over the country. The importance given to the other branches of education—secondary education, university education, technical education, and so on—in our Plans is recognised, and the multiplication of facilities in all these should also have a high priority.

Then, priority is given to agricultural production in all our Plans. There again, there can be no doubt that this is right. In industries, our policy is to have a balanced development of all the sectors—producer goods and heavy industries, organised consumer goods industries, small-scale industries, cottage industries and so on. The central portion of the scheme of industrial development in the Second and Third Five Year Plans is taken up by iron and steel production. This is easily understood, as we have facilities for producing iron and steel at a lower cost than most countries and these facilities must be fully utilised. Then again, the discovery of petroleum resources has made it necessary for us to give an equally important place to the exploitation of those resources. This is very important too. With regard to small-scale industries, as the Prime Minister said in his speech, striking progress has been made in certain

areas. It was mentioned yesterday—I think it was by our hon. friend, Prof. Malkani—that the financial resources allotted for small-scale industries are not adequate. I think that he has overlooked the fact that for the last two or three years there is a scheme for the grant of special assistance to small-scale industries by the State Bank of India. This assistance is outside the Plan. It is over and above the amounts entered in the Plan.

For a long time it has been recognised—it was pointed out by the Fiscal Commission—that under a somewhat half-hearted policy of protection followed for a number of years, consumer goods industries developed out of all proportion to producer goods and capital goods industries. This imbalance which is a long-standing one is being rectified in the Second and Third and will continue to be rectified in the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans by the programmes of heavy machinery manufacture. In every case, whether it is iron and steel production or whether it is production of heavy machinery, there are careful surveys made of requirements of the economy before targets are fixed. This is the policy, the policy of balanced development that there is equal emphasis on the different sectors. Power development, of course, has very high priority.

Reference was made to the private sector and the public sector. I do not know why it is thought that there is some kind of opposition between the two. They are supplementary, they are both partners in the great enterprise of initiating large-scale industrial development in this country. I do not know whether hon. Members are aware of the amounts of expenditure incurred by the organised private sector in our Plans. In the period of the First Plan, the total expenditure was Rs. 383 crores. In the Second Plan, it was Rs. 675 crores. In the Third Plan, it is expected to

be Rs. 1,050 crores. This shows that our needs are so large that both the public sector and the private sector can work to their maximum capacity without any limit subject, of course, to the Industrial Policy Resolution which has been accepted by Parliament.

So far, I have dealt with this question of patterns of development. On the whole, by and large, though there may be differences in emphasis, I take it that there is wide agreement as regards the general pattern that we are following in our Plans. The pattern of the Third Plan will continue in the Fourth and Fifth Plans almost certainly, as this principle of bringing about a balance in the industrial sector has to be observed in the future Plans as well.

As I have said, the size of the Third Plan is by no means a matter of choice but of necessity. It follows from that that the effort needed for carrying out the Plan must be made by the country. There is no escaping it. It is a challenge which the country must accept. I myself have no doubt that if the country makes the efforts that are needed in certain sectors of the economy, we can achieve the objectives we have placed before ourselves in the Third Five Year Plan. I should like to indicate briefly the directions in which, in my view, special efforts are needed on a national scale if we are to carry out the Third Five Year Plan successfully. The first is agricultural production. There are targets of agricultural production laid down in the Third Five Year Plan. In my view, it is possible, with the financial allocations in the Third Plan and the facilities already created, to go beyond these targets. We have decided to cover the entire country by Community Blocks by 1963. It is also the case that all over the country in most irrigation sources, there are large arrears to be made up in utilisation. And as was pointed out by a previous speaker, our seed multiplication and other programmes

are only just now gaining momentum. If through increased administrative and technical efficiency we see that progress in all these is accelerated, I personally have no doubt that we can achieve larger targets of agricultural production than are taken credit for in the Third Five Year Plan. It is not that we want to increase grain production. What we want to do is to build up the improvement potential, which can be utilised according to our requirements. We want to meet not only the requirements of the country but also to build up exports.

The second direction in which we need increased efforts is in obtaining the best possible returns on the investments that have been made in the projects in the First and Second Five Year Plans. Hon. Members will recall that the Second Finance Commission headed by the hon. Member, Shri K. Santhanam, pointed out that irrigation and power projects in most States are working at a loss and that this annual loss is made good by subsidies from the General Revenues of the States. There is really no reason why by utilising the benefits of these properly these losses should not be made up. The same applies to our big industrial and other projects. Through increased administrative and technical efficiency every effort should be made to obtain the best possible returns from the industries. We have had sufficient experience of the working of industrial undertakings in the Second Five Year Plan, and with increased efficiency we ought to be able to obtain much larger returns.

Thirdly, I would refer to a point which has been dealt with by the hon. Member, Pandit Kunzru, and by another hon. Member, Mr. Khandubhai Desai, namely the price policy. I attach the greatest 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

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great deal of more 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. We must make . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): May I make a little enquiry from the hon. Member? Did the Government refer to the Planning Commission—when he was there—that the Planning Commission should evolve a correct positive price policy, which is needed?

SHRI V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: Certainly, and the hon. Member will find chapters on price policy in the First Plan, in the Second Plan and in the Third Plan. From time to time committees have been appointed by the Government to evolve suitable price policies, and my impression is that at the moment a Cabinet Committee is working on it, but I am not quite sure. There is no doubt whatever—I am talking in a general way—that a suitable price policy should be evolved and that every effort should be made to hold the price line.

Then there is a policy for exports. This depends again on the cost structure for industries in the country, and the general level of prices. This has become more urgent—as was pointed out yesterday—on account of Britain's entry into the European Common Market. Hereafter exports from India will have to face much greater competition than before, and thus a suitable cost structure for industries is important if we are to be in a position to expand our exports.

Lastly we want a population policy. By 1963 the programme of having health units in every Development Block will be completed. In these health units arrangements are expected to be made for giving advice in regard to family planning, and also

assistance. I hope this programme will be worked with the help of non-official agencies all over the country so that family planning programmes may become a reality in the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans.

Now I should like to continue my remarks on administrative efficiency. In our planning there are many intangible factors of which we have to take account. One of these is; What is the standard of administrative efficiency that you can assume for the period of the Plan. This varies from sector to sector. It also varies from State to State. If the same project is worked with different degrees of efficiency, the targets vary, and there can be no statistical computation made of this particular factor. It is an imponderable factor, on which the Planning Commission has to take a view after discussions with the Governments concerned. On the one hand we do not want to perpetuate inefficient administrations. On the other, we do not want to assume unrealistic standards. How to draw the line is a matter depending on judgments one has to form. The same applies to what is usually called public co-operation, especially in agriculture. In some areas in which the community has become involved in programmes, the results have been extraordinarily good. In other areas where programmes like minor irrigation works are Government programmes in which the community is not interested, the results are not so good. There again it is an intangible factor in which one has to form judgments according to varying conditions.

I am saying all this to indicate the difficulties involved in assessing the exact effect of increased administrative efficiency on the targets which are entered in the Five Year Plans. There are also uncertain factors with regard to the Third Five Year Plan. There is first of all the quantum of foreign exchange resources question, which is not a matter within our

command. Secondly there are the internal resources, and thirdly, the intangible factors to which I have referred. The policy therefore is that the Planning Commission and the Governments concerned should keep in close touch with the manner in which the resources are forthcoming and the progress made, and keep the Plan flexible, revising it from time to time on the basis of the factors involved. This is done largely through the instrumentality of annual Plans, and every year there is a review of the progress made, and adjustments take place, in consultation with the Central Ministries and the State Governments, in the Plans for the subsequent year. In this way the availability of resources, and the targets are reconciled from time to time.

The other day, when he opened the discussion, the Prime Minister referred to an important measure introduced in the Plan, namely that a 15-year Plan will be prepared and submitted to Parliament in the next two or three years. I should like to mention another important feature in the Report of the Third Plan. There is a unit created in the Planning Commission for a systematic study of natural resources and the best methods of conserving those resources. There have been studies on resources in different fields by different agencies. The object of this organisation is to bring all that knowledge together, to find out what the gaps are, and decide what steps should be taken to complete these studies. The unit will publish the results of the studies in a comprehensible form. Another important function of this unit is to keep in touch with measures of conservation of resources that have been found successful in this country and other countries and to see that those measures are adopted. There is reason to believe that we are probably too complacent about the size of the natural resources available in this country. In relation to the **popu-**lation we cannot say that we are in

a happy position about this. There is great need for seeing that efficient ways are adopted of conserving these resources. The object of this unit is to get the best advice possible with regard to all these conservation methods and to see that they are introduced.

I do not want to detain the House any longer. I may now briefly sum up what I have been saying. The Third Five Year Plan has to be carried out. We want a Plan of that size and we should make the most determined efforts to see that it is carried out because this is part of the goal we have placed before ourselves of doubling the national income by a particular date, and that goal is, as I said, a very modest one. It is a matter of great importance to the future of the country that the national efforts needed for carrying out this Plan are forthcoming. The nation must accept the challenge.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to accord my general support to the Third Five Year Plan. I am glad to find that in the final Report the Planning Commission have tried to meet as far as possible the objections raised against the original draft. I do not say that they have succeeded altogether but they have made a very earnest attempt.

Sir, one persistent objection was that the so-called socialist objective was not properly defined. This was emphasised by many speakers during the debate on the Draft Plan, and this again was brought about in the Parliamentary Committee on Policy on which I had the honour to preside. I listened with great interest to the speech of my friend, Prof. Mukat Behari Lal the other day who stated that the 20-page Chapter on the objectives was no good. He said that in those twenty pages greater emphasis was laid on economic development than what he called 'socialisation.' Sir, so far as the people on

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this side are concerned, I think it is right that socialisation is considered subordinate to economic development. I wish to state in a few brief sentences what I conceive to be the socialist objective as I understand from that chapter.

Sir, in my view this socialist objective is two-fold, one in the field of production, and the other in the field of distribution. In the field of production the aim is:—

(i) the maximum rate of economic development;

(ii) an increasing emphasis on the public sector, especially in relation to large-scale industries and transport;

(iii) an increasing emphasis on the co-operative sector in agriculture and trade and distributive fields, and

(iv) consistent with these three objectives, an increasing growth of even the private sector so that there will be a composite economy in which public spirit will prevail in an ever increasing measure, but there will be no attempt at any totalitarian ownership or control of the Indian economy as a whole. This I believe to be the socialist objective as explained in that chapter so far as production is concerned.

So far as distribution of wealth is concerned, I think it has been stated that equality of opportunity, full employment and social security and insurance are the main objectives, and if these objectives are carried out, social justice as well as the reduction of inequality of income and wealth will also follow automatically.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): How do you distinguish liberalism from socialism?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: The so-called liberalism of Europe and America has moved towards democratic socialism, and in some respects

it is almost socialist. In fact, so far as distribution is concerned, the whole world has become socialist and there is no meaning in our saying that because we want to be different, we want to do something absurd or unreasonable.

Sir, I have tried to define what I conceive to be the socialist objective as expounded in those chapters. Of course, I cannot help wishing, Sir, that this objective is fully implemented in the actual proposals for the various sectors. I feel that they are only partially implemented. Take, for instance, the question of social security. I am sorry to find that this is not given sufficient emphasis. Sir, I want social security, especially an old age pension not only for the social objective but because it is the only way our planning can reach many sections which it has not been able to reach in these ten years. Take, for instance, landless agricultural workers and the non-industrial labourers in the slum quarters of the towns. I would like to ask: How can our planning succeed in reaching them? It is true that whereas the wages of the agricultural labour have increased, simultaneously the number of working days has decreased. Many landholders have given up many activities like gardening and other repairs which they used to do periodically, almost every year. Now, because the wages have gone up, they are employing these agricultural labourers for less and less time. Therefore, by and large, the agricultural labourers have not gained by planning and I do not think they can gain unless you benefit them directly. Of course, on the one side I am glad that we are going to give them compulsory education and, if possible, midday meals. That is right but there are lakhs of old people who have no resources whatsoever. It is wrong to think that the so-called joint family system of Hindus protects the old people. It is only in some upper classes that this happens. In the case of a labourer, as soon as an adult marries, he sets up a separate family

and he has no means to support the aged parents. Therefore, many of them are utterly helpless. It is said that, in the Third Plan, it is proposed to make a small start with relief and assistance to destitute persons, orphans and physically handicapped persons, who are without means of support or livelihood. In Madras and Punjab, the Chief Ministers have said that they are going to introduce some kind of old-age pensions for the poor people. I think it is a matter on which regionalism should not be allowed to prevail because when a citizen of Madras gets a privilege which is not available to a citizen of U.P. or Bihar, then regional disputes and differences will arise. So far as social security is concerned, it should be tackled on a national basis. I know the difficulties and the finances involved. You may start on a small scale. I do not mind if people over 70 are paid only Rs. 15 a month to start with but start on a small scale and by all means, increase the benefit as our wealth grows but you cannot say that till we get more wealth all the present generation should die out in distress and suffering and that all the old couples in misery should wait till there is considerable increase in national income. Therefore, this is matter which, I suggest, should be tackled on a national scale and on a national basis. Let the Third Plan be known to all the villages as the Plan by which we started the old-age pension and which began a comprehensive social security system in this country. We cannot afford to wait for this any longer.

Take unemployment on which so much stress was laid on the previous debates. I do recognise that Planning Commission have made an effort to tackle this question. I am afraid that they have created a wholly unnecessary tangle by guesses about unemployment. The entire guess of 3.5 million backlog and 17 millions coming into the market are all guesses

with a probable error of 50 per cent. In India the great defect is that we have no regular statistics. I think they should institute regular registration and go only by that basis. If you take the registration in the Employment Exchanges, it is a comparatively small figure and it does not become a problem. I know there is a lot of unemployment in the villages. Some of it is partial unemployment and some is under-employment but we do not know what the position is. Therefore, before speculating on the various millions of unemployed, it is better to gather accurate facts and then discuss the issue. Meanwhile the unemployed should not be left in the lurch. I am not satisfied with the so-called pilot schemes. Unemployment is not a thing to be dealt with by pilot schemes. It must be dealt with on a permanent basis but it may grow from small beginnings to big ones. In every panchayat, there should be a committee or Department which is asked to give employment to every adult at the wage of Re. 1/- for at least 15 days in a month. The financial implication will not be so heavy, not more than Rs. 150 crores, but it will put this unemployment issue on a permanent and practical basis. Every panchayat will become responsible for dealing with the unemployed. Similarly, every municipality must also be made responsible for the unemployed within its municipal limits. If the houses in the municipalities are revalued properly and the house tax levy is levied on them properly, and if a small surcharge on land revenue is levied, it will give for employment a nucleus fund in every village and every municipality. By distributing unemployment into 5 lakh centres, we reduce the responsibility of each centre to a very small dimension. You cannot solve unemployment by having any Central agency here or by having a pilot plan in 30 or 40 centres. You must distribute it among the panchayats. After all it will be a great and exhilarating work for the panchayats. What are the panchayats for?

PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU: (Uttar Pradesh): The members of the Panchayats are quarrelling with one another.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: They may quarrel but all these quarrels will come to an end if they have concrete work. Now they have not any concrete work besides collecting a little tax and spending the money and they have no concrete programme of work.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): May I know whether the hon. Member has studied the working of Panchayats in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh and knows that adverse comments have been made that these panchayats are introducing power politics at every level and they have not taken any interest in creating production?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): At the initial stage, these are bound to occur.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: I have no illusions about the panchayats. It is inevitable that 50 per cent. of the panchayats will be inefficient but it will do for my purpose if 50 per cent. work. If half the population of India is raised sufficiently to a higher level, the other half will follow in no long interval. I know that in my own State there are very good panchayats and there are very bad ones. In fact, in all my articles, I have been stressing not to expect too much from them. They have to grow. They are like children. Children will be failing and committing mistakes but there is no other way of getting things done. Unemployment is one of the things which the panchayats and municipalities ought to be asked to tackle and helped to tackle and it must be an obligation on them to tackle this great evil.

I do not want to stress the importance of a price policy. The previous speaker has already dealt with it but I wish to point out that the greatest malady in planning for the last 10

years is cost inflation. It is not price inflation that is our great evil. Today even if you take stringent monetary measures, the prices cannot come down because everything is produced at a higher cost and the cost is increasing everyday. It is because we are given a completely protected market for all our industrial and agricultural production without any machinery to see that this product is produced at the proper cost and sold at the proper cost. Anybody can produce anything at any cost and he is assured of a market because the Indian economy is completely isolated from world economy and that is the reason why our exports do not increase. We should break this isolation and say that no industrialist shall get a licence unless he not only produces goods, but produces them at international cost. That should be the condition of the issue of any industrial licence and that should be the condition of efficiency of our own public undertakings. The Prime Minister laid much stress on implementation and Shri V. T. Krishnamachari also emphasised it but the latter also pointed out that administrative efficiency is an imponderable factor. I agree but responsibility should not be an imponderable factor. There should be responsibility for every failure. On page 454 it is said that for many important industrial targets our achievement in the two Plans is only nearly 50 per cent. Who is responsible for this failure? Is the Planning Commission responsible, is it the Central Government or the State Governments? It is because there is no sense of responsibility, there is no scheme of responsibility, there is no method of fixing the responsibility, that all this failure has happened. I want that there should be a proper scheme of responsibility. If the Plan fails by 50 per cent., the Planning Commission must be held responsible because that would be owing to its miscalculation either of resources or of possibilities. Between the two, part of it must be laid on, the Central Government and the State Government, and in the case of public enterprises, the responsibility



for failure should be severely laid on those who are appointed managers or managing directors. When the Bhakra Dam breaks, when the Rourkela plant does not produce, why are not the managers sacked? Why don't you sack all those who have not delivered the goods? We may have very experienced and honest officials. But we want here people who can deliver the goods and anyone who cannot deliver the goods, whether he is a Minister or an official or a Planning Commission Member, he must quit. That should be the rule and if this rule is enforced, then I am sure the Third Plan will go through as we all want it to go through.

One word more, Sir, and I shall have done. Sir, planning now has become so big and so vast that it cannot be tackled by the Central Commission, however big its bureaucracy may become. Planning must be decentralised and there should be Planning Commissions in every State and the jurisdictions of such State Planning Commissions should be well-defined and those Planning Commissions and the State Governments should be held responsible for failures for which the State Governments should be left to be dealt with by the voters. With these words, I have great pleasure in supporting this Plan.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, whatever doubts there might have been in the beginning about the wisdom of having a planned economy, we are at a stage now when we have to accept planning. We are thinking in terms of planning and all our activities are dominated by the Plans. And yet the fact remains that whether in the country at large or even in this House, there is very little enthusiasm for our Plans. I see that in this House and I see that from the reports that I have read about the other House as well. There are very palpable reasons why there is so much despondency and so much dissatisfaction and so much lack of enthusiasm about the success of these

Plans. There are, as I said, very palpable reasons. One reason is that on the one hand we read with pleasure that during the last two Plans, there has been an increase in the national income by 42 per cent. and an increase in the *per capita* income by 18 per cent. and it is calculated that in the Third Plan, there will be a further increase of 30 per cent. and 17 per cent. respectively. But the fact remains that the man in the street does not experience the advantage of this higher national income or this *per capita* income. Why is that so? For the simple reason that for every rupee that he gets extra, he has to spend more than a rupee even for his barest needs. In other words, the success of the Plan or the failure of the Plan is bound up with the question of prices. This question has been raised on the floor of the House by many of my predecessors and I would like to support what they have said, with all the enthusiasm that I can command. I see that the chapter on price level that you find in the Plan is an extremely halting chapter. Government does not seem to be conscious of its responsibility. It seems to be anxious that the prices should be kept down, yet it is clear that it is hemmed in by so many 'ifs' and 'buts' that one doubts whether the Government is confident of its own capacity to control. And if they do not do it, then the advantages of the so-called Plans will not be experienced by the man in the street. There may be too little or too much of socialism, I don't know, for that depends upon one's political convictions. But the fact remains that such an economy, unless it improves our living standards, will not make us enthusiastic about the Plans. There has been a constant appeal about tightening of the belt. It is a very fine thing, but I am afraid a time will come soon when there will be nothing to tighten. We are already threatened in the Third Plan that there will be increased taxation to the tune of Rs. 1,710 crores. We feel that we have reached tax saturation and yet we are threatened with this huge astronomi-

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] cal figure. How the Finance Minister is going to do it, I shudder to think. Anyway, we shall have to pay the price for it.

There is another reason for this lack of enthusiasm. I am very happy to hear from Shri Krishnamachari that so far as he is concerned, he looks upon the public sector and the private sector as complementary to each other. It is a very very sensible standpoint to take. I don't mind what the Communists say about the private sector, but . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: That is also the Government's policy.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: But I have come across Ministers sometimes talking about the private sector as if it were a stepchild, with due deference to my friend over there. You find that during the first two Plans, the private sector invested as much as Rs. 4,900 crores and the public sector invested Rs. 5,210 crores. That means that the investment in the private sector compares very favourably with that in the public sector, in spite of the advantages that the public sector, has, advantages of government backing, of government monopoly and the capacity to fix its own prices and all that. So the net conclusion to which we can come is that the private sector has been able to deliver the goods, and I regret to say that the public sector has not been able to deliver the goods. The reasons are palpable. Again and again, we find from the Public Accounts Committee Reports as well as from other reports that our officers have not proved as efficient or as honest in the management of the government concerns as they could be expected to be. Government machinery is bound to be costly, and Government servants do expect a higher rate of payment. They do expect many other amenities in the form of leave and so on. Government servants do have a sense of superiority. And that makes it extremely difficult for the government sector

to function as efficiently as the private sector. Sir, the only justification for the Government taking upon its own shoulders the responsibility of carrying on so much business is that the money that would otherwise have gone to private pockets would come to the government coffers and would benefit the man in the street. I can understand that logic. But that money does not come into the Government coffers as much as we want it to come, for the simple reason that the Government is not an expert business management. With all the humility that I can command, I would suggest that if the Government are anxious to be successful in managing business, they will have to copy to a very considerable extent the good methods of the private sector.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Not the bad methods.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Efficient persons should be selected for the jobs and they should be kept at those posts, not for two years or three years, but for 30 years or 40 years, as the case may be. What do you find in government business now? There is a tendency to appoint ordinary administrative officers in charge of business concerns. Now, I have the greatest admiration for the intellectual capacity of our officers. We have had a tremendously great inheritance from the old Indian Civil Service and as an Indian I have no reason to doubt that my countrymen who take up responsible posts in the Indian Administrative Service will not be as efficient intellectually as the Indian Civil Servants of old but there are certain characteristics which we expect and we associate with Government servants in the administrative line, a certain dignity, at times even a certain aloofness, dictatorialness, leadership. Well, these are all good qualities in an administrative officer, I do not deny, but these qualities are not what make for success in business enterprise. Different qualities are needed, a spirit of give and take, a

spirit of camaraderie, of bringing round the other side and so on, and unless you have got people of that type to manage your business, I have my doubts whether the Government business will really succeed as the private sector has succeeded. Now, for that reason, it seems to me necessary to have a different cadre of people, one cadre of people for administrative and political services, another cadre for business concerns, and if you have got a good man, for goodness' sake do not transfer him under the dogma that he has been there three years or five years. Keep him on. Let him make good his success, and I am perfectly certain that in course of time even the Government concerns, in spite of their handicaps and in spite of their advantages which sometimes work as handicaps, will succeed.

Now, Sir, I regret to say it but I do find in the reports a certain economic bias probably because the persons concerned with this Plan are more or less economists. I remember, Sir, that even a hundred years ago Thomas Carlyle had the wisdom of describing economics as a dismal science and as the science of profit and loss. I admit that modern economics has improved, I admit that modern economics is not concerned today so much with wealth as with the concept of welfare. Nevertheless, there is a tendency in the Plan, quantitatively and qualitatively, to emphasise the economic targets far far too much and I think that tendency ought to be curbed, ought to be modified by the recognition of the human aspects of planning. For be it from me to say that the human aspects are not present in the Plan; it was there in the First Plan, it was there in the Second Plan and it is much more definitely recognised in the Third Plan but even so, I have a fear that when the time comes and there is shortage of money, it is not the economic targets that will suffer; it is the educational targets that will suffer; it is the social

service targets that will suffer. I was very happy to hear my good friend, Mr. Krishnamachari, say that this should not happen, that nothing should stand in the way of education, but I know what has been happening in the past. At every time of financial crisis, the first axe fell on education because the poor students cannot protest, the poor teachers cannot protest and they are in a very comfortable position to be sacrificed in the interests of more powerful and more vocal interests.

Well, Sir, a good deal has been said about small-scale industries. Some time ago, there was a very interesting exhibition in Bombay of American small-scale industries and I was really surprised to be told that even in America 60 to 70 per cent. of the products are the products of small industries. It means that there is room in spite of heavy industries and in spite of heavy machinery there is room for small-scale industries and I do appreciate the desire of the Planning Commission to encourage small-scale industries. The so-called industrial estates have sprung up in several of our cities but I very much regret to say that they are not really encouraging. The buildings are there, a certain amount of financial provision is there but people who are anxious to introduce small-scale industries cannot get licences for importing the machinery that they require. For one thing or another, the whole thing appears to be more a show than a reality. Just a few days ago I happened to be talking to an official of the Small-Scale Industries Department and I pointed out to him that there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the way in which money has been spent. His excuse was that he could not do anything, or rather the Centre could not do anything. The Centre provides money but the States spend it. Now, it seems to me that this is a very very unsatisfactory state of affairs. I think it is very wholesome policy that whoever pays must control and if the Centre finds the

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]

money, the Centre must be able to control the spending of money by the States. It may be by joint machinery. I understand that the Centre after all is in Delhi and Delhi is far away but there may be a certain common machinery where the States and the Centre can work together and in that way, it will be extremely desirable for the flourishing of the small-scale industries.

May I say just a few words more about education? I am glad to say that the Plan holds out the hope that by the end of the Third Plan, the age group 6-11 will be completely educated but in another section of the Plan we find that this 100 per cent will really boil down to 76 per cent. mainly because of the tremendous amount of illiteracy among the girls, their literacy being only 13 per cent. The fact remains, Sir, that in spite of our tall talk and in spite of the direction that we get in our Constitution, the increase in literacy has been only from 17 per cent. to 24 per cent. and it is very very low.

I wanted to say a few more things but I shall not take up more of your time. I want to emphasise one thing and that is that I wholeheartedly support the amendment, notice of which has been given by my hon. friend, Mr. Chettiar. He comes from the Congress ranks, and I do appeal to the Government to accept this amendment because it will be a testimony of the real good faith of the Government. What does the amendment say? It says:

"all attempts should be made to keep the price line;"

We are all agreed about it. Without holding the price line, your Plan is not going to create any enthusiasm. It says further:

"the distinction made between the physical and financial targets should not affect . . . education and other social services;"

Who can deny the desirability of this? Thirdly, it says,

"all steps should be taken to maintain a high standard of integrity and performance in the services.."

Who can deny the necessity of this? If Government is somewhat unwilling to accept the amendment, it will create doubt not merely in my mind but in the mind of the country at large as to how far the Government is really anxious to carry out the Plan in all its full implications. Therefore, I do appeal, Sir, to the Government, in the interests of the country, to accept this amendment and to keep these reservations intact.

SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI (Madras): Sir, the Third Five Year Plan is a great historic document of vast dimensions and tremendous far-reaching implications for our country to build an economy on the basic foundations of agriculture and rural reconstruction and raise it to heights of modern scientific and technological advance of the present new democratic age, not merely for displaying the capacity of our people—a young democracy rooted in the best and sound traditions and culture of the past—to build a powerful edifice just as a show of power but for showing that knowledge is power, well used, namely, to promote peace within and without and work for the maintenance and promotion of sound, everlasting human relations with our near and distant neighbours and to strive towards the maintenance of world peace by making a human approach for the settlement of the many problems, economic, political and social, in many fields.

Sir, we who are very near the picture and who have witnessed the working of the First and the Second Five Year Plans—and we are now discussing all that is involved in the Third Five Year Plan and its vast benefits—are apt to stress the loop

holes forgetting the major and vital issues involved. But the time is ripe now to realise that we are watched by all the nations around us. It is a test Plan and if we go on fulfilling all the requirements of the Plan and attain our major goal, namely, the provision of good life for the 400 million people of our country, then indeed, Sir, we will stand as one of the mightiest nations in the assembly of nations of the world.

Since independence India has taken vast strides in economic and social spheres judging merely from the materialistic point of view, we have the mighty dams, river valley projects, iron, steel and fertiliser factories etc., and also the numerous skyscrapers in the construction side. The mere changes that have been made—coming to the legal side—in the legal system for women, the marriage and divorce laws, laws relating to right to succession, to property, adoption, guardianship, maintenance etc., this change in the status of women of this country with regard to their legal position, has in itself made history. Our Constitution has provided for equality of opportunity irrespective of caste, creed or sex and it has enabled women to fill all ranks of employment as I.A.S. officers, as Collectors of Districts and it has enabled them to reach the farthest heights of service as diplomats, Ministers, Members of Parliament and Legislatures and Ambassadors in foreign countries where they have acquitted themselves very well. Such a participation would not have been dreamt of before independence but now this has been made possible. For all this and more our country and ourselves must be thankful and proud. Not only that; it is not in the higher reaches alone that this is in evidence. If you go to the country, the whole country is brimming with life. A few years back if you went to a village and asked a peasant, 'Which is the way to such and such a place?' he would have scratched his head and said 'Ha?' As

our great poet Sarojini Naidu said long ago, we Indians are half asleep; might be philosophic absorption but still we are not awake. And then she sent the clarion call to the nation, 'Awake, arise and be never fallen; always stand up for your birth right—freedom'. And that is in evidence today. The whole thing is absolutely changed. This clarion call made by our sister, Sarojini Naidu, put into practice in many ways and by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, has made not only the urban areas but even the rural areas brimming with life. Schools, colleges, hospitals and medical centres have come up. There has been a good response from the people to utilise these, as has been evident in Madras in the recent past when an appeal was sent by the authorities for co-operation of the people of the various localities to launch and effectively enforce a scheme of education including the starting of schools and the provision of mid-day meals. Sir, you should have seen the enthusiasm of the ordinary village folk and if you visit these villages today, you will find streams and streams of children going to the schools. The response has been so tremendous. The way to tap the hearts of the people should be studied and then the response is there. Shri Kunzru said that this is a challenge to the country—this Third Plan—and that challenge has already been taken up by the people of some of the States and I am sure we, Members of Parliament, are also willing to take up the challenge. So, Sir, we are very proud of these achievements. Not only that; who would have ever dreamt a few years back of this up-surge of women? Even I, as a girl, was not allowed to peep into the outside world except through the bars of the window of our house but today we see a stream of women, determined to serve, marching up and down throughout the country, throughout the world, in one capacity or another, in delegations, and in private capacities; we see many school children, college students, old people even farmers—the other day they came—and there is all this movement. This

[Shrimati T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti.]

movement, this mobility has been made possible by our communications, by our transport by air, by sea and by land. All this is the result of our planning and the way in which the nation had put its never and fibre in working out the regeneration of the country with enthusiasm would be shown, I am sure, even in the working of this Third Five Year Plan. To build up a socialistic pattern of society, to overcome the various limitations of our customs and institutions, of our casteism, communalism, provincialism and linguism in its aggressive form, as our Prime Minister, the crusader and Knight-errant against all narrow orthodoxies and social ills, has declared, we should give great priority to education which is fundamental for all progress in the world, education especially of women. If women are to take up the challenge of the Third Five Year Plan, more resources for the education of girls should be provided for because they are the future mothers of the nation and the investment made for their education would go a long way in removing many of these isms like casteism, provincialism, communalism, etc. The country can achieve emotional integration much more quickly if the future mothers are educated in this idea. Therefore I would give my whole hearted support to all the demands made by the various educational bodies for greater provision for the education of girls. Sir, compulsory universal primary education for all children up to 14 years of age by 1961 was promised in the Constitution but this could not be fulfilled and we have limited it to children of six to eleven years to be implemented at the end of the Third Five Year Plan that is, by 1965-66. But the gap between girls and boys education is so great that even if the targets set in the Third Plan were to materialise fully, it would only bring primary education to about 90 per cent. of the boys and 60 per cent. of the girls. During the first and second Plans 13.2 million additional boys were enrolled, whereas it was only 6.8 mil-

lion in the case of girls. In regard to primary education the same gap is found. On the eve of the Third Plan (1960-61), there were about 80.5 per cent. of boys and only 40.4 per cent. of girls in schools. The rate at which girls' primary education has grown is slow, almost stagnant. The figures are:

1950—First Plan... 24.6 per cent.

1955—Second Plan... 32.4 per cent.

1960—Third Plan... 40.4 per cent.

It is a negligible increase of 8 per cent. in each Plan. Many States show an average of much less. If the target of universal compulsory primary education for the age group 6-11 is to be fulfilled, three times the amount of money that is provided for boys will have to be provided for girls. That is, for every boy at least three girls will have to be enrolled in schools. Also, since this lag is due not merely to poverty but also due to various kinds of social backwardness and prejudices, special incentive programmes are essential. For this the National Committee asked for Rs. 100 crores for special programmes and that has been drastically cut down to Rs. 11 crores. Unless ample provision is made for girls' education, for the education of our future mothers and guardians of the young, many of the social orthodoxies and obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of the Third Five Year Plan would be there.

In villages—whatever be the literacy percentage shown in the Third Five Year Plan—about 95 per cent. of women are still illiterate and a special programme is necessary. In this connection I am very thankful for the programme of education for rural areas that has been released by the Information and Broadcasting Ministry and that programme is welcomed by all. With regard to the Children's Film Society, it has rendered invaluable service in keeping the children away from unwanted films. Still greater control is required by the censors

in regard to the influx of foreign films into this country which are not very suitable for the young.

Now, Sir, I want to point out one thing. When I have asked for and demanded resources, I want to point out that the planners could tap those resources and here we are, women, to co-operate with you. There is a large fund of educated talent that is lying waste in the form of young women graduates who have passed various examinations such as medicine, law, teachers' training examinations and so on. They have gone and got themselves married. I do not say that marriage is not necessary. After all for planning of homes education and intelligence is required but management of households takes very little time. Looking after the young has been cared for in many ways by the various social services released in this country. And hence many young women sit and lean back in easy chairs and read novels, often a poor type of novels. Many of the novels are trash, of crimes etc. That is how they spend their time. The idea that they should develop a hobby, that they should put their shoulder to the wheel, in promoting all that is best in this country, is not there. And I would like this talent and power for useful service in women to be released for educating illiterate women in both urban and rural areas and push forth the education scheme for girls, to bridge this gulf between boys' and girls' education. You know, Sir, how much wrong economy is exercised by these young girls and women in so many ways. They do not know how to run their household in an economic way so as to save money for these schemes

I have to speak on one more question of topical significance and that relates to floods. Recently I have visited the flood-stricken areas in the South. In this country we cannot avoid floods. Besides, floods by themselves, they say, are very useful, because they bring alluvial soil in the river. But I would plead for adequate

flood warning measures—a mechanism to be devised to ensure and to minimise danger to life and property in these areas. A provision of Rs. 30 is not enough for a family affected in the South. A provision of Rs. 100 for each family is required. In the South, of course, the response was wonderful from the public, from the locality, from the Government, from everywhere, including the Central Ministries. For example, in regard to the river Cauvery, experts may examine the raising of the height of the Mettur dam to control the flood by absorbing it to a certain extent in the reservoirs and then discharging it down-stream in controlled ways. May I suggest that this matter be investigated to see whether these flood waters can be utilised by filling tanks in upland areas like Pudukottai and Ramnad districts by means of a high level canal from these river storages?

Now, I come to engineers. There should be a planned system of training young engineers in private and public industrial undertakings, so that experienced engineering personnel can be built up. There is this paradox of unemployed raw graduate engineers, while there is an acute shortage of engineering personnel for the Third Plan targets. This is because the Third Plan requires trained personnel, while the newly graduated engineers have to migrate from job to job in search of experience. In Russia and in America the employing agencies pick up the graduate engineers from the colleges themselves and build them up to suit their requirements. The Americans particularly employ what they call talent scouts, who visit the engineering colleges and reserve the bright engineering students for their companies. There should, therefore, be a planned system to absorb the graduate engineers into planned development in the Third Plan, so that technical man-power flows smoothly without shortage or excess in the same way.

[Shrimuti T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti.]

I would like urgent steps to be taken to expedite the formation of an All-India Service of Engineers, a strong technical All-India Service of Engineers like the Indian Administrative Service. The recent Chief Ministers' Conference have accepted this and, therefore, this should be taken up without delay.

Coming to the medical profession—I am concerned with the medical profession. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have read page after page you have almost written a book.

SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI: I speak and refer to extracts—some points and one point more. Sir, from the platforms we have exhorted them that they should go out and render medical service in the rural areas. But what are the attractions they have got, for these young people to go and serve in the rural areas? It is our duty to provide all such conditions as would attract them for such service in the rural areas.

Then, as our friend and great leader in this planning, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, was saying, State Planning Boards, high power agencies, should be set up in the States. They should study the resources and should conduct an incisive evaluation in every State by constant and critical vigilance as to how the plan projects have been implemented and progressed. In the long term plan of development—fifteen-year Plan—as has been mentioned by our Prime Minister, we have to see things not only from the point of the material side and the resources side, but also from the point of view of man-power. This is necessary and success could be achieved only by our planning and evaluation at every stage periodically.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJEE (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, as

a believer in socialism, I support the Third Five Year Plan strongly. The country has made good progress during the last two Five Year Plans, and the Third is a more comprehensive one as far as planning goes.

Every inhabitant of India is happy that the country is going ahead step by step under the guidance of our great leader, the Prime Minister. But I would like to point out certain shortcomings that occur to me. After Shriman Narayanji joined the Planning Commission, I expressed the hope on the floor of this House that from then on greater emphasis would be laid on the upliftment of the villages of this vast country, because as the author of the Gandhian Plan, he laid emphasis on this aspect of development, as India is mainly a country of agriculturists, who live in the villages. But that expectation of mine is not on the way to fulfilment. In an atmosphere where the pressure on land is very great an additional source of income is essential. That is possible through the large-scale development of village and small industries. For want of this, the money that the villager earns by selling his field products goes back to the urban areas in the shape of his purchases of essential consumer goods. So, he remains a pauper and the urban industrialist grows fat at his cost.

I think the planners should very seriously look into this aspect of the matter. If village industries are properly encouraged, the village money may remain in the villages and thereby contribute to the peace and happiness of village life. Greater emphasis should be given for the development of energised and even unenergised village industries and at the same time the large-scale urban products should not be allowed to enter the villages. Their articles of necessities should be arranged to be produced locally.

Rural people cannot wait for 15 or 20 years for the basic industries to



supply them necessary machinery for village industry. In the mean time, they are to be maintained.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI) in the Chair.]

As regards socialist aspects, I have read with interest the Chapters of the Third Plan on socialism, but these have not given me full satisfaction mainly because there is no consolation to the common man. The inequalities in the distribution of national income is a burning question before the country. The planners have not been able to show as to where the bulk of the national income goes. If a small section of the people of our society gets affluent at the cost of the bulk of the people, certainly that is not socialism. Then why have we abolished zamindari soon after the attainment of independence? Why then have we done away with the Princely order? That was undoubtedly to lead independent India in the right direction. The object was to weaken the rotten system of exploitation of man by man.

Now after all that, how can we allow a section to amass fortunes at the cost of the entire nation? This underground method of getting affluent by corruption, bribery and profiteering must be put a stop to by all means. That requires a clean administration, which we have not.

As regards the prices, the rise of prices of essential commodities is another burning question of our society. The prices are going up and earnings are not being enhanced along with them, and consequently the people are suffering. Assurances are being given of no further rise, and yet it is going on. So the common man is losing faith day by day and that is not a healthy sign for the growth of a nation.

We know that the Planning Commission and the Ministry are making efforts to check this inflationary trend

of our economy. But it is also a fact that the efforts have not yet produced any satisfactory result.

Further rise in prices is likely to lead to a sense of frustration and faithlessness. That position must be avoided at any cost. The people must not lose faith in their Government who are their trustees. The problem will have to be tackled to the satisfaction of the people.

Regarding unemployment, the Planned economy should provide employment to the people. But it seems to me that our democratic planning is not in a position to tackle the problem with firm grasp at least in the near future.

The target of the Second Plan was 10 million jobs but actually only 6.5 millions could be provided with employment. The back-log of unemployment at the end of the Second Plan was 9 millions, and at the end of the Third Plan there will be 3 more millions unemployed, that is, 12 millions in all. This is itself a huge number and over and above that it is believed that the number of under-employed at present may be about 15 to 18 million, mainly in rural areas. That I take from the Third Plan itself though it has been disputed by our friends. The number would be much more, as Mr. Santhanam stated; it may be 50 per cent. more.

Despite the family planning efforts the increase of population is another serious problem. These facts are stumbling blocks in the way of our progress. So long as this problem is not solved the people are unable to think that they are living in a socialist atmosphere. Suicide or killing of one's own child or children is not uncommon in our society today due to unemployment.

Great stress has been given in the Third Plan for greater agricultural production. This is an urgent necessity, as everybody knows. But for our society the unemployment question is not less important. Suppose by our

[Shri J. C. Chatterjee.]  
efforts we succeed in arresting the rising trend of prices of consumer goods, even then they cannot reach the unemployed, because they have not got even that resource due to unemployment.

Therefore, employment opportunity is a very vital matter for the nation. The problem is more acute in rural areas than in the urban. National Sample Survey figures show the following—the figures are in crores:

	Work for		
	1 hr. or less	2 hrs or less	4 hrs, or less
Rural	1.9	2.4	4.0
Urban	0.2	0.3	0.5
TOTAL	2.1	2.7	4.5

This shows that 4 crores of persons in rural areas work less than half a day on an average. That is, they are under-employed. With constant increase of population it is a very serious matter.

We know that the agricultural wages are very low in India even for a whole day's work. To quote the National Sample Survey again, there are 6 crores of people in the country who somehow manage to live on less than 5 annas a day. Over 270 lakhs of people have less than 2 hours' work a day.

The Plan should have given more attention to such village industries as require more labour but less capital. We are encouraging industrialists to produce even such articles as may be made in the villages, and thereby we are indirectly allowing the villages to be ruined long before full employment could be provided.

In the Third Plan the allocation for small and village industries is much bigger than that in the Second Plan. Yet, there is one significant fact in it. That is, in the First and the Second Plans, there was such an item as cottage industries. But in the Third

Plan this item has already been struck off. I have heard, of course, the speech of the Prime Minister regarding small industries and also that of Shri V. T. Krishnamachari. They have stressed that they are giving sufficient importance to the growth of small industries. But in practical fact, when we look to the working and implementation side, it is quite different. Money is being spent but it does not produce results. I keep in close touch with the rural centre in the District of Lucknow where the District Industries Department is running a training-cum-production institute. There every year some eighty boys of the locality are given training in some industries and they are given a stipend of Rs. 20 a month, and because of the stipend, a number of people from the surrounding villages come there and take the training for one year. But after the training is over, I find that they are not starting any work at all. They are going back to their respective homes. So, the money that the Government is spending for training the boys is money spent for nothing, without any result.

Another important point is about implementation. The planning is all right. It is a very big thing. But when we look to its implementation, there is disappointment everywhere. Big dams were constructed in this country at a very big cost. If a dam was estimated to be completed at a cost of Rs. 50 crores, after the execution the cost surpassed even Rs. 100 crores. And what was the result? The dam produced electricity and water and consumers of electricity and water had consequently to pay for these at the double rate, thereby creating inflation in the country. Why? It is because there was dishonesty and inefficiency in the working. That is why we have seen that even though the Hirakud Dam was constructed at a great cost, this year the city of Cuttack was so much inundated. On the D.V.C. dams also a very big amount of money has been spent but recently the whole of West Bengal was flooded despite

these dams. Again this year there were floods in the city of Poona; the great centre of Maharashtra civilisation was about to be crushed. And what was the cause? The cause was the Panshet Dam. So, when you look to the execution side, there is very little satisfaction and that must be looked into. That is my appeal to the Planning Commission.

### श्री देशक्रीनन्दन नारायण (महाराष्ट्र) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आप जानते हैं कि यह देश किसानों का है, गांवों में बसा हुआ है और इस देश की ४३ करोड़ आबादी में से ३५ करोड़ लोग देहातों में रहते हैं। जब हम इस देश की बहतरी की सोचते हैं, तो हमें इन ३५ करोड़ देहातियों के सम्बन्ध में सबसे पहले सोचना चाहिये। कहा जाता है कि हमारा नेशनल इनकम बढ़ी है, परकैपिटा इनकम बढ़ी है, प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है, सब कुछ बढ़ा है, परन्तु मैं कहूंगा कि इस प्लान से पता नहीं चलता कि इन देहातियों की इनकम कितनी बढ़ी है। आज जो हमारी नेशनल इनकम है, उसका करीब ५० परसेंट भाग खेती की पैदाइश से आता है, यानी एग्रीकल्चर से ५० परसेंट आता है, और एग्रीकल्चर यानी खेती करने वालों की तादाद कितनी है? करीब ६६ टका यानी sixty nine per cent. of our population are agriculturists. ये हमारी खेती करने वाले हैं। अब आप सोचियेगा कि ७० टका खेती करने वालों में हमारी ५० टका नेशनल इनकम बांटी जाती है और दूसरी ५० टका ३० टका लोगों में बांटी जाती है। इससे ही पता चलता है कि हमारे किसानों की परकैपिटा इनकम आपकी जनरल परकैपिटा इनकम से बहुत कम है।

इस के बाद आप देखें किसानों की हालत। आज पांच एकड़ से कम जोतने वाले किसानों की संख्या करीब २५ करोड़ है यानी ५ करोड़ फैमिलीज ऐसी हैं, जो पांच एकड़ से कम जमीन जोतती है। अब यह आप सोचिये कि पांच एकड़ से कम जोतने वाले क्या पैदा कर सकते हैं, यानी उनकी कमाई को देखिये। इसके बाद चार करोड़ हमारे एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर हैं। तो चार करोड़ लैडलैस एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर हुये और २५ करोड़ ऐसी खेती करने वाले हुये कि जिनकी खेती से उनका गुजारा हो नहीं सकता। ऐसी हालत में जब आप कहते हैं कि परकैपिटा इनकम बढ़ी है, तो मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि परकैपिटा इनकम उन देहातियों की बढ़ी नहीं है—शायद घटी हो—जो कि बढ़नी चाहिये।

इसके बाद मुझे आपसे यह कहना है कि आज हमारे किसानों को खेती १२ महीना काम नहीं दे सकती। बढ़ी मुश्किल से खेती उनको छः या आठ महीना काम दे सकती है और छः या आठ महीना कांटिनुअसली भी उनके पास काम नहीं रहता। बीच बीच में उन्हें बैठा रहना पड़ता है। तो आप देखेंगे कि किसानों में इनएम्प्लायमेंट तो है ही, परन्तु उसमें बहुत ज़्यादा अंडर एम्प्लायमेंट है इसलिये उनकी हालत बही है, जो कि गरीब से गरीब की हो सकती है। जब इतना खाली समय किसानों के पास है और उनकी ऐसी गरीबी की हालत है तो, आप उसको किस तरह उबार सकते हैं। इसका एक ही जरिया है कि आप किसानों को उद्योग दें, इण्डस्ट्रीज दें। जब तक किसानों को आप इण्डस्ट्रीज नहीं देंगे, जब तक खेती को इण्डस्ट्रीज का जोर नहीं मिलेगा, तब तक किसानों की हालत किसी तरह से सुधरने वाली नहीं है। इसलिये यदि आपको हमारी रूरल इकोनामी को सुधारना है, किसी तरह से उसको आगे ले जाना है, तो उसका एक ही जरिया है और वह यह है कि आपको रूरल इण्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन का रास्ता लेना होगा। वह रूरल इंड-

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

स्ट्रियलाइजेशन कैसा हो, उसके लिये भी बहुत दूर तक सोचना होगा। यह कोई साधारण सवाल नहीं है। आप शहरों में जिन इंडस्ट्रीज को शुरू कर रहे हैं या चला रहे हैं, वह इंडस्ट्रीज आप देहात में नहीं ले जा सकते। देहातों की इंडस्ट्रीज वही होनी चाहिये, जो खेत में से निकल सकती है, जो इंडस्ट्रीज किसान अपने घर पर चला सकता है और जिनके लिये बहुत पूंजी की जरूरत नहीं है। ऐसी इण्डस्ट्रीज वहां शुरू की जानी चाहिये ताकि जो कच्चा माल वे पैदा करते हैं, उसको गांव में पक्का बनायें, उसका ज्यादा से ज्यादा उपयोग वे स्वयं करें और उसका व्यापार भी कर सकें। तो आप जब प्लान का विचार करते हैं तब मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि ८२ टका हमारी जो जनता है उसके हित के हिसाब से आपको रूरल इण्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन का विचार सबसे पहले करना चाहिये और रूरल इण्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के लिये खास व्यवस्था करने की अब आवश्यकता आ पहुंची है। आप जब तक कोई रूरल इंडस्ट्री किसान को नहीं देंगे, तब तक किसान की हालत नहीं सुधरेगी, अण्डर एम्प्लायमेंट की हालत नहीं सुधरेगी, एग्रीकल्चर लेबर की हालत नहीं सुधरेगी। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि यह सवाल मामूली नहीं है, बहुत बड़ा सवाल है, यह ३५ करोड़ जनता के जीवन से सम्बन्ध रखने वाला है और आज की हालतों में रूरल इण्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन एक मामूली बात नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि किन इण्डस्ट्रीज को रूरल एरिया में चला सकते हैं इसको दूर तक सोचना होगा। इसलिये मेरी प्लानिंग कमीशन से यह भी प्रार्थना है कि इस रूरल इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के लिये कोई खास तजवीज की जाय और कोई रूरल इण्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन बोर्ड या कमीशन एट दि हाईएस्ट लेवल कायम किया जाय, तब इस बात को कर सकेंगे। आपने प्लान की रिपोर्ट में एक जगह लिखा है

"The basic problems of rural economy are low income, low produc-

tivity and lack of continuous employment."

यानी ये तीन बातें जब तक आप रूरल इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन नहीं लायेंगे, खेती के साथ उद्योग को नहीं जोड़ेंगे, तब तक हल नहीं होगी। बिना इसके आप "लो इनकम" को कम नहीं कर सकते, 'लो प्रोडक्टिविटी' को आप बढ़ा नहीं सकते और लैक ऑफ एम्प्लायमेंट जो है उसको भी दूर नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये मेरी सबसे पहली प्रार्थना है कि यदि आप इस प्लान को कामयाब करना चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि प्लान के कामों में आम जनता सहकार दे और रस ले तो इस चीज को प्रायगिटि दें। जनता इसमें रस तभी ले सकती है, जबकि उसके लिये इसमें से कुछ लाभ निकले। आज तो देहातों की हालत यह है कि न तो वे इसको समझते हैं और न उन्हें कुछ लाभ है। इसलिये मैं सबसे पहले अधिक से अधिक जोर इस बात पर दूंगा कि आप रूरल इण्डस्ट्रियलाइजेशन की बात को मोचें और उसके लिये आप फ़ौरन एक बोर्ड कायम करें।

इसके बाद यह है कि हर वक्त यह कहा जाता है कि हमारी खेती पर प्रेशर बहुत है। बात सच है, परन्तु खेती पर हमारी आबादी का ही प्रेशर नहीं है, हमारी खेती पर पशुओं का भी प्रेशर है। फार्मिंग एनिमल्स का हमारी खेती पर कितना प्रेशर है? यही नहीं कि सिर्फ ४० करोड़ लोगों का पेट खेती भरती है, हमारे यहां फार्मिंग एनिमल्स की तादाद भी ३० करोड़ ६० लाख है और इन ३० करोड़ ६० लाख पशुओं में से बहुत कम ऐसे हैं जो कि अपना खर्चा अपनी मेहनत से पैदा कर सकते हैं

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : ३० करोड़ देवता भी है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : सरप्लस एनिमल्स की—जो किनिकम्मे हैं—भी तादाद

बहुत है और उनको हमारे किसान पातते हैं, उन्हें उनका पेट भरना पड़ता है। तो खेती करने वालों को सिर्फ मनुष्यों का ही पेट नहीं भरना पड़ता, बल्कि ३० करोड़ ६० लाख जानवर हैं, पशु हैं, गाय हैं, बैल हैं, इनका भी पेट भरना पड़ता है। हमारी गाय कैसी हैं? ऐसी हैं जो कि आध सेर या एक सेर दूध बड़ी मुश्किल से देती हैं, जिसमें इन गायों का खर्चा तक नहीं निकल सकता है। गाय अपना खर्चा निकाल नहीं सकती हैं। बैलों के लिये गायों की जरूरत है और दूध के लिये हमें गायों के अलावा भैंस पालनी पड़ती हैं, यानी दोनों का बोझा उठाना पड़ता है, बैलों के लिये गायों का और दूध के लिये भैंसों का। फिर आज बैलों को क्या हालत है? क्या बैल खुद के पैरों पर खड़े रह सकते हैं? दिन ब दिन खेती में मशीनें चल रही हैं और चलने वाली हैं। किसान कई खाली महीने बैलों से ट्रांसपोर्ट का काम—यहां से वहां चीजों को ले जाने का काम—लेता था और सौ, पचास रुपया हर महीने पैदा कर लेता था, जब कभी दो, चार सौ रुपया पैदा कर लेता था। अब बैलों का वह काम नहीं रहा है। गांव गांव में ट्रक्स पहुंच गये हैं, खेती के लिए मशीनें चल गई हैं। अब बैलों का क्या किया जाय? कहा जाता है कि साइंस बढ़ेगी, विज्ञान बढ़ेगा और बैलों का कोई काम नहीं रहेगा, गायों का कोई काम नहीं रहेगा। तो इस देश के सामने सवाल है कि इन करोड़ों जानवरों का १० या १५ वर्ष के बाद क्या होने वाला है? तो इसको भी आप सोचिये। मेरी प्लानिंग कमिशन से यह प्रार्थना है कि इस बोझ को—जोकि किसान के सिर पर एक बहुत जबरदस्त बोझ है—इसको हटाने की, कम करने की, वह कोशिश करे। किस तरह से करे यह तो वह सोचे, एक्सपर्ट्स सोचें परन्तु किसान के सिर से यह जो एक बहुत बड़ा बोझ है, उसे कम करना चाहिये। इसकी बहुत बड़ी जरूरत है।

बार बार अनएम्प्लायमेंट की बात कही जाती है। मेरे भाई श्री संतानम् ने कहा कि यह काम ग्राम-पंचायतों को, म्युनिसिपैलिटियों को सौंपा जाय। मैं भी चाहता हूं कि इसकी जिम्मेदारी ग्राम-पंचायतों, म्युनिसिपैलिटियों के ऊपर छोड़ी जाय, परन्तु ग्राम-पंचायतें अपने गांव के, अपने शहर के बेकार लोगों को काम कैसे और कहां से दे सकती है? उन के पास कुछ काम देने का जरिया भी तो होना चाहिये, उनके हाथ में कुछ धंधे, रोजगार और पूंजी भी तो होनी चाहिये और यदि ग्राम पंचायतें और वहां की कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियां कुछ उद्योग शुरू करती हैं, धंधा शुरू करती हैं, तो उनको यह भी अख्तियार होना चाहिये कि बाहर से कौन सी चीज वह अन्दर जाने दें और अन्दर से कौन सी चीज वह बाहर जाने दें। यानी जहां तक जिले का, गांव का, म्युनिसिपैलिटी का या शहर का सम्बन्ध है, वहां तक इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट का अधिकार ग्राम-पंचायतों को और जिला कौंसिलों को देना चाहिये। तभी वे अपने गांव के अनएम्प्लायड लोगों को काम दे सकेंगी, नहीं तो वे लोगों को काम दें, चीजें पैदा करें और वह कम्पटीशन में चिते नहीं तो फिर बिचारी ग्राम-पंचायतों और म्युनिसिपैलिटियों का दिवाला निकल जायेगा। इसलिये जब तक इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट का अधिकार ग्राम-पंचायतों को, म्युनिसिपैलिटियों को या जिला कौंसिलों को नहीं देगे तब तक यह अनएम्प्लायमेंट का सवाल ग्राम-पंचायतें और म्युनिसिपैलिटियां तय नहीं कर सकेंगी। अनएम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ रहा है। फ्रस्ट प्लान में बढ़ा, सेकेंड प्लान में बढ़ा और थर्ड प्लान में भी बढ़ेगा, फिर भी आप कहते हैं कि डवलपमेंट हो रहा है।

इस के बाद यह है कि तमाम बातें जोकि हम यहां सोच रहे हैं, वह मैटीरियल बेनिफिट को ही बातें होंती हैं। हमारी एवरेज परकैप्टा इनकम बढ़ी है, परन्तु एवरेज कंसेक्टर का क्या हुआ, यह ईश्वर ही जाने।

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

में कहना चाहूंगा कि आप हमारे सर्वसाधारण मनुष्य की मनःस्थिति देखें :—

"During the last twelve years we have seen a situation growing where, having secured freedom from imperialism and feudalism, we are gradually succumbing to group and sectarian considerations and motivations. The result has been a growing moral crisis where the individual is losing his moorings and initiative. The worst feature is the loss of awareness on the part of many of us about the social and economic privations of vast sections of our people. No decent individual or organisation or community can remain unaffected by such sufferings and hardships."

आप हजारों करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं लेकिन आप देखें तो सही कि उस से

मारा हिन्दुस्तान का आदमी किस प्रकार से कहां तक सुधरा है, कहां तक उस में देशप्रेम पैदा हुआ है, कहां तक बन्धु-भाव, बन्धुप्रेम पैदा हुआ है, कहां तक वह, जोकि गरीब हैं, जोकि दुखी है, जोकि आफत में है उन की मदद करने के लिये तैयार है ? हम रोजाना सोशलिज्म की बातें करते हैं लेकिन कितने आदमी इस देश के सोशलिज्म समझते हैं और उन के जीवन में कहां तक सोशलिज्म पहुंचा है ? आगे, एक जगह कहा गया है कि . . .

2 P.M.

"The ethical content of socialism must be reflected in the lives of the individual citizens of India . . ."

हम अपने दिलों को टटोलें कि यह कहां तक सच है । सिर्फ हम जबान से ही सोशलिज्म की बातें करते हैं या वह हमारे जीवन में उतरा भी है ?

"... and in the whole network of relationships and institutions which constitute the social order"

तो मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि जो हमारा मकसद है, उस मकसद को हम स्वयं अपने

जीवन में उतारने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे और उस सम्बन्ध में प्लान बनाने वाले कोई तजवीज नहीं करेंगे—मनुष्य ही तो सब का आधार है और यदि मनुष्य ही के दिल व दिमाग मजबूत नहीं होंगे और अपने आबजक्टिव्ह्स में विश्वास नहीं करते होंगे—तो कहिये, किस तरह से हम आगे चल सकते हैं ?

(Time bell rings.)

कल मेरे भाई जसवन्तसिंह बोल रहे थे । वे राजस्थान के हैं, दरबारों में रहे हैं, महफिलों में बैठे हैं । वे शराब को कभी नहीं भूलते । कल वे कहने लगे कि साहब, प्लानिंग कमिशन कहता है कि यह शराब-बंदी होनी चाहिये ; यह तो बड़ा जुल्म है, इस से नुकसान होगा, इस से सरकार को पैसा नहीं मिलेगा । मैं पूछना चाहूंगा : क्या ऐसी बहुत सी देशहित की बातें नहीं हैं जिन से पैसे का नुकसान होता है ? क्या पैसे की खातिर आप बुरी चीजों का व्यापार करेंगे ? बुरी चीजें देहातों में फैलायेंगे ? और फिर मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह बात भी गलत है कि प्रोहिबिशन से आर्थिक नुकसान होता है । आप मेरे साथ चलिए महाराष्ट्र राज्य में । मैं आपको वहां दिखला सकता हूं कि जितना हमने खोया उसका दूना आज हम पैदा कर रहे हैं । आज आम लोगों को फायदा ही हुआ है बम्बई राज्य में, महाराष्ट्र में, गुजरात में । परन्तु लोगों के फायदे के साथ, मुनाफे के साथ साथ, सरकार का भी मुनाफा है, यानी, उन्होंने जितना घाटा प्रोहिबिशन की वजह से दिया या करना पड़ा उससे ज्यादा आज उनकी कमायी हो रही है, क्योंकि लोगों की हालत सुधर जाने के कारण, पैदाइश बढ़ जाने के कारण टैक्सेज और अन्य जरूरतों से जितना घाटा दिया उससे दूनी उसकी इनकम हो गई (Time bell rings.) मेरी घंटी बज गई हालांकि एक दो मिनट मैं और चाहता था ।

आखिरी बात स्लम्स के बारे में और कह दूं। कहा जाता है कि शहरों में स्लम्स बढ़ रहे हैं। एक स्वाभाविक ही है कि जब गांवों में लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा, उद्योग नहीं मिलेगा तो गांव वाले सब शहरों की तरफ ही तो दौड़ेंगे। आज गांवों में कोई पढ़ा लिखा रहने के लिये तैयार नहीं, सब पढ़े लिखे शहरों की तरफ दौड़ते हैं। डाक्टर गांवों में जाने के लिये तैयार नहीं, शिक्षक गांवों में रहने के लिये तैयार नहीं, सब जितने हैं बेरोजगार, गरीब और पढ़े लिखे, वे शहरों को जाते हैं। और, शहरों की तादाद और आबादी आप सीमित नहीं करते। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि प्लानिंग कमिशन से कि यही हाल रहा तो स्लम्स बढ़ते रहेंगे। जैसा कि गणित के उदाहरण में कहा जाता है कि एक तरफ से पानी आता है और दूसरी तरफ से वह बाहर फैलता है, उसी तरह से एक तरफ आप स्लम्स को कम करने की कोशिश करेंगे और दूसरी तरफ से स्लम्स बढ़ते जायेंगे। साथ साथ, यह न समझिये कि गांवों में स्लम्स नहीं हैं। ये जो बैकवर्ड क्लासेज हैं, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स हैं, इनका नाम दिया है हमारे कम्यूनिटी प्राजेक्ट के मिनिस्टर ने, 'रूरल स्लम्स'। तो शहर के स्लम्स और गांवों के स्लम्स दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ रहे हैं। इसके कारणों में जाइये कि ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है। सिर्फ इतने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि स्लम्स को किस तरह से सुधारा जा सकता है। स्लम्स न बढ़ने देने के लिये—

Prevention is better than cure.

SHRI T. SRINIVASAN (Madras): Madam, it is with great pleasure that I rise to second the motion that we approve the Third Five Year Plan proposed two days ago by the Minister of Planning. It is very strange that today a concept like planning should have raised such an amount of controversy in our country. I can understand the people who want India to go the way of revolution opposing this idea of planning. But I cannot under-

stand the man who taught us almost elementary patriotism today attacking the idea of planning. If we do not plan, there will be absolutely no other means by which our country can be lifted out of the rut into which we are rapidly sinking, with our population increasing on the one hand and with all our natural resources exploited for several centuries of British rule. India at the time of attaining her independence was very nearly at the bottom as regards her *per capita* income among the nations of the world. It would have been criminal neglect to adopt the policy of *laissez-faire* and allowed our country to go down the drain. It required all the imagination and courage on the part of the leaders to have put through these two Five Year Plans and today conceived a much bigger Plan under which our country will see at least, as they say, the take-off stage in the way of modern industrialisation.

Besides, we are trying to steer clear of extremes. For example, you cannot say that our Plan is full-blooded socialism. It is not capitalism either. If you say that it is socialist, it is not so. It has been found that in America the Government dominates about 20 per cent. of the industrial field. In India our Government does not dominate even 10 per cent. of it. On the other hand, if it is from the point of equality of distribution or any of those aims for which a welfare State stands, at any rate, our ideas and our ambitions are very high.

Madam, we have got a Plan and every one of us who are Indians must get behind our Government and see that this Plan is carried through as well as and even better from the experience which we have gained from the past two Plans. But having said that, it does not mean that there is no room for amending the Plan. In fact, the paramount duty of the citizen today in India is not to make this a partisan issue, but all of us should get together and contribute our ideas so that this Plan can really be the best

[Shri T. Srinivasan.]

that our country can think of or put through. For example, the first object of planning in England was to cure regional disparities and to help, as they put it, the backward areas. In India there is very much to be done in that direction. For example, a person coming from a southern State like myself, where industrialisation has not progressed very far but possibilities and potentialities of industrialisation are quite abundant, we have been thinking of a steel mill somewhere about Salem. We have been dreaming of harbours along the southern coast of India. And remember that South India is not new to either of these two ventures. Probably steel was smelted in the South some two thousand years ago, and ships were plying between South India and Africa about four or five thousand years ago. We must in the interest of proper planning plane off the irregularities and disparities in the undeveloped areas which are still so abundant in the country.

Secondly, on the agricultural front we must improve. About 50 per cent. of our people live on agriculture, and agriculture contributes about 38 per cent. of the national income. Our Second Plan was defective in the sense that it did not provide enough for agricultural development. And we paid very dearly for that. I am glad that the Third Plan has tried to rectify this lopsidedness. But it is not of the investment of the Government that I am thinking. I am thinking of the possibilities of investment by the private farmer. Certain gestures, certain actions, certain measures undertaken by the Government here and there are such as will discourage the peasant, the real owner of the soil from investing in the land.

It is all very well to talk about the cultivator and about the feudal system. The feudal system in our country died a hard death several years ago. What exists is, many of us,

higher and lower middle-class men, have invested our savings on the land, our life's savings, and now we find that a man who has land cannot go and cultivate it, a man who has a house cannot go and live or sell it. We see such ideological legislation and such ideological measures. You are talking about the ceiling on land. The ceilings may be progressively brought down and even the floor might be in danger. First of all, let us remember that this country consists of millions of peasants. In my State of Madras, for example, there are 4 million owners of some plot of land, whatever may be the size of it. In this country, to talk about a ceiling, to talk about co-operative farming, we all know the implied idea of what co-operative farming means. It means collective farming, and collective farming means communisation. Let us first of all make sure of the wall before we begin to paint on it.

Thirdly, I would like to say a word about the administrative side. We have heard today from the grandfather of Indian planning about administrative efficiency. I am not thinking in terms of administrative efficiency. We live in the age of the managerial revolution. Our Government must think in terms of new methods of recruitment, new areas of recruitment, new methods of training for managers of industry and our managers would take the place of entrepreneurs in America or Europe. It is not the civil service that today plays the most important role. The most important role today is played not even by the foreman but by the Manager who has to be a man of imagination, of sympathy and of broad experience of the world. Mere administrative efficiency is only, as say, red-tapism. For the constructive task of today, it is not half adequate.

One last word and I shall have done. For family planning, the Third Plan has stepped up the expenditure by 8 times. From three crores it will be now twenty-five crores. It is not



as if the Second Plan has been a shining success in that regard. What I say is, they are going to do propaganda for one method of family planning, for drugs, for contraceptives and for operations. Some of these are untried methods. We are sailing on uncharted seas. What the racial effects of such methods will be, we do not know. Further, there is no need for desperate hurry. The upsurge in the population is a temporary phenomenon as happened in Europe in the 19th century. When people do not appreciate the need for good housing, good education, good clothing and other amenities, they go on increasing or breeding but when they begin to build up their standard of life, the rate of the increase of population will, by itself, go down. In the meantime, please look about and see what happens to the men who go in for this family planning. In spite of all the propaganda that has been done, the middle-classes, the upper middle-classes, if not the lower middle-classes, I mean to say, these people alone, are planning their families. Those men whose qualities are valuable for the society—prudence, foresight etc.—it is those men that are planning to die out. On the other hand, if I may say so with respect, the C3 class of the population has a tendency to increase. On the whole, marriage is a status and it means self-control. In this country, we all have been thinking of family in terms of an Ashrama which is regulated by Dharma. The old Grihya Sutra, which is perhaps 4,000 years old, says, *Dharma-Prajabhivridhi*; that is the object of marriage. In our eagerness to industrialise this country and to multiply its wealth, let us not undermine these moral standards.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA (West Bengal): Madam, Vice-Chairman, I welcome the Plan and as has been explained very ably today by hon. Shri V. T. Krishnamchhari, the size of the Plan has been occasioned by sheer

necessity. We must improve the conditions of our people rapidly as it is almost at the bottom. I think the *per capita* income of the Indian is the lowest perhaps in the whole world barring one or two backward countries. Therefore, the size of the Plan has been and should be so and it is up to us to see that the Plan succeeds and succeeds well.

A number of assumptions have been taken for the success of the Plan and some of them are political stability, holding of the price line . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Have we the quorum, because we are talking about the Plan? What kind of enthusiasm has been roused in the Treasury Benches by the Plan?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI): This is lunch hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is past. Anyhow, you ring the bell. Let us create enthusiasm by ringing the bell if not by the Plan at least on the Treasury Benches. Let it be recorded.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA: . . . Public sector giving certain amount of profit, export of Rs. 740 crores worth of goods per year etc. Political stability is being undermined by different forces in almost all the States, by casteism, provincialism and all kinds of isms and they are creating difficulties. I do hope that steps will be taken to stop this kind of disintegration and factionalism.

So far as the holding of price-line is concerned, steps have been suggested and I do hope that effective steps will be taken to see that the price is held at a proper level. So far as exports are concerned, I feel that so far as the traditional items of export are concerned, I do not see any bright future for increase. The prices of almost all the commodities are much higher than what other persons are prepared to pay. Take jute. In 1955 the exports from India were to the extent of 94.1 per cent. whereas Pakistan used to

[Shri P. D. Himatsingka.]

export 5.9 per cent. Gradually from 1955 to 1960, the proportion has gone on decreasing from 94 per cent. to 81 per cent. of exports whereas the exports from Pakistan have increased from 5 per cent. to 18 per cent. Whereas they have only 8,000 looms working three shifts, India has 60,000 looms and Pakistan proposes to add another 4,000 looms this year and working on the basis of 3 shifts, it will be equal to 12,000 looms. That is, Pakistan will have 26,000 looms as against 60,000 of India. You can well imagine the competition that will be put up by Pakistan and though the export in the world, as mentioned in the Plan itself, has doubled, our exports have remained stationary. Therefore, unless proper steps are taken to increase the exports of new items like machinery, boilers, engines, sewing machines, the products of our new steel mills, etc., I do not think we shall be able to reach the goal that has been set in the Plan so far as export items are concerned.

Again proper steps are not taken at proper times. Some time ago the prices of jute goods were rising and steps were taken by the Government to stop the increase. I do not know why it was done because that would have brought additional foreign exchange from foreign countries. This August the prices have gone down by 20 per cent. and still no steps are being taken by the authorities to stop this decline. In one month the price of jute goods has fallen by 20 per cent. and still no action has been taken. I would like to invite the attention of the Ministry of Commerce to this matter so that they may look into it and take certain steps so that this downward trend of the prices of jute goods may be arrested and the prices may be stabilised and the country may not lose valuable foreign exchange. We have been talking of increasing the production of jute and of jute goods. But if the trend that has been going on is not arrested, it may be that

gradually we will lose our foreign markets and there will be no occasion to increase our jute production or our jute goods. We must take steps to see that the price of jute goods is so arranged that we can stand competition with Pakistan and we are in a position to supply more and more of such goods to various countries.

Another point to which I want to invite the attention of the Government relates to the export of certain commodities to the Eastern countries, on what is called the rupee basis or the barter basis. I had occasion to go to some of these countries recently and I found that some of the articles that we export to those countries are re-exported to markets where our goods have been going. Therefore, our country has not been benefited in any way by exporting our goods to such countries which do not consume those goods, but which re-export them at lower prices. This they can do because they make a profit on the goods that they send to India. Therefore, it is up to the Government to examine whether this barter arrangement with these countries and the exports that we have been making to some of these Eastern countries are in any way beneficial to our country and whether or not our goods should be sent to them in this manner.

AN HON. MEMBER: You mean the Eastern countries of Europe or Asia?

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA: I am talking of the Eastern countries of Europe. We have to see whether these exports are in any way helping us to increase our earnings of foreign exchange and they are beneficial to the country. This matter should be looked into immediately and some steps taken to remedy the defects, if what I have heard and what I learn is found to be correct.

So far as the other articles of export are concerned, I am afraid the price of practically each of these commodities is so high that we are losing ground in competition with other countries. That is the case with textiles, oilseeds and tea. Tea is meeting with more and more competition from East Africa, Ceylon and other countries. Therefore, certain steps have to be taken by the Government for reducing the export duty or some other steps should be immediately taken so that our exports may increase and we may get more foreign exchange by increasing the volume of our exports in all these commodities.

As was very rightly pointed out by the hon. Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, there is no competition, no dispute or difference between the public sector and the private sector. Both are complementary to each other and they are helping us in taking the country forward in the matter of producing the goods that the country needs. Some of the plants and some of the industries which have been set up in the public sector perhaps could not have been set up by the private sector on account of the very large amount of money investment required and on account of the size of those plants. But the only thing that can be done is that if something could be set up by the private sector, there should be no rigidity or no prohibition on any principle that they should not be allowed to set it up. You know, Sir, fertilizer production plant was kept for some time as something to be exclusively set up by the public sector. But experience showed that that was not necessary or desirable and that private parties, if they are interested in setting up those factories, should be allowed to do so. As a matter of fact, on account of the Government granting licences to a number of industrialists a number of fertilizer plants are going to be set up in different parts of the country. This will help in the greater produc-

tion of foodgrains and higher yield from agriculture.

Agriculture is one of the most important items for increasing our national income and all possible steps should be taken and all efforts should be encouraged which will help to increase agricultural produce. Fertilizers form one of the important items and these are absolutely necessary to increase agricultural produce. Similarly, arrangements for irrigation should be made available. The facilities for irrigation that are there are not taken advantage of in some places on account of the propaganda by certain parties and on account of other difficulties that stand in the way. Therefore, steps should be taken in this direction and people should be invited to take more and more advantage of the irrigation facilities that are available to them so that they may increase the per acre productivity of the land.

Similarly, people should also be told to conserve and preserve cow dung and other manures that are available. They are also absolutely necessary in order to supplement the other fertilizers. Rather cow dung is one of the most important items of manure which the country produces and which, for want of facilities of fuel in the villages and other places, is being burnt and wasted. Steps should be taken to see that this manure is preserved and made available to the cultivator. He may be using this valuable manure as fuel for want of other fuel and, therefore, arrangement should be made to supply him with the necessary fuel so that this manure may be preserved and utilised for the purpose of increasing agricultural production.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA (Nominated): Madam Chairman— or rather Vice-Chairman I should say—this is the second or the final reading of the Third Five Year Plan. We discussed it once generally and then in the committees we discussed

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena.]

the Plan. I also had the privilege of serving on two committees and of submitting notes on different aspects of the Plan, its size, resources, approaches, aims and objectives etc. It has been said that there has been so much of consultations. But still the question remains: What is the result of all this consultation? Is it not a fact that certain views had already been formed and we had to adjust according to those views? The size of the Plan was to be so much and, therefore, we should have so much resources. But the whole point that has to be considered is, what has been the result of the working of the previous two Plans? We have to be guided by our experience of the two previous Plans. Therefore, in the short time at my disposal, I do not propose to deal with particular aspects of the Plan, pose I shall make some general observations and put some basic questions. It has been said that the Third Plan is based on the previous two plans. Planning has to be a continuing process and so the Third Plan has to be based on the other two. I take a different view. I think we started with certain objectives. We had two plans. I think we started with some objectives. We have now reached a stage when we have to examine whether we have been able to achieve our objectives. One of the objectives on which the greater stress was laid was that the national income should be doubled, but if there is no guarantee that the national income is going to be divided equally among the members of the community, what is the use whether it is doubled or trebled? It is just like taking an average of ants and elephants but you find, Madam, that the number of elephants, particularly of white elephants is on the increase, the number of millionaires has increased. What is the good then? The poor become poorer and there are at least 12 million persons without employment, or at least will be without em-

ployment. What is the remedy for this? What is your solution for this?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Vice-Chairman, the lunch hour is over. Will you kindly take the count and see whether the quorum is there? If it is not there, the bell should be rung so that the country knows that those who lecture to us about enthusiasm are not present.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): May I point out that the benches behind the hon. Member are also empty?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not get eloquent about enthusiasm. We have not been enthused about it. I sit here not because of my enthusiasm, but the hon. Members who lecture about enthusiasm should be here. Where have they retired? To which Community Project have they gone? Ring the bell and have it recorded.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: It is the duty of hon. Members on this side as well as on that side.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The country should know. We should not bluff the country.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: May I continue in the meantime?

SHRI AKHTAR HUSAIN (Uttar Pradesh): May I know whether the hon. Members of his Party are also present here? What arrangements has he made to secure their presence here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not claim to be very much enthused about it but even so I am present despite lack of enthusiasm or dampened enthusiasm but you are supposed to be very enthusiastic. It is the Magna Carta of human emancipation that you have brought before us and you should be present.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI): The quorum is here now. We can proceed now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You ring the bell. That is enough.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I was pointing out that this objective of increasing national income by a certain percentage, doubling it or trebling it, has no meaning unless its equal distribution is assured. An enquiry Committee has been set up to enquire as to where this income has gone. But, is it necessary for us to make such an enquiry? Mahatma Gandhi told us that any plan which takes into account only the natural resources and not the human element is lopsided, and whatever else may happen, it can never bring about equality. Unfortunately, though we have got the photographs of Mahatma Gandhi hanging in the Committee Rooms and also in the rooms of some of the Members of the Planning Commission, these things happen. I do not know how they can reconcile themselves to taking such a direction which has taken us step by step away from the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. We are moving in the opposite direction. We want the country to be industrialised but what good will it do if by having big machines and all that the number of unemployed is increasing? There was a large number of unemployed at the end of the First Plan; the same was the case at the end of the Second Plan; you had visualised that the number of unemployed would be about 5.4 million or 6 million but now it is about 9 million. In addition to this back-log, you have envisaged that at the end of the Third Plan you will not be able to provide employment for three million more people.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA: We are producing more people.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: It is all right but then my charge against Government and against ourselves is that we have not been doing anything for employment. I had submitted a scheme to Government for providing employment in the villages in 1954. Last year I was invited to a Committee where the question of utilising manpower was considered and I was surprised to learn that the member in charge of employment had not even read it. I was asked as to whether I was prepared to work that scheme and I said that I would be prepared to do my bit. One year has passed and I have not heard anything more about it. It was a very simple scheme. These service co-operatives that you are envisaging for the villages will not benefit all persons; they will benefit only those persons who have got land and if you have ceiling on land, even then the purpose will be defeated by having land in the name of one's own relations and this problem of landless labour will continue. My suggestion was that for every village or group of villages there should be a co-operative society whose members would be those who contribute one day's labour per week and the co-operative society would guarantee each worker at least work for five days in the week. I gave a detailed scheme plan and the total cost would not amount to more than Rs. 2,500 by way of grants and Rs. 3,000 by way of loan. Somebody, I think my friend here, was saying that the yield per acre should be increased. How can that be done? You are giving them better seeds, better fertilisers, irrigation facilities and all that and yet the yield per acre has not gone up, on the other hand, it is going down. But why? I have asked this question many times but I have not received any satisfactory answer. My answer is that land is not getting the amount of labour that is needed. Formerly, if I had a piece of land and if I could not put in sufficient amount of labour, then I would ask somebody, some neighbour of mine,

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena.]

to come and work with me and I would pay him some share of the produce. Nowadays, in view of the cash economy, if I have not got sufficient labour in my family, I have to pay cash and nobody is prepared to invest in a gamble for agriculture still remains a gamble. There may be floods or there may be drought. That is why I had suggested that these co-operatives should undertake the supply of labour and share the produce. I do not want to go into the scheme but it has been there before them for quite a long time. Under such a scheme, you can guarantee employment for five days in a week and such a scheme was worth being given a trial. Some pilot project should have been started. This was submitted in 1954 and we are now in 1961 and nothing has been done about it. You have got another plan for them and you are providing them Rs. 150 crores but what is the nature of the scheme? You have not gone into those things. You sit here and you think that things would go all right and you want people to be enthused about it. You want to call it the peoples' Plan, a National Plan and you think that these words would enthuse our people. You cannot call a plan a family plan when some members of the family cannot get employment, when they are condemned to prolonged unemployment or under-employment. It was said that the First Plan was a challenge, the Second Plan was a challenge, but the greatest challenge to the administrators and to the planners is to give everyone, who is prepared to work and who wants to work, enough work to enable him to make the two ends meet. But we are told we are not in a position to give him work. If you can have some such scheme in some restricted areas, that would be something but as I said, step by step we are being taken away from the ideals which Gandhiji had placed before us. Gandhiji had told us that this Western idea of standard of living would only be mul-

tiplying our wants. He said, 'Whatever they may be, for India I can only recommend one course, and it is plain living and high thinking'. If India sets her heart after the Golden Fleece then it is going to be certain death. We are running after the Golden Fleece by way of industrialisation and all that it connotes and we are courting our own ruin. I ask myself the question: 'Where are we going?'. Sometimes we are told that if Gandhiji had been alive these days he would have changed his views. I do not know about that but I know this that a politician always thinks of the next election, a statesman thinks of the next generation, an educationist thinks of the third generation as well but a seer and philosopher, who is much more ahead of a politician or a statesman or an educationist, thinks of generations, and I think Gandhiji was one of those men who come once in thousand years. I submit if he could not visualise what would happen after thirteen years, why do we honour, even worship him? Why should we honour him if he could not see what would happen in India a few years after his death? We have gone away from him. We have been told repeatedly by the Prime Minister that we are engaged in building a national edifice but can an edifice be national and durable if the bricks are not properly moulded and strong? What has happened to the people during the last thirteen years? Has not corruption increased in every section of the country?

I would conclude by repeating what an esteemed friend wrote to me about twelve years ago and I think that is very much applicable even now.

"Personally I care very little for what happens to me; but I do care a great deal for what I have stood for, what I have stood for throughout my life. I have repeatedly failed and made a mess of things; but I hope I have not forgotten the

major ideals which Gandhiji taught us. As I see things happening in India in the Constituent Assembly, in the Congress, among young men, which take us away step by step from these ideals, unhappiness seizes me. Gandhiji's face comes up before me, gentle but reproachful. His words ring in my ears. Sometimes, I read his writings and how he asked us to stick to this or that to the death whatever others said or did. And yet these very things we were asked to stick to slip away from our grasp. Is that to be the end of our lives' labour?"

That is the question I would like to ask everyone of us.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): Who wrote it? Jawaharlal Nehru?

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I would like you to form your own opinion without knowing the name of the author.

I do not know what is the working of the mind of the members of the Planning Commission or particularly its Chairman but I can say without fear of contradiction that the mind of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, worked in the same way as stated in what I have read out just now. (*Time bell rings.*) So this was before the Plans were introduced.

SHRI SATYACHARAN (Uttar Pradesh): I must confess that we, Members of Parliament, are in dark as to the precise points of deviation in the third Five Year Plan from the concept of Mahatma Gandhi's planning.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI-MATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI): Mr. Gopikrishna Vijai-vargiya.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Madam, you want to allow that darkness to remain?

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, I stand to give my wholehearted support to the Third Five Year Plan which is before us. I also want to add that I have my dissatisfaction and doubts about the Plan and I am not a complete yes-man for the Plan. I will now express some of my doubts.

A Plan of the order of Rs. 7,500 crores in the public sector and Rs. 4,100 crores in the private sector, totalling in all to Rs. 11,600 crores, is before us. Looking at the pros and cons of the Plan, on the whole we find that it is good for the country which is progressing towards prosperity through our democratic planning. The scheme of financial outlays and resources is good and I find nothing to criticise there. I am not concerned about the size or the strategy of the Plan but I want to say that I am concerned about its implementation. The administrative machinery is not beyond corruption and there is much slackness and irresponsibility at certain levels in our Services. Now, the Plan has got to be implemented mostly by Government servants. People's co-operation is mostly advisory. The main executors of the Plan are the officers and employees of the Government. Sir, I have pleaded many a time that the Chapter on Services in the Constitution should be properly amended. The disciplinary rules regarding the Services should also be changed properly so as to eradicate this slackness, corruption and irresponsibility in our administration. Probably no attention has been paid to that. About implementation Shri Nandaji said in the other House that the Government had adopted many measures for improving the administration and that they now expected that the Government machinery would work better. Let us expect and hope so. Of course, we must be optimistic and so let us hope that in the Third Plan our administrative machinery will do better. Here not only the Government servants but even the politicians are not doing their duty

[Shri Gopikrishna Vijaiyargiya.]

properly as they ought to do. Therefore sometimes I think that absolute power cannot be given to any one section of the people and the Constitution embodies a good balance of powers that is fair for our country. Like our Services and politicians, our traders and businessmen are also not blameless. Some of them are evading taxes, bribing officers, adulterating food-stuffs and so on. That means that the level of the country has got to be raised as a whole so that we may achieve some good results from this Third Five Year Plan.

Now, one feature causing some anxiety is the problem of unemployment. The back-log at the end of the second Plan was about 8 million and there will be new entrants to the tune of about 15 millions. It comes to a total of 23 millions and we are providing for only 14 millions. That means 9 million unemployed will still remain. That is a big figure and that causes some distress in our mind. Of course, we do realise that the Government is industrialising the country and that will give new employment opportunities. The Government has also provided for irrigation schemes, block development schemes, small industries, rural electrification and all that. And besides this a sum of Rs. 150 crores is provided for opening new works in the rural area. All this is being done by the Government and I feel that we cannot lay all the blame at the doors of the Government. After all, our population is also increasing and the problem of unemployment can be solved in full only at the end of a number of Plans. Then only we could give full employment to all our people. Till then we shall have to wait and make some effort in the direction of removing unemployment.

Sometimes political parties in our country also create difficulties by creating general strikes in the country. The Government, in fact, is doing all that is humanly possible, is doing its best to remove unemployment. But

there are many reasons why difficulties arise.

Now, another feature which is of great concern to all of us is the price policy. Probably everybody has spoken about this. Our entire Plan will be upset if our price policy is not all right. In the chapter on price policy in this Plan they have shown how they are going to do it. Deficit financing has been reduced very much and the Government, of course, depends upon more production which will come during the Third Five Year Plan. They will do everything that is possible to check the rise in prices. Still it is hinted that some rise is inevitable in the process of planning and in the process of growth through which we are passing in our country.

There are many kinds of critics of our Plan. Some friends of Swatantra thinking say that there should be no planning at all, planning is a bad thing and we should have complete *laissez-faire*, and that there should be complete freedom for the industrialists, merchants and traders to grow richer at the cost of the people. To put it briefly, what our Swatantra friends say is that there should be no heavy industries, no State sector, no foreign aid, no regulation of the economy of the country, etc. This is the picture of free enterprise. I entirely differ from that and I know that even the biggest countries have appreciated that there should be planning in the underdeveloped countries. And since the conditions in the underdeveloped countries differ from each other, the method and the strategy of planning in each of the underdeveloped countries is different. Therefore, planning in our country has got its own features and it is developing in its own special way. The world's best economists are appreciating the method of our planning. We should, therefore, be hopeful. In fact, the Swatantra friends are living in a dreamland of their own. I have got with me a press cutting in which the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has said that



the Third Plan is a good Plan. Its size, etc. is all right. Only it should be more inclined towards the private sector. That is what he wanted. That is natural for a businessman to say. You know that the Government has already provided for Rs. 4,100 crores for the private sector. In a plan all allocations have to be balanced and, therefore, this is a proper sum. In fact the private sector people, the businessmen of India, do feel that they have benefited much through our planning.

Another type of critics are the Hindu communalists, the Jana Sangh or Hindu Mahasabha friends. I have been reading their weekly paper, the *Organiser*. I can only say that they have a jaundiced eye and to them everything appears to be ugly and bad coming from the Congress side. Just as there was Sisupal who could see nothing good in Krishna and just as he always abused Krishna, similarly our Jana Sangh have got no good word for the Congress, only bad words for the Congress. They entirely dislike the scheme and sometimes they go on criticising Mr. Nehru personally, in a very undignified way. Anyhow, these friends think that this Third Five Year Plan is an election stunt of the Congress. Anything, for example, the national integration or other things, about which our Prime Minister Nehru speaks is an election stunt. So, their criticism is also similar to Sisupal's thinking. They do not want heavy industries. They do not want an industrial base. They do not want all these because it is an imitation of Western methods. So, their criticism does not deserve our notice.

Now, there are our communist friends. They are also depicting everything coming from the Congress as black and dark. Our comrade, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not do that.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: As you know, he has given a

long list of amendments, he has found about 55 defects in the Plan. They also cannot find any merit in it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There are some beautiful things. The steel mills are there. The heavy industries are there.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: They say that we are taking loans, help from the Western countries or we have trade with the Western countries. They want trade only with the socialist bloc.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no. We want trade with all on an equal treatment.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: I have to say one or two things more. Our Plan is not any doctrinaire or any dogmatic Plan. It is a pragmatic and practical Plan and it is well suited to the conditions of our country.

I come from Madhya Pradesh and, therefore, I have to say a few words about Madhya Pradesh also. I have always pleaded with the Centre that they should give more help to Madhya Pradesh. Our Madhya Pradesh is extremely poor and backward and particularly roads and railways are very much lacking. Of course, there are in Madhya Pradesh a few big factories like the Bhilai steel plant, the Heavy Electrical, etc., but it does not give much employment to the people.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

These things are capital-intensive. More money should be invested and supplied to Madhya Pradesh so as to open up more avenues of employment in this area.

Thank you.

SHRI P. C. SETHI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, planning as it is, is not new to the world. It was under the initiative and guidance of Lenin that Goelro Plan was first started in Russia. It was primarily a plan for the electrification

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of the country, but it was more or less also a plan of the national economy. Later on they formulated their First Five Year Plan in May 1929 and this plan was worked out in four years and three months. As far as we in India are concerned, the idea of planned economy was conceived of as early as in 1938 when the National Planning Committee was constituted. But actually a more organised attempt at planning could be undertaken only when we were independent. It has been rightly said that to change a traditional society into a dynamic one in a country with a vast population rooted in the past by democratic means is a tremendous task, and the entire world is watching us today, watching this thrilling drama of India's future destiny. Therefore, if anybody at this stage doubts the very necessity of having a Plan, let us leave him alone and lose no time in being apologetic to him. Let us address ourselves to those who agree in planned economy but at the same time are very critical of our Plans.

Sir, there is a tendency, to draw a comparative picture of India either with the United States or with the U.S.S.R. without taking into account various factors which count in the matter. For example, first of all the size and the resources of the country have to be taken into account, and from this point of view we see that the Soviet Union occupies a territory almost three times that of the U.S.A. and seven times that of India. Secondly, we have also to take note of the population. In 1947 our population was 36.1 crores, and it is expected to be 57.8 crores by 1976. While the U.S.S.R.'s population was 15.92 crores in 1913, it is 20.8 crores in 1959. In spite of this tremendous growth in the population in India and lesser resources of the country, let us compare some figures which will surely be quite interesting.

Taking the 1913 figures of national income in Soviet Russia, they were

doubled in twenty years. Of course, later on the increase was much faster. In India the target that is before us will be to double our national income by 1967-68. Therefore, this is also approximately twenty years. Now, as far as consumer goods are concerned, in 1913 the cloth that was produced in the Soviet Union was 2600 million metres and by 1956 it was 5500 million metres. As far as we are concerned in 1951 it was 3720 million yards, and in 1966 we hope to reach the figure of 5800 million yards. If we take the other consumer goods, for example, sugar, it was 1 million tons in 1913 in the U.S.S.R., and in 1956 it was 4 million tons. In India it was 1.12 million tons in 1951, and 3.86 million tons we hope to achieve by 1966. Therefore, if we look at this from the consumer goods point of view, we will arrive at the conclusion that we are not lagging behind. I do not say, Sir, that we are doing well in all the sectors. For example, if we see the labour productivity that has increased in the Soviet Union, we will have to realise that our productivity has not increased and enhanced very much. In industry if the labour productivity was 100 in the Soviet Union in 1928, it was 726 in 1956. Similarly in construction, if it was 100 in 1928, it was 485 in 1956. In transport if it was 100 in 1928, it was 452 in 1956. If we look at this from this point of view we will have to come to the conclusion that productivity has definitely increased in the Soviet Union, and we are definitely lagging behind in this context.

Sir, the critics of the Plan seem to be more worried about the private sector and the public sector. Sir, it is the real crux of the problem. According to me, we have to keep in sight certain targets and objectives that we have to achieve, and we have to fix the priorities. In doing so first of all we will have to fix this priority: we have to strictly enforce family planning. Secondly, we should be self-sufficient in food. Thirdly, we should offer full employment to our people. Fourthly, we should be able to give compulsory and free education

to all children between the age group 6 and 14. As has been pointed out by some hon. Members here, we should be able to provide drinking water to all the villages. Then other priorities can be gradually fixed. From this point of view we have to plan. All industries, small and medium scale industries and other things, are only a means to achieve this end, and therefore as long as we do not have all the resources to fulfil these targets, the private sector does come into the picture. Similarly the resources from other foreign countries and their investment also come into the picture. But we have to realise that whatever resources and finances come from private sources and from foreign countries for being invested in industries, industries have to be run according to the labour laws which are framed by the Government. As far as our labour is concerned, it is paid better. Recently the Textile Productivity Team had been to the Soviet Union, and they were there for about 15 or 17 days. They were in Moscow, Leningrad and Ivanoh and visited the textile mills. The textile labour in the Soviet Union is paid about 45 roubles which comes to about Rs. 250 these days, because the rouble has been changed there. If we see the price structure there, it is about four times higher than this country. From this point of view we will see that our labour in the textile mills is getting Rs. 96 including dearness allowance, etc. I quite admit that other facilities are there. For example, housing was costing the Soviet Union labour about 20 per cent. of their wages previously, but now it is costing about 5 per cent. From this point of view we can say that there are more facilities there, from the medical point of view or from the housing point of view, but as far as wages and prices are concerned our labour is also fairly well paid. Therefore, the problem of private sector and public sector should not come as a bogey, and we should realise that whatever money we are getting, we are getting it to finance the Plan and to give more employment for our people. Looked at from this point of view

our Communist friends are most critical, but they should also realise that till 1932 Lenin himself offered so many concessions to the foreign investors and others. Therefore, this is only a transitory period, this is only a transitory phase which is bound to remain till the State is able to find more resources for employment for our people. As I have said, we are really worried when we look at the unemployment prevailing in the country. The back-log of unemployed, as one of our hon. Members just now said, is 9 million people today, and we hope to get about 17 million people more as the working force during the period of the Third Plan. The statistics which are collected in this regard and which are set out in Third Plan are really not very good. The statistics of employment are not correct. The employment resources target envisaged is not correct. It is said that the educated do not go in for construction and other activities. As far as the figures and the existing data relating to unemployment are concerned, they are not correct, and it appears that these figures vary from time to time. It looks as if we would not be able to provide employment to all these persons. So, from my point of view, the most important thing in our planning should be that we should be able to provide employment to the persons who are coming into the labour force.

Then, secondly, the statistics are also not correct from this point of view—whether all those persons who are going to come as the labour force will be able-bodied persons, how many of them will be sadhus, how many of them will be fakirs and how many of them will be ladies and what types of jobs you would be able to provide for them. Although a break-up is given, that break-up also does not show the correct picture. Although they are saying that there will be an increase in employment in the agricultural sector. Now, Sir, as we advance towards the mechanisation of farming, I do not think that there will be more employment in the agricultural sector. The

[Shri P. C. Sethi.]

size of the holding will increase and as mechanisation comes to the field, naturally a time would come when the population which is existing on agriculture will go down. In the economy of the Soviet Union as well as in the economy of the United States of America where there are big farms and where mechanisation has come into being, the population has decreased on the agricultural side and has decreased tremendously. Therefore, if we are going to mechanise our agriculture and if we are going to increase the size of the holding then naturally the population which is existing today on agriculture is bound to go down. Therefore, we will have more people to go over to the industry or to the urban sector. Therefore, the visualisation that more people will get employment in agriculture during the Third Plan period, I think, is not quite correct and we should take serious note of the unemployment situation, and the planners must be able to say that as far as the problem of unemployment in India is concerned, they will be able to solve it, if not by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, at least, surely, by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan. If they are able to do it, then I think that it will be a great success.

Sir, from this point of view, we can say that there are certain things about the Plan which can be criticised, but the overall picture of the Plan is not bad. It should be quite enthusing, and every section of our people ought to support it. But it is really a tragic thing that there are certain people who have made it their business to criticise the Plan and to criticise everything that comes from that side.

With these words, I whole-heartedly endorse the Plan which has been presented to us and we hope that we will be doing still better and that in view of these discussions here and the discussions which are held outside this House, the planners will be more enlightened and the Plan will go well.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I accord my heartiest approval of the Third Five Year Plan which has been laid on the floor of this House. The other day we listened to the observations of the hon. Prime Minister in which he said that planning was the exercise of intelligence. As such, the nation's intelligence and the nation's capacity to think about the problems that confront the country are all reflected in the Plan presented to the country. Viewed in that light, I must say that the Third Five Year Plan presented on the floor of this Parliament does reflect that the people who were associated with it have done very well. The efforts and endeavours that they have put in to bring out such a fine document are more than compensated by earning the gratitude of the nation. I must congratulate them in having gone through all the details with the thoroughness that is needed.

Sir, a lot of critical ink has been split on this subject by various Members of this House. I cannot go into detail and reply to the observations made by them but in general, I must say that after making an assessment of practically everything that has been dealt with in the Third Five Year Plan, we have done very well. It is not because I happen to be a member of the Congress Party that I praise the services of the people associated with the national Plan but in all sincerity, this is my genuine expression, and I believe that it cannot be challenged that every step that we have taken since our independence has accelerated our pace towards prosperity. Take the case of agriculture. I would throw a challenge to anyone to prove that after ten years of the implementation of these Plans, there has been a decrease in it. I will not lag behind anyone in offering my criticism about the shortcomings of the Plan. But I must give credit that is due to the planners. All these commendations and encomiums that they deserve. And it is in this light that I must say that as far as the agricultural question is concerned, it has been

dealt with satisfactorily. People have said that this is a country of villages and that agriculture is our main profession. If we go through some of the items that have been mentioned in the Plan, we see a marked improvement. In the year 1950-51, the figure for foodgrains, that is, *cereals*, pulses, etc., was 52.2 million tons, and it was raised in 1960-61 to 75 million tons. Sugar-cane production was 5.6 million tons in 1950-51 and in 1960-61, the estimated figure is 7.2 million tons. In the same fashion, in regard to cotton and jute and all these things which are connected with agriculture, we have made wonderful progress.

Sir, time does not permit me to take a comparative view; otherwise I would have given figures of several other countries where they have also had their plans, but the pace there has not been so rapid as ours. It is enough to say that the technical strides that we have made during these years, are extremely commendable in the whole of Asia. It is most exhilarating to experience that we have been able to produce supersonic aircraft. Now this fact that we have been able to produce supersonic aircraft is not a mean achievement. This goes to the credit of all those people who were associated with the technical side which functioned under the scheme of this Plan. These are just a few remarks to prove that we have done well and that we should not fight shy, though we are fully conscious of the shortcomings. I would like to draw the attention of the House, especially of the planners, there we have erred and how we have to remedy those things so that our pace may be more accelerated and expedited.

I have a few observations to make in matters of agriculture. I am an agriculturist myself. I own some farms and I know the difficulties with which I am confronted. For success of agriculture there are certain ingredients, which deserve attention especially the seed, manure and water. If these three things could be provided, I do not think that the Indian soil is

barren which will fail to produce the quantity that is needed. Now the difficulty is this. For the seed, you go to the Block Development or the seed store; for irrigational purposes you have to go to the irrigation department—that is a department of engineering. Then as far as the manure is concerned, you have again to go to a third agency. There are a lot of water-tight compartments. Things are divided into so many sections which impede speedy action. So, Sir, I plead for functional co-ordination. Unless there is functional co-ordination, it is very difficult to have the desired effect. That is what I have observed, and I can say so, Sir, from my own experience.

Coming to the other point, i.e., to the method of agriculture, I have something to say about sugarcane. I have seen most of the sugar-producing areas in the West Indies, more so in Trinidad where I have seen with my own eyes ratoon cane crop being harvested for the eighteenth time, i.e., the same cane being harvested continuously for eighteen years since it was planted, and even after that the stature of the cane and the yield of sugar were in no way less than what we have in the first plantation here.

Now these are things to be taken into consideration by the planners of agriculture in this country, because today we are faced with certain problems in matters of production of sugar. Had we not the tariff wall protecting our sugar industry, we would have been inundated with and washed away by Javanese sugar. Also today we are faced with a great crisis in the international market, because Cuba is in a position to supply sugar at practically half of our rate, in the ratio of 4:7.

Sir, these things are to be taken into consideration, because we have to see that our national income rises and our capacity to compete in the international market is also maintained. We have to be careful about the machinery that is to implement this Third Five Year Plan. Unless the machinery is good,

[Shri Satyacharan.]

unless it is capable of implementing the Plan well and efficiently, it will be very difficult for us to get the desired results.

Now I shall quote before you, Sir, some of the observations made by Mr. Sankar, the Deputy Chief Minister of Kerala, the other day at Trivandrum. It was about the social welfare plan of that State. He said that in the First Five Year Plan of the State only about 57 per cent. of the money allotted for the purpose could be spent on the Plan, and the rest went to defray the expenses on the staff. About the Second Five Year Plan he said that it was a very dismal picture, because 75 per cent. of the allotted budget went to defray the expenses again incurred on the staff by way of their pay and allowances, jeeps and so on. This is a very serious matter and I again draw the attention of the House to this disparity. If bulk of the sum allocated goes for a purpose which is non-essential for us, then in that case we cannot have the desired result.

Now, Sir, I come to the export policy of the Government, and as far as that policy is concerned, it needs reorientation, because we need a large sum, about six billion dollars we need to implement our Third Five Year Plan. How to get this money? It is said that export is the life-line of the economy of a nation. Therefore, the present export policy has to be re-oriented so that we may get the desired amount. The difficulty that there again we have to face is the one arising out of Britain, our best foreign exchange earning area, having now entered the European Common Market. The result of this entry of Britain into the European Common Market is that we are going to lose Rs. 50 crores by way of foreign exchange every year, and during the Third Five Year Plan period we would be losing to the tune of Rs. 250 crores worth of foreign exchange. This is a staggering figure. We need 6 billion dollars whereas we are losing so much here.

Sir, the export policy should be modelled in such a fashion that the prices—again I say about the prices—should be moderate and acceptable. I can say something from my own experience and it is an experience which will probably give you an idea of the way we had been trading in foreign lands. The flat which the High Commissioner for India occupied in Trinidad belonged to a Syrian merchant. One day he came and said: Mr. Commissioner, we are very glad, we have received some textile products, some fabrics from your country, and they are selling like hot cakes, because it costs only 18 cents per yard. They compare favourably with the prices offered by other countries. Now, Sir, Japan could have been a serious competitor to India, but Japan was then out of that market, at the time I refer to. The United States of America was in the field, and Britain too, but we did very well. Now it is for the planners especially to take notice of it, that in matters of export policy we have to take into account two factors, the fixing of an attractive price and the constant attempt to see how it could be reduced if it was comparatively high. I come here to the labour policy.

The labour policy should be modelled in such a fashion whereby the prices go down. I give you only one instance, Sir, and it is about automatic looms. Because of the irrational labour policy—I am sorry to use this language—I am afraid, we are going to create great difficulty in the field of the textile industry. It is said, Sir, that the Government have allowed automatic looms to be imported into this country by the textile factory owners subject to their giving an undertaking that on account of their importing them there would be no reduction in the strength of the labour. This is not the way, Sir, to tackle the question of prices and labour in the textile industry. If by reducing labour the prices could be brought down it should be allowed, but then the displaced labour could

have been provided with some other alternative jobs before allowing the import of automatic looms. In that case, probably, the prices of our textiles could have been less and in a more agreeable position, or in a convenient position to compete with the prices in the international market. This is all, Sir, that I could say by way of suggestions in the matter of our export policy in the short time at my disposal.

Now, Sir, I take up the question of simultaneous functioning of private and the public sectors. This is a piece of mixed economy and this is a new thing; this is a new thing in the world. We have a bloc of private sectors represented by the United States of America and the modern nascent nation of West Germany; West Germany has shown that the private sector or the private monopolists there could also excel those who talk of socialism. On the other hand we see an affluent society, whose future is ensured, in Soviet Russia. As comrade Khrushchev said the other day, according to the 20-year programme that he has envisaged, the society would be not only an affluent one but that it would be free from all worries of food, shelter and even recreation. Now these are the two sectors. We are somewhere in the middle. Therefore, the emphasis lies on the adjustment of these two sectors, and if they are happily adjusted, then only we can prosper in our economic field, and we can show a new way to the other countries.

Here are some of the difficulties that we are feeling. The difficulties of course arise in the matters of wages being linked to the prices. The labour policy should effect downward tendency in prices as a result of its rational link with wages.

Before I conclude I would again like to pay tributes to the planners. While doing so, I have also shown the other side to them, the darker side, which needs their care and serious attention.

## SITUATION IN PUNJAB

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): With your permission, Sir, I only rise to formally initiate the discussion. Our colleague, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, will be explaining the position of the party in this matter. But I would like to say only one or two things before I sit down.

Sir, we are all anxious about the gravity of the situation and the developments that are taking place. In a matter of few hours the Prime Minister of the country is leaving the country and he will be leaving behind him a certain situation which you can well imagine. Sir, I rise here to press again our suggestion that this demand for the reorganisation of the present bilingual Punjab should be accepted in principle. Having accepted this principle with regard to the rest of India and drawn up the map of the whole country on a linguistic basis, there cannot be any justification either in principle or in democracy to deny the same treatment to the people of Punjab. Therefore, it is a question of principle.

As far as the other things are concerned, once the principle is accepted we are convinced that the solution of the rest of the problem would be found in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and understanding. Sir, in this matter I regret to say that the Prime Minister has not risen to the occasion. He is a wise man and a far-sighted man, but somehow or other in this matter of reorganisation of States life marches ahead of either his wisdom or his farsight. I would beg of him to reconsider this matter and take a decision on principle and accept the principle so that other avenues of the solution of the problem are at once found.

Finally, Sir, I would only like to say that repression is not the way out for the solution of the problem. We read in the newspapers that re-